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THE CHINESE CLASSICS.

VOL. V.

THE CH'UN TS'EW, WITH THE TSO CHUEN.

不以文害辭不以辭害志以意逆志是爲得之。

MENCIUS, V. Pt. i. IV. 2.

THE

CHINESE CLASSICS:

WITH

A TRANSLATION, CRITICAL AND EXEGETICAL NOTES, PROLEGOMENA, AND COPIOUS INDEXES.

BY

JAMES LEGGE, D.D., LL.D.,

OF THE LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

IN SEVEN VOLUMES.

VOL. V.—PART I.,

CONTAINING

DUKES YIN, HWAN, CHWANG, MIN, HE, WAN, SEUEN AND CH'ING; AND THE PROLEGOMENA.

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PREFACE.

The author is glad to be able to publish his fifth volume in less than twelve months after the publication of the fourth. There remain now only the Le Ke and the Yih King to be translated and annotated, and then the task which he undertook will be fully accomplished. As he must return to England in the course of next year, he cannot say when the publication of those two Works may be looked for. He will certainly not allow anything to interfere with the completion of his labours upon them; but the Le Ke is so very voluminous, and the Yih King is so entirely *sui generis*, that this will yet require some years. It will then have to be considered whether he can get them printed in England, or must return once more to Hongkong for that purpose. Moreover, the publication of them must depend in a good measure on the sale which the volumes already issued may continue to have.

The present volume contains not only the Ch'un Ts'ëw of Confucius, but also the Commentary on it by Tso K'ëw-ming. Had the author been content to publish merely the text of the Classic, with a translation of it, the volume would have been of small compass. But withont the narratives of Tso the annals of the Sage would have given a most meagre and unsatisfactory account of the period covered by them. He did not therefore shrink from the great additional labour required to translate the whole of Tso's Work; and he believes it will be acknowledged that he has thereby rendered an important service to students of Chinese literature and to his readers generally. From the narratives of Tso there may be gathered as full and interesting an account of the history of China, from B.C. 721 to about 460, as we have of any of the nations of Europe during the Middle Ages.

The translation of the Ch'un Ts'ëw itself may be made by an ordinary Chinese scholar *currente calamo;* but it is not so with the translation of the Tso Chuen. And the author had not the benefit of the labours of previous translators with either of them. In preparing his former volumes, he did his work in the first place without reference to those who had traversed the same fields before him, but he afterwards found it occasionally of advantage to compare his versions with those of others. This he has not been able to do in the present case. If any Sinologue be at times inclined to differ from him in the rendering of a passage of Tso, the author would ask him to suspend his judgment for a little. Prolonged study may perhaps show him that the meaning has seldom been mistaken. To have introduced notes vindicating his renderings, where the meaning was not immediately evident, would have greatly increased the size of the volume, already sufficiently large. His object has always been to translate faithfully, without resorting to paraphrase, which he considers a slovenly and unscholarly practice; yet he hopes that his versions are not in language that can be represented as uncouth, or unpleasant to read.

He has received the same assistance as in the case of the fourth volume in reading most of the proofs. And his obligations to the Rev. Mr. Chalmers have been even greater than before. Not only did he prepare the indexes of Subjects and Proper Names, but the author is indebted to him for the valuable maps of China in the Ch'un Ts'ëw period, for the chronological table of the lunar months during it, and for various assistance on other points.

HONGKONG, September 26th, 1872.

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ERRATA.

I. IN THE CHINESE TEXT OF THE CH'UN TS'EW.

Page	*Column*	
8,	5,	for 裂繻 read 履緰.
,,	6; *et al.*,	,, 姫 ,, 姬.
,,	7,	,, 帛 ,, 伯.
22,	5,	after 齊 *dele* comma.
46,	4,	for 成 read 郕.
135	8, *et al.*,	,, 不雨 read 不雨.
163,	4,	after 孫 *dele* comma.
221,	5,	*dele* 師.
291,	2,	for 改卜,牛 read 改卜牛,.
471,	7,	,, 郕 read 成.
742,	2,	,, 春王, read 春, 王.

More than one half of the above are merely errors as regards the text of the K'ang-he Ch'un Ts'ëw, and have arisen from the compositors gathering the characters from copies in which the text of Tso-she was altogether adhered to. In the same way is to be explained the occasional occurrence of 於 for 于 in the text, and of 于 for 於 in the Chuen.

II. IN THE CHINESE TEXT OF THE CHUEN.

Page	*Column*	
20,	11,	for 薀 read 蘊.
29,	2,	,, 夏五 should begin a column.
,,	5,	,, 庚午 do. do.
128,	9,	before 立 insert 季.
135,	3,	*dele* ∘ beside 屈.
143,	15,	for 絜 read 潔.
204,	9,	,, 巳 ,, 已.
259,	1,	,, 卒郕, ,, 卒,郕.
380,	8,	,, 螌 ,, 蝥.
418,	8,	for 諂 read 謟.
451,	8,	,, 臧 ,, 藏.
645, 646,	7, 7,	,, 瀆 ,, 瀆.
679,	4,	,, 微 ,, 徵.
721,	12,	,, 其矣 ,, 矣其.
776.	11,	,, 取 ,, 敢.
815,	10,	,, 滋 ,, 滋.
822,	15,	,, 梁 ,, 粱.
823,	10,	,, 櫝 ,, 櫝.

III. CHINESE CHARACTERS IN THE NOTES.

Page	*Column*	*Line*	
4,	1,	8,	for 公 read 王.
30,	2,	32,	insert Kung and Kuh have 載 for 戴.
,,	,,	40,	,, Kung has 盛 for 郕.
59,	2,	8,	,, Kung has 郲 ,, 虛.
77,	1,	6,	,, Kung and Kuh have 饗 for 享.
219,	2,	67,	,, Kuh has 於 for 于.
237,	2,	30,	for 求 read 救.
287,	2,	8,	insert Kung has 柳 for 崇.
291,	1,	10,	,, Kung has 夷獋 for 夷臯.
305,	1,	5,	insert 寬 after 克.
335,	1,	12,	,, Kung has 呂 for 旅.
427,	2,	14,	for 勝 read 滕.
455,	1,	3,	,, 部 ,, 郈.
595,	1,	7,	insert Kung and Kuh have 雪 for 雹.
688,	2,	72,	for 白 read 伯.
791,	2,	35,	,, 少 ,, 小.
806,	1,	4,	,, 花 ,, 芘.
829,	1,	18,	insert Kung has 運 for 鄆.

IV. CHINESE CHARACTERS IN INDEX III.

Page	*Col.*	*Ll.*	
889,	32,	32,33,	for 相丘 read 杵臼.
898,	2,	47,	for 來 read 夾.

V. IN THE PROLEGOMENA.

Page	*Notes Line*		*Page*	*Notes Line*	
8,	7,	after 魯 insert 之.	126,	1,	for 險 read 陝.
12,	12,	for 無水 read 無氷.	64,	*Col.* 2, *L.* 2,	for 泱 read 決.
21,	11,	„ 徇 read 狥.	68,	1, 8,	籍 „ 藉.
25,	2,	„ 價 „ 賈.	79,	„ 1, „ 18,	after 再 insert 拜.
25,	4,	„ 左學 read 左氏學.			

VI. IN THE TRANSLATION.

I. iv. 4,	for invaked	read invaded.	IX. xvi. 7,	for Ts'e	read Tsin.
II. ii. 6; vii. 3,	„ T'ăng,	„ Tăng.	„ xxii.,	„ *thirty-second*	„ *twenty-second.*
III. xxvii. 1; *et al., sæpe,*	„ Ke(杞)	„ K'e.	X. ii. 4,	„ K'e-sun	„ Ke-sun.
V. ix. 2,	„ Tsaou	„ Ts'aou.	„ vii. 8,	„ Ling	„ Sëang.
„ xxix. 4,	for great fall a	„ a great fall.	„ xiii. 4,	„ T'ing-K'ëw	„ P'ing-k'ëw.
VI. ii. 1. l. 2,	„ he	„ the	„ xix. 2,	„ She	„ Che.
VIII. ii. 9,	„ Kung-ts'e	„ Kung-tsze.	„ xx. 4,	„ Ch'ing	„ Ch'in.
			XI. xiv. 15,	„ Shoo	„ Choo.

Nearly all the above errors might be corrected from Index III.

VII. IN THE NOTES.

Page	*Column*	*Line*	
15,	1,	1;	*et al.*, for Ke read K'e. The account of K'e's capital in the par. is also wrong; but this and some other geographical mistakes in the notes can be corrected from Index III.
23,	2,	30,	for 5 read 4.
42,	1,	40,	*dele* dis..
50,	1,	13,	for a marquisate read an earldom.
„	2,	2,	for earldom read marquisate.
61,	2,	35,	„ 8 „ 3.
90,	2,	20,	„ Yen-chow „ T'ae-gan.
112,	1,	47,	„ Yuen-chung read Yuen Chung.
119,	2,	12,	for 5 read 6.
125,	1,	16,	„ Koo-loh „ Loh-koo.
199,	1,	31,	„ dis. of Kwei-chow read Kwei Chow.
214,	1,	15,	„ 2 read 3.
217,	2,	15,	„ 3 „ 4.
304,	2,	10,	„ 3 of last read 2 of 7th.
305,	1,	4,	after K'ih insert K'wan.
357,	1,	47,	for 3 read 4.
„	„	51,	„ Par. 4 „ Par. 3.
„	„	57,	„ 5 „ 4.
372,	2,	6,	„ 12 „ 13.
404,	1,	8,	„ Jin-shin „ Jin-yin.
581,	2,	30,	„ charists „ chariots.
650,	2,	62,	„ 9 „ 90.

VIII. IN THE PROLEGOMENA.

Page	*Line*	
2,	1, note,	for Pt. i. read Pt. ii.
15,	8,	after thing insert a comma.
21,	17,	for sufficint read sufficient.
23,	30,	after period *dele*2.
23,	5, note,	carry 2 趙襄子 over to page 24.
24,	10,	for title read title².
25,	4,	„ King „ king.
43,	22,	after 9th *dele* comma.
44,	37,	„ Ch'ing „].
45,	22,	„ remonstrances „ comma.
79,	17, col. 1,	for appiont read appoint.
88,	9, note,	„ Mouments „ Monuments.
112,	8,	„ Ch'nn „ Ch'un.
118,	15,	after States insert a comma.
122,	20,	before commerce insert of.

PROLEGOMENA.

CHAPTER I.

THE NATURE AND VALUE OF THE CH'UN TS'ËW.

APPENDIXES.—

I. SPECIMENS OF THE COMMENTARIES OF KUNG-YANG AND KUH-LEANG.

II. A LETTER QUESTIONING THE CONFUCIAN AUTHORSHIP OF THE CH'UN TS'EW BY YUEN MEI OF THE PRESENT DYNASTY.

SECTION I.

DISAPPOINTMENT OF THE EXPECTATIONS RAISED BY THE EARLIEST ACCOUNTS OF THE CH'UN TS'ËW.

Was the Ch'un Ts'ëw *made* by Confucius?

1. In the prolegomena to vol. I., on page 1, I have said that of the five King or classical works, the authorship, or compilation rather, of which is loosely attributed to Confucius, 'the Ch'un Ts'ëw is the only one which can rightly be described as of his own *making*.' If I had been as familiar with the Ch'un Ts'ëw in 1861 as I am now, instead of appearing, as in that judgment, to allow that it is an original Work of the sage, I should have contented myself with saying that of it alone has the *making* been claimed for him. The question as to what he really did in the matter of this Classic is one of great perplexity.

Mencius' account of the Ch'un Ts'ëw.

2. The earliest authority who speaks on the subject is Mencius. No better could be desired; and the glowing account which he gives of the Work excites our liveliest expectations. His language puts it beyond doubt that in his time, not far removed from that of Confucius, there was a book current in China, called the Ch'un Ts'ëw, and accepted without question by him and others as having been made by the sage.

"The world," he says, 'was fallen into decay, and right principles had dwindled away. Perverse discourses and oppressive deeds were again waxen rife. Cases were occurring of ministers who murdered their rulers, and of sons who murdered their fathers. Confucius was afraid, and MADE THE CH'UN TS'EW.'[1] He describes the work as of equal value with Yu's regulation of the waters of the deluge, and the duke of Chow's establishing his dynasty amid the desolations and disorder which had been wrought by the later sovereigns of the dynasty of Shang. 'Confucius completed the Ch'un Ts'ëw, and rebellious ministers and villainous sons were struck with terror.'[2] Going more particularly into the nature of the Work, and fortifying himself with the words of the Master, Mencius says, 'The subjects of the Ch'un Ts'ëw are Hwan of Ts'e and Wăn of Tsin, and its style is the historical. Confucius said, "Its righteous decisions I ventured to make."'[3] And again, 'What the Ch'un Ts'ëw contains are matters proper to the son of Heaven. On this account Confucius said, "Yes! It is the Ch'un Ts'ëw which will make men know me; and it is the Ch'un Ts'ëw which will make men condemn me."'[4] The words of Mencius, that 'Confucius made the Ch'un Ts'ëw,' became thereafter part of the stock phraseology of Chinese scholars. If the Work itself had not been recovered under the Han dynasty, after the efforts of the tyrant of Ts'in to destroy the ancient monuments of literature, we should have regretted its loss, thinking of it as a history from the *stylus* of the sage of China in which had been condensed the grandest utterances of his wisdom and the severest lessons of his virtue.

3. The making of a history, indeed, is different from the making of a poem, the development of a philosophy, and other literary

1 Mencius, III. Pt. i. IX. 7, 8:—世衰道微,邪說暴行有作,臣弒其君者有之,子弒其父者有之,孔子懼而作春秋. 2 *Ib.*, 11:—昔者禹抑洪水,而天下平,周公兼夷狄,驅猛獸,而百姓寧,孔子成春秋,而亂臣賊子懼. 3 Men., IV. Pt. ii. XXI. 3:—其事則齊桓晉文,其文則史,孔子曰,其義則丘竊取之. We must suppose that Hwan of Ts'e and Wăn of Tsin are here adduced as two of the most remarkable personages in the Ch'un Ts'ëw, and that the first clause is not intended to convey the idea that the Work was all about them. I have mused often and long over the other parts of the paragraph. 其文則史 might be translated:—'The text is from the historiographers.' But where then would there be any room for 'the righteous decisions' of Confucius himself? I must hold to the version I have given of the observation quoted from the sage, and it seems to require the translation of the previous clause as I have published it. Julien has:—*Ejus stylus, tunc historicus. Confucius aiebat, Hæc æquitas, tunc ego Khieou privatim sumpsi illam.'* 4 III. Pt. i. IX. 8:—春秋,天子之事也,是故孔子曰,知我者其惟春秋乎,罪我者其惟春秋乎.

achievements in which we expect large results of original thought. What we are to expect in a history. In those we look for new combinations of the phænomena of human character, and new speculations on the divine order of the universe,—'things unattempted yet in prose or rhyme.' But from the historian all that we are entitled to require is a faithful record of facts. If he would win our special approval, he must weave his facts into an interesting narrative, trace their connexion with one another, and by unfolding the motives of the actors teach lessons that may have their fruit in guiding and directing the course of events in future generations. The making of history should be signalized by the vigour and elegance of the composition, and by the correct discrimination, impartiality, and comprehensiveness of the author's judgments.

When, with these ideas of what a history should be, we look into the Ch'un Ts'ëw, we experience immediately an intense feeling of Our disappointment in reading with such expectations the Ch'un Ts'ëw. disappointment. Instead of a history of events woven artistically together, we find a congeries of the briefest possible intimations of matters in which the court and State of Loo were more or less concerned, extending over 242 years, without the slightest tincture of literary ability in the composition, or the slighest indication of judicial opinion on the part of the writer. The paragraphs are always brief. Each one is designed to commemorate a fact; but whether that fact be a display of virtue calculated to command our admiration, or a deed of atrocity fitted to awaken our disgust, it can hardly be said that there is anything in the language to convey to us the shadow of an idea of the author's feeling about it. The notices, for we cannot call them narratives, are absolutely unimpassioned. A base murder and a shining act of heroism are chronicled just as the eclipses of the sun are chronicled. So and so took place;—that is all. No details are given; no judgment is expressed. The reader may be conscious of an emotion of delight or of indignation according to the opinion which he forms of the event mentioned, especially when he has obtained a fuller account of it from some other quarter; but there is nothing in the text to excite the one feeling or the other. Whether the statements found in the Ch'un Ts'ëw be all reliable, and given according to the truth of the facts, is a point of the utmost importance, which will be duly considered by and by. I am at present only concerned to affirm that the Work is not at all of the nature which we should suppose from our

previous conception of it as a history by a great man, and from the accounts given of it by Confucius himself and by Mencius.[1]

4. If I have given in these remarks a correct, though brief, idea of what the Ch'un Ts'ëw is, we know not what to make of the state-

The saying of Confucius that he had made the righteous decisions in the Ch'un Ts'ëw.

ment of Confucius quoted by Mencius, that he had himself ventured to make the righteous decisions contained in it. Whether the book which we now have be that which Confucius is said to have made, or another, we examine it in vain for any 'righteous decisions,' for any decisions indeed of any kind, on the events which are indicated in it. This difficulty is a Gordian knot which I do not see any way of untying, and I have often wished that I could cut it by denying the genuineness of the present Ch'un Ts'ëw altogether.[1] But, as will by and by appear, the evidence which connects and identifies the existing Work with that *made*, whatever be the sense in which we are to take that term, by the sage, cannot be rebutted. The simplest way of disposing of the matter is to set the testimony of

1 It is amusing to read the following account of the Ch'un Ts'ëw given by the writer of the treatise 'On the Antiquity of the Chinese,' on pp. 47, 48 of the 1st vol. of the 'Memoires Concernant les Chinois:'—

'Le Tchun-tsieou est un livre ecrit de génie. Notre Socrate y manie l'Histoire en homme d'Etat, en Citoyen, en Philosophe, en Savant, et en Moraliste. Son laconisme naïf et sublime le force à serrer sa narration, pour présenter les faits tout nouds et détachés, pour ainsi dire, de la chaine des evénemens; mais ils sont dessinés, colorés, ombrés et peints avec tant de force et de feu, qu'on sent d'abord pourquoi et jusqu'où ils sont dignes de louanges ou de blâme. Nous ne connaissons point de livre en Europe, où l'on voit si bien le commencement, le progrès, le dénouement, et le remede des révolutions dans l'Etat et dans les mœurs; les vrais signes de roideur ou de mollesse, de tyrannie ou de discrédit, de modération simulée ou d'inconséquence dans le Gouvernement; les différences du talent, du génie, de l'expérience, de la profondeur des vues, de la bonté du coup-d'œil, et des ressources d'un esprit fécond dans les Princes et dans leur ministres, l'imposant d'une administration bruyante et le faux d'une politique pateline, les souterrains de la trahison et les maneges de la negociation, les premieres etincelles d'une révolte qui commence et les derniers eclats d'une ligue epuisée; la maniere enfin dont le Chang-ti (Dieu) dirige le cours des evénemens, pour elever ou renverser les Trônes, et punir ou recompenser tour-à-tour les Sujets par leurs Princes et les Princes par leurs Sujets. Le Tchun-tsieou, envisagé sous ce point de vue, est le modele de toutes les Histoires. Confucius a un style qui ne va qu'à lui. Il semble que chaque caractere ait eté fait pour l'endroit où il le place. Plus il est avare de mots, plus ceux qu'il emploie sont clairs et expressifs.'

The above is certainly of a piece with the estimate of the ancient odes of China which I quoted from the same article in the prolegomena to vol. IV., pp. 114, 115. Dr. Williams (Middle Kingdom, vol. I., p. 512) gives a more fair account of the Ch'un Ts'ëw, but even he thinks that it contains much good matter of which we find no trace:—'It is but little better than a dry detail of facts, enlivened by few incidents, but containing many of those practical observations which distinguish the writings of the sage.' Anyone who looks into the body of this volume will see that the text consists of nothing but a dry detail of facts *or incidents, without a single practical observation, Confucian or non-Confucian.*

1 There have been Chinese scholars who have taken up this position. Wang Taou, in a monograph on the subject, places Ma Twan-lin among them; but this is more than Ma's words, quoted in the third section, will sustain. With more reason he gives the name of Hoh King (郝敬) of the Ming dynasty, who contends that the Ch'un Ts'ëw of Confucius was not transmitted, and that we have only fragments of it in Tso-she. Wang also says that according to Tung Chung-shoo and Sze-ma Ts'ëen the text consisted of several myriads of characters, in several thousand paragraphs, whereas Chang Gan of the T'ang dynasty found in it only 18000 characters. But there can be no doubt the present text is substantially the same as that known in the Han dynasty. See Appendix II.

Mencius on one side, though that method of proceeding can hardly be vindicated on critical grounds.

There can be no doubt, however, that the expression in Mencius about 'the righteous decisions' has had a most powerful and pernicious influence over the interpretation of the Classic. Chaou K'e, the earliest commentator on Mencius, explains the passage as intimating that the sage in making the Ch'un Ts'ëw exercised his prerogative as 'the unsceptred king.' A subject merely, and without any order from his ruler, he yet made the Work on his own private authority; and his saying that he *ventured* to give his own judgments on things in it was simply an expression of his humility.[2] Chaou gives the same explanation of those words of Mencius, that 'what the Ch'un Ts'ëw contains are matters proper to the son of Heaven.' 'Confucius,' says the commentator, 'made the Ch'un Ts'ëw by means of the Historical Records of Loo, setting forth his laws as an unsceptred king, which are what Mencius calls "the matters of the Son of Heaven."'[3]

Hundreds of critics, from Kung-yang and Kuh-lëang downwards, have tried to interpret the Classic on the principle of finding in almost every paragraph some 'righteous decision;' and in my notes I have in a hundred places pointed out the absurdities in which such a method lands us. The same peculiarity of the style, such as the omission of a clan-name, becomes in one passage the sign of censure and in another the sign of praise.[4] The whole Book is a

2 孔子自謂竊取之,以爲素王也,孔子人臣,不受君命,私作之,故言竊,亦聖人之謙辭爾. 3 孔子懼王道滅,故作春秋,因魯史記,設素王之法,謂天子之事也.

4 It may be well here to give the discussion of one notable case, the occasional omission of the term *king*:—taken from Chaou Yih's 陔餘叢考,卷二:—

'Every year should commence with "In the spring, in the king's first month," or if there was nothing to be recorded under the first month, "In the spring, in the king's second month," or "In the spring, in the king's third month;" the object being thereby to do honour to the king. In the 9th and 11th years, however, of duke Yin, we have only "In the spring," and in all the years of duke Hwan but four the expression 'the king's' is omitted. Too Yu holds that in those years the king had not issued the calendar; but seeing the prime intent of the Ch'un Ts'ëw was to honour the king, is it likely that for such an omission the classic would have denied the year to be the king's? Moreover, such omission was most likely to occur when the court was in confusion, as in the troubles occasioned by the princes T'uy, Tae, and Chaou; and yet we find the years of those times all with the regular formula. How unlikely that the calendar should have been given out in seasons of disorder, and neglected when all was tranquil in the times of Yin and Hwan! Too's explanation is inadmissible.

'Ch'ing E-ch'uen says, "Duke Hwan succeeded to Loo by the murder of his predecessor, and in his first year the author wrote 'the king's,' thereby by a royal law indicating his crime. The same expression in the second year in the same way indicates the crime of Tuh of Sung in murdering his ruler. Its omission in the third year shows that Hwan had no [fear of the] king before his eyes." But this is very inconsistent. If we say that the omission of "the king's" shows that Hwan had no fear of the king, surely it ought to have been omitted in his first year, when he was guilty of such a crime. If we say that its occurrence in the first year is to indicate his crime,

collection of riddles, to which there are as many answers as there are guessers. It is hardly possible for a Chinese to cast off from his mind the influence of this 'praise-and-censure' theory in studying the Classic. He has learned it when a child by committing to memory at school the lines of the 'Primer of Three Characters,'[5] and it has been obtruded upon him in most of his subsequent reading. Even a foreigner finds himself occasionally casting about for some such way of accounting for the ever varying forms of expression, unwilling to believe that the changes have been made at random. I proceed in another section to give a fuller idea of the nature of the Work, and to consider what were its sources, and whether we have reason to think that Confucius, in availing himself of them, made additions of his own or retrenchments.

are we to infer that wherever it occurs it indicates the crime of the ruler? What had Loo to do with Tuh of Sung's murdering his ruler? Is it reasonable that Loo's historiographers should have constructed their annals to punish *him?*

'Ho Hëw says,—"In [Hwan's] 10th year we find 'the king's,' because ten is the completion of numbers, and we find it in his 18th year, because that was the last of his rule." According to this we ought to find "the king's" only in the year of a ruler's accession, in his tenth year, and the year of his death; but the practice in the Ch'un Ts'ëw is quite different from this. Ho Hëw's remark is unintelligible.

'It may be said that since the Chow commencement of the year was not universally followed during the Ch'un Ts'ëw period, some States reckoning by the 1st month of Yin and others by that of Hëa, although Loo generally held to the ritual of Chow, yet its irregularities in the matter of intercalation show that it did not keep to the first month of Chow. Perhaps the historiographers did so sometimes, and then Confucius wrote "the king's first month," by way of distinction, while he left the cases in which they made the year begin differently unmarked by such a note,—thereby condemning them.' This last is poor Chaou Yih's own explanation of the phænomenon, not a whit better than the devices of others which he condemns! It shows the correctness of my remark that it is next to impossible for a Chinese scholar to shake off the trammels of the creed in which he has been educated.

5 詩既亡,春秋作,寓褒貶,別善惡;—see the 三字經, ll. 79, 80.

SECTION II.

THE SOURCES OF THE CH'UN TS'ËW, AND ITS NATURE. DID CONFUCIUS ALLOW HIMSELF ANY LIBERTY OF ADDITION OR RETRENCHMENT IN THE USE OF HIS AUTHORITIES?

1. What were Confucius' authorities for the events which he has chronicled in the Ch'un Ts'ëw? In proceeding to an inquiry into the Sources of the Work, it will be well to give at the commencement an explanation of its name.

The two characters, translated literally, simply mean Spring and Autumn. 'Anciently,' says Maou K'e-ling, 'the historiographers, in recording events, did so with the specification of the day, the month, the season, and the year, to which each event belonged; and to the whole they gave the name of *annals*. It was proper that under every year there should be written the names of the four seasons, and the entire record of a year went by the name of *Spring and Autumn*, two of the seasons, being a compendious expression for all the four.'[1] 'Spring and Autumn' is thus equivalent to—Annals, digested under the seasons of every year. An inspection of the Work will prove that this is the proper meaning of its title. Even if there were nothing to be recorded under any season, it was still necessary to make a record of the season and of the first month in it. Entries like that in the 6th year of duke Yin,—'It was autumn, the 7th month,' where the next paragraph begins with 'In winter,' are frequent. If now and then a year occurs in which we do not find every season specified, we may be sure the omission is owing to the loss of a character or of a paragraph in the course of time. Chaou K'e explains the title in the same way,[2] and so does Too Yu in the preface to his edition of the Tso Chuen.[3] Other accounts of the name are only creations of fancy, and have arisen from a misconception of the nature of the Work. Thus Dr. Williams says, 'The spring and autumn annals are so called, because "their commendations are life-giving like spring, and their censures are life-withering like autumn."'[4] The Han scholars gave forth this, and other accounts of a similar kind, led away by their notions as to the nature of the Work on which I have touched in the preceding section. Not even, as I have said, in the Work itself do we find such censures and commendations; and much less are they trumpeted in the title of it.

Meaning of the name,—the Ch'un Ts'ëw.

[1] 古凡史官記事,必先立年,月,日,時,而後書事于其下,謂之記年,故每歲所書,四時必備,然而祇名春秋者,春可以該夏,秋可以該冬也;—春秋毛氏傳, the Introductory chapter.
[2] 春秋,以始舉四時,記萬事之名;—on Men. III. Pt. ii. XXI. 3.
[3] 記事者,以事繫日,以日繫月,以月繫時,以時繫年,......故史之所記,必表年以首事,年有四時,故錯舉以爲所記之名也. On this passage K'ung Ying-tah quotes the following words from Ch'ing K'ang-shing:—春秋猶言四時也; and then he adds himself, 是舉春秋足包四時之義也.
[4] The Middle Kingdom, vol. I., p. 512. See to the same effect Du Halde's 'Description de l'Empire de la Chine. et de la Tartarie Chinoise,' vol. II. p. 318.

2. That we are not to seek for any deep or mystical meaning in the title is still more evident from the fact that the name was in use before it was given to the compilation of Confucius. The first narrative of the Tso Chuen under the second year of duke Ch'aou, when Confucius was only eleven years old, shows that this was the case in Loo. Then the principal minister of Tsin, being on a visit to the court of Loo, examined the documents in the charge of the grand-historiographer, and 'saw,' we are told, 'the Yih with its diagrams and the Ch'un Ts'ëw of Loo.'[1]

The name Ch'un Ts'ëw was in use before the time of Confucius.

But the records, or a class of the records, of every State in the kingdom of Chow appear to have been called by this name of Spring and Autumn. In the 'Narratives of the States,' the appointment of Shuh-hëang to be tutor to the heir-apparent of the State of Tsin is grounded on 'his acquaintance with the Ch'un Ts'ëw.'[2] I take the name there as equivalent to history in general,—the historical summaries made in the various States of the kingdom. Shuh-hëang's appointment was made in B.C. 568, about twenty years before Confucius was born. In the same Narratives, at a still earlier date, it is laid down as a rule for the heir-apparent of the State of Ts'oo, that he should be taught the Ch'un Ts'ëw.[3] According to Mencius, the annals of Loo went by the name of the Ch'un Ts'ëw, while those of Tsin were called the Shing, and those of Ts'oo the T'aou-wuh.[4] All these, however, he says, were books of the same character; and though the annals of different States might have other and particular names given to them, it seems clear that they might all be designated Ch'un Ts'ëw. Thus we have a statement in Mih Teih that he 'had seen the Ch'un-ts'ëw histories of a hundred States';[5] and elsewhere we find him speaking of the Ch'un Ts'ëw of Chow, the Ch'un Ts'ëw of Yen, the Ch'un Ts'ëw of Sung, and the Ch'un Ts'ëw of Ts'e.[6]

1 觀書於太史氏,見易象與魯春秋. In my translation of this passage on p. 583, I have omitted inadvertently to render the 見易象, and the whole might be taken as if 'the Ch'un Ts'ëw of Loo' were not one of the documents in the keeping of the historiographer. 2 羊舌肸習於春秋,乃使傅太子彪;—see the 國語,晉語,七, at the end. 3 教之春秋;—See the 國語,楚語,上, art 1. The prince to be taught was the son of king Chwang, who died B. C. 590. 4 Men IV. Pt. ii. XXI. 2. 晉之乘,楚之檮杌,魯春秋一也. 5 吾見百國春秋史. See the 墨子佚文, appended to the 15th Book of his Works. 6 In his 明鬼,下.

4. The Ch'un Ts'ëw of Loo supplied, it seems to me, the materials for the sage's Work;—if, indeed, he did any thing more than copy out what was ready to his hand. Ho Hëw, the famous Han editor of Kung-yang's commentary on it, in his introductory notes to the first year of duke Yin, quotes from a Min Yin to the effect that Confucius, having received the command of Heaven to make his Ch'un Ts'ëw, sent Tsze-hëa and others of his disciples, fourteen men in all, to seek for the historical records of Chow, and that they got the precious books of 120 States, from which he proceeded to make his chronicle.[1] This, however, is one of the wild statements which we find in many writers of the Han and Tsin dynasties. There is nothing in the Work to make it necessary to suppose that any other records were consulted but those of Loo. This is the view almost universally entertained by the scholars and critics of China itself, as in the statement given from Chaou K'e on p. 5. The omission, moreover, of many events which are narrated in the Chuen of Tsoshe makes it certain to my mind that Confucius confined himself to the tablets of his native State. Whether any of his disciples were associated with him in the labour of compilation we cannot tell. Pan Koo, in the chapter on the Literary History of the early Han dynasty, says that Tso K'ëw-ming was so.[2] How this was will be considered when I come to speak of Tso's commentary. Sze-ma Ts'ëen's account would rather incline us to think that the whole was done by Confucius alone, for he says that when the Work was completed and shown to the disciples of Tsze-hëa, they could not improve it in a single character.[3]

The Ch'un Ts'ëw of Loo supplied the materials for the existing Ch'un Ts'ëw.

5. The Ch'un Ts'ëw of Loo then was the source of the Ch'un Ts'ëw of Confucius. The chronicles or annals which went by this

[1] 閔因敘云,昔孔子受端門之命,制春秋之義,使子夏等十四人,求周史記得百二十國寶書. [2] 以魯周公之國,禮文備物,史官有法,故與左丘明觀其史記:—see note to Lëw Hin's catalogue of the tablets of the Ch'un Ts'ëw and Works on it, 漢書三十,藝文,志第十. Yen P'ăng-tsoo, another scholar of the early Han dynasty, gives rather a different form to Tso's association with Confucius in the Work,—that they went together to Chow to examine the Books in the keeping of the historiographers at the royal court:—嚴彭祖曰,孔子將修春秋.與左丘明乘如周,觀書於周史. Quoted by K'ung Ying-tah on Too Yu's Preface to the Tso Chuen. [3] 至於爲春秋,筆則筆.削則削,子夏之徒不能贊一辭;—see the 史記世家,卷十七.孔子世家.

The nature of the Ch'un Ts'ëw of the States. name were the work of the historiographers or recorders, who, we know, were attached to the royal court and to the courts of the various feudal princes. I have spoken of those officers in the prolegomena to vol. III. p. 11, and in those to vol. IV., pp. 24–26. Pan Koo in the same chapter from which I have made a quotation from him in the preceding paragraph, says that the historiographers of the Left recorded words, that is, Speeches, Charges, &c., and those of the Right recorded affairs; that the words formed the Shoo, and the affairs the Ch'un Ts'ëw.[1]

But if we are to judge of what the Ch'un Ts'ëw of the States were from what the one Ch'un Ts'ëw preserved to us is, the statement that they contained the records of events cannot be admitted without considerable modification. There can have been no details in them, but only the briefest possible compends of the events, or references to them.

That there were the records of events, kept in the offices of historiography, must be freely admitted, and it will appear, when I come to speak of the commentary of Tso K'ëw-ming, that to them we are mainly indebted for the narratives which impart so much interest to his Work. But the entries in the various Ch'un Ts'ëw were not made from them,—not made from them fairly and honestly as when one tries to give in a very few words the substance of a narrative which is before him. Those entries related to events in the State itself, at the royal court, and in other States with which it maintained friendly relations. Communications about remarkable and ominous occurrences in one State, and about important transactions, were sent from it to others, and the receiving State entered them in its Ch'un Ts'ëw in the terms in which they were made out, without regard to whether they conveyed a correct account of the facts or not. Then the great events in a State itself,—those connected with the ruling House and the principal families or clans in it, its relations with other States, and natural phænomena supposed to affect the general wellbeing, also found a place. Sometimes these things were recorded under the special direction of the ruler; at other times we must suppose that the historiographers committed them to their tablets as a part of their official duty. How far truth, an exact conformity of the record with the circumstances, was observed in these entries about the internal affairs of a State, is a point on which it is not competent for me at this point of the inquiry to pronounce an opinion.

[1] 左史記言.右史記事.事爲春秋.言爲尚書.

6. In the prolegomena to vol. IV. p. 25, referring to the brief account which we have in the official Book of Chow of the duties of the historiographers of the Exterior at the royal court, I have made it appear that they had charge of the Histories of all the States,[1] rendering the character *che* by 'Histories.' M. Biot, in his translation of the Official Book, has done the same; but Maou K'e-ling contends that those *che* were the Ch'un Ts'ëw of the different States, or the brief notices of which they were made up.[2] I have failed, however, to find elsewhere any evidence to support his view;[3] and when he goes on to argue that three copies of those notices were always made,—one to be kept in the State itself, one for the royal court, and one to be sent to the historiographers of the various feudal courts with which the State was in the habit of exchanging such notifications,—the single passage to which he refers by no means bears out the conclusion which he draws from it;[4] and indeed, as many copies must have been made as there were States to which the notice was to be sent. In other respects the account which he gives of those notices is so instructive that I subjoin a summary of it.

Maou K'e-ling's account of the contents of the Ch'un Ts'ëw of the States.

They were merely, he says, 'slips of subjects,' and not 'summaries' or synopses,—containing barely the mention of the subject to which each of them referred.[5] It was necessary there should be nothing in them inconsistent with, or contradictory to, the fuller narratives,

1 外史掌四方之志. 2 志解作誌, 又解作幟, 謂標幟其名, 而列作題目以告於四方…………所爲志, 卽春秋經也. 3 Compare the use of 志, in Mencius, III. Pt. i. II. 3, and Pt. ii. I. 1., and in the Tso Chuen on VI. ii. 1; vi. 3: VII. xii. 2: VIII. iv. 7; *et al.* 4 From the 國語, 魯語, 上, Art. 7,—at the end. 5 Acc. to Maou, the contents of the ancient Ch'un Ts'ëw might all be arranged under twenty-two heads:—1st, the changing of the first year of a ruler (改元); 2d, the new ruler's solemn accession (卽位); 3d, the birth of a son to the ruler (生子; as in II. vi. 5); 4th, the appointment of a ruler in another State (立君; as in I. iv. 7); 5th, court and complimentary visits (朝聘, in the various forms of 朝; 來朝; 聘; 來聘; 歸脤; 錫命); 6th, covenants and meetings (盟會, in the various forms—會; 盟; 來盟; 涖盟; 不盟; 逃盟; 遇; 胥命; 平; 成); 7th, incursions and invasions, (侵伐, in the various forms—侵; 伐; 克; 入; 圍; 襲; 取; 戍; 救; 帥師; 乞師; 取師; 棄師; 戰; 次; 追; 降; 敗; 敗績; 潰; 獲; 師還; 歸俘; 獻捷); 8th, the removal and extinction of States (遷滅, in the various forms—遷; 滅; 殲; 墮; 亡); 9th, marriages (昏覯, in the various forms—納幣; 逆女; 逆婦; 求婦; 歸; 送; 致女; 來媵; 婦至; 覯); 10th, entertainments and condolences

but they themselves gave no indication of the beginning or end of the events to which they referred, or of the various circumstances which marked their course. For instance, suppose the subject was going from Loo to the court of Tsin.—In VIII. xviii. 4, we are told that 'the duke went to Tsin,' the occasion of his doing so being to congratulate the new marquis of Tsin on his accession; whereas, in IX. iii. 2, we have a notice in the same characters about the child-marquis Sëang, his going to Tsin being to present himself to that court on his own accession to Loo. Suppose, again, the subject to be a meeting between the rulers of Loo and Ts'e.—In III. xiii. 4, we are told that it is said that 'duke Chwang had a meeting with the marquis of Ts'e, when they made a covenant in Ko,' the object being to make peace between the two States after the battle of Shing-k'ëw; whereas, in xxiii. 10, we have the notice of a meeting and covenant between the same princes in Hoo, having reference to an alliance by marriage which they had agreed upon.

After further illustrating the nature of the notices, Maou observes correctly, that to look in them for slight turns of expression, such as the mention of an individual's rank, or of his clan-name, or the specification of the day when an event occurred without the month, and to find in the presence or absence of these particulars the

(享唁); 11th, deaths and burials (喪葬, in the various forms of 崩; 薨; 卒; 葬; 會葬; 歸喪; 奔喪; 賵; 賻; 含; 襚; 求金; 錫命); 12th, sacrifices (祭祀, in the various forms of 烝; 嘗; 禘; 郊; 社; 望; 雩; 作主; 有事; 大事; 朝廟; 告朔; 視朔; 繹; 從祀; 獻; 萬); 13th, huntings (蒐狩; in the various forms of 蒐; 狩; 觀; 焚; 觀社; 大閱); 14th, building (興作, in the various forms of 立宮; 築臺; 作門觀; 丹楹; 刻桷; 屋壞; 毀臺; 新廄; 築城; 城郛; 浚洙; 築囿); 15th, military arrangements (甲兵, in the forms of 治甲兵; 作丘甲; 作三軍; 舍中軍); 16th, military taxation (田賦, in the forms of 稅畝; 用田賦; 求車; 假田; 取田; 歸田); 17th, good years and bad (豐凶, in the forms of 有年; 饑; 告糴; 無麥苗; 無麥禾); 18th, ominous occurrences (災祥, in the forms of 日食; 螟; 螽蝝; 雨雪; 雷電; 震; 雹; 星隕; 大水; 無水; 災; 火; 蜮; 蜚; 多麋; 眚; 不雨; 沙鹿崩; 山崩; 旱; 地震; 星孛; 六鷁退飛; 隕霜殺菽; 隕霜不殺草; 鸜鵒來巢; 獲麟); 19th, leaving one's city or State (出國, in the forms of 如; 孫; 出奔; 出; 大去); 20th, entering a city or State (入國, in the forms of 至; 入; 納; 歸; 來歸; 復歸; 來; 來奔; 逃歸; 21st, ruffians and murders (盜弒, in the forms of 盜殺; 盜; 弒; 殺); 22d, punishments (刑戮, in the forms of 殺; 刺; 戕; 放; 執; 歸; 用; 釋; 畀; 肆眚). This analysis of the Ch'un Ts'ëw is ingenious; but it is all based on the Ch'un Ts'ëw of Confucius. Some of the subjects may be called in question, as, *e.g.*, the 3d. In the 12 books of the Spring and Autumn only one such birth is chronicled.

expression of praise or blame, is no better than the gropings of a man in a dream. In this I fully agree with him, but as he has said that the 'slip-notices of the Ch'un Ts'ëw' should not be inconsistent with the facts in a detailed narrative of the events to which they refer, he seems to push the point as to the colourlessness of the notices to an extreme, when he adds the following illustration of it on the authority of a brother of his own:—'The deaths of princes and great officers recorded in the Ch'un Ts'ëw took place in various ways; but they all appear under the same form—"died." Thus in V. xxiv. 5 it is said that "E-woo, marquis of Tsin, died," the fact being that he was slain; in X. viii. 2 it is said that "Neih, marquis of Ch'in, died," the fact being that he strangled himself; in II. v. 1 it is said that "Paou, marquis of Ch'in, died," the fact being that he went mad and died; in XI. xiv. 6 it is said that "Kwang, viscount of Woo, died," the fact being that he did so of wounds received in battle; in XI. iii. 2 it is said that "Ch'uen, viscount of Woo, died," the fact being that he burned himself to death; in III. xxxii. 3 it is said that "the Kung-tsze Ya died," the fact being that he was compelled to take poison; in X. iv. 8 it is said that "Shuh-sun P'aou died," the fact being that he was starved to death; in X. xxv. 7 it is said that "Shuh-sun Shay died," the fact being that he did so in answer to his own prayers; and in X. xxix. 3, it is said that "Shuh E died," the fact being that he did so without any illness. The one word "died," is used in such a variety of cases, and it is only one who knows profoundly the style of the text who can explain the comprehensive meaning of the term.'[5] But there is no meaning in the term beyond that of dying, and the conclusion of the mind is that the death indicated by it was a natural one. It is not history in any proper sense of the term which is given in such an undiscriminating style.

Did Confucius in compiling his Ch'un Ts'ëw add to or take from his authorities?

7. The reader has now a sufficiently accurate idea of what all the annals that went under the name of Ch'un Ts'ëw were, of what especially the Ch'un Ts'ëw still existing and with which we have to do is. It only remains for me in this section to inquire whether we have reason to believe that Confucius made any changes in the style of the Ch'un Ts'ëw of Loo.

On this point, as on so many others connected with the Work, we have not sufficient evidence to pronounce a very decided opinion. We are without a single word about it from Confucius himself, or from any of his immediate disciples; and from later scholars and

critics we have the most conflicting utterances regarding it. I have quoted a few words on p. 9, from Sze-ma Ts'ëen's account of the Ch'un Ts'ëw, but I now give the whole of it:—'The master said, "No! No! The superior man is distressed lest his name should not be honourably mentioned after death. My principles do not make way in the world;—how shall I make myself known to future ages?" On this, from the records of the historians he made the Ch'un Ts'ëw, commencing with duke Yin, coming down to the 14th year of duke Gae, and thus embracing the times of twelve marquises. He kept close in it to [the annals of] Loo, showed his affection for Chow, and purposely made the three dynasties move before the reader.[1] His style was condensed, but his scope was extensive. Thus the rulers of Woo and Ts'oo assumed to themselves the title of king; but in the Ch'un Ts'ëw they are censured by being only styled viscounts. Thus also the son of Heaven was really summoned [by the marquis of Tsin] to attend the meeting at Tsëen-t'oo (V. xxviii. 8), but the Ch'un Ts'ëw conceals the fact, and says (par. 16) that "the king by Heaven's grace held a court of inspection in Ho-yang." Such instances serve to illustrate the idea of the master in the censures and elisions which he employed to rectify the ways of those times, his aim being that, when future kings should study the work, its meaning should be appreciated, and all rebellious ministers and villainous sons under the sky become afraid.[2] When Confucius was in office, his language in listening to litigations was what others would have employed, and not peculiar to him; but in making the Ch'un Ts'ëw, he wrote what he wrote, and he retrenched what he retrenched, so that the disciples of Tsze-hëa could not improve it in a single character. When his disciples received from him the Ch'un Ts'ëw, he said, "It is by the Ch'un Ts'ëw that after ages will know me, and also by it that they will condemn me."'[3]

1 據魯,親周,故殷運之三代. I shall be glad if any Sinologue can make out the meaning of this passage more clearly than I have done. Chang Show-tsëeh (張守節), the glossarist of Sze-ma Ts'ëen under the T'ang dynasty (His preface is dated in the 8th month of A.D. 736), says on the last clause—殷,中也,又中運夏殷周之事也.

2 Here again Sze-ma's style is involved, and far from clear: 推此類以繩當世貶損之義,後有王者舉而開之,春秋之義行,則天下亂臣賊子懼焉.

3 Lëw He (Proleg. to vol. III., p. 205) has a strange note on this utterance of Confucius:—知者,行堯舜之道者,罪者,在王公之位見貶絕者, 'The knowers would be those who practised the principles of Yaou and Shun; the condemners would be kings and dukes in office who were censured and condemned [by the sage's righteous decisions].' This is ingenious, but far-fetched.

A thousand expressions of opinion, modelled upon that of Sze-ma Ts'ëen, might easily be adduced, all, it seems to me, as I have said already, prompted by an endeavour to reconcile the existing Work with the accounts of the Ch'un Ts'ëw given in Mencius. As we come down the course of time, we find the scholars of China less positive in the view that Confucius made any change in the text of the Ch'un Ts'ëw of Loo. Choo He says, 'The entries in the Ch'un Ts'ëw, that, for instance, "Such a man did such a thing" are according to the old text of the historiographers of Loo, come down to us from the *stylus* of the sage, transcribing or retrenching. Now-a-days, people, when they see the Ch'un Ts'ëw, are sure to say, "Such and such a character has its stigma for such and such a man," so that Confucius thus took it on him, according to his private views, to dispense without authority his praise or blame. But Confucius simply wrote the thing correctly as it was, and the good or evil of it was manifest of itself. If people feel that they must express themselves as I have said, we must get into our hands the old text of the historiographers of Loo, so that, comparing it with what we now have, the difference and agreement between them would be apparent. But this is now impossible.'[4]

Chaou Yih adduces two paragraphs from the 'Annals of the Bamboo Books,' which, he thinks, may be the original form of two in the Ch'un Ts'ëw. The one is—'Duke Yin of Loo and duke Chwang of Choo made a covenant at Koo-meeh,'[5] corresponding to I. i. 2, 'In the third month, the duke and E-foo of Choo made a covenant in Mëeh.' The other is—'Duke Hëen of Tsin united with the army of Yu, and, attacking Kwoh, extinguished Hëa-yang,'[6] corresponding to V. ii. 3, 'An army of Yu and an army of Tsin extinguished Hëa-yang.' 'These two cases,' observes Chaou, 'show that the style of the historiographers of the States was, we may say, similar to that of the Ch'un Ts'ëw, and that Confucius on deliberation only altered a few characters to lodge in others of his own his praise or censure'.[7] But to make these two instances exactly to the point, it would be necessary that they should occur in the annals of the State of Loo, somehow preserved to us. Besides,

4 See the K'ang-he Ch'un Ts'ëw, 綱領, p. 18:—春秋所書,如某人爲某事,云云. 5 See the proleg. to vol. III., p. 160. 6 *Ib.*, p. 163. 7 據此可見當時國史,其文法大概本與春秋相似,孔子特酌易數字以寓褒貶耳;—see the 陔餘叢考,卷二, the chapter 春秋底本.

the expressions 'duke Chwang' and 'duke Hëen' are retrospective, and not after the manner of the Ch'un Ts'ëw.

With regard to the entry in III. vii. 2, that 'at midnight there was a fall of stars like rain,' referring, we must believe, to a grand appearance of meteors, Kung-yang tells us that the old text of the historiographers was—'It rained stars to within a foot of the earth, when they re-ascended'? Certainly the text was not altered here by Confucius to express either praise or censure. And if Kung-yang was able thus to quote the old text, it is strange he should only have done it in this solitary instance. If it had been so different from the present, with his propensities he would not have been slow to adduce it frequently. I must doubt his correctness in this case.

After the first entry under the 14th year of duke Gae, with which according to all Chinese critics the labours of Confucius terminated, Tso-she gives no fewer than 27 paragraphs, bringing the history down to the death of the sage in Gae's 16th year. Those paragraphs were added, it is said, from the Ch'un Ts'ëw of Loo by Confucius' disciples; and I can see no difference between the style in them, and in the more than a thousand which passed under the revision of the master.

Is it a sign of my having imbibed something of the prejudice of native scholars, of which I spoke in the end of last section, that I do not like to express my opinion that Confucius did not alter a character in his authorities? Certainly he made no alterations to convey his sentiments of praise or blame;—the variations of style where there could be no change of sentiment or feeling underlying them forbid our supposing this.

SECTION III.

RECOVERY OF THE CH'UN TS'ËW DURING THE HAN DYNASTY. WAS THIS INDEED THE CH'UN TS'ËW OF CONFUCIUS?

Evidence of Lëw Hin's Catalogue of the Han imperial library

1. Lëw Hin's catalogue of the Works in the imperial library of the early Han dynasty, prepared, as I have shown in the proleg. to vol. I., p. 4, about the commencement of our Christian era, begins, on the Ch'un Ts'ëw, with two collections of the *text* of the Classic:—'The old text of the Ch'un Ts'ëw in twelve *p'ëen*'; and 'The text of the Ch'un

Ts'ëw in eleven *keuen* or Books.'[1] This is followed by a list of the Chuen, or Commentaries, of Tso, Kung-yang, Kuh-lëang, Tsow, and Këah;[2] so that at this early time the text of the Classic was known, and there were writings of five different masters in illustration of it, the greater portion of which, the Chuen namely of Tso, Kung-yang, and Kuh-lëang, remain to the present day. A dozen other Works follow, mostly by Kung-yang and Kuh-lëang or their followers, showing how the Classic and the commentators on it had already engaged the attention of scholars.

The texts in the Han Catalogue.

2. Were the texts mentioned in the Han catalogue derived from the commentaries of Tso, Kung-yang, and Kuh-lëang, or from some other independent source? In a note to the entry about them, Yen Sze-koo of the T'ang dynasty says that they were taken from Kung-yang and Kuh-lëang. Many scholars confine his remark to the second collection, and it gives some countenance to this view that the commentaries of those two masters were then in *eleven* Books; but it is to be observed on the other hand that with the differences which exist in their texts they could hardly have been formed into one collection.

With regard to the first entry—'the old text in twelve *p'ëen*'—it is the general opinion that this was the text as taken from the Work of Tso. And there can be no doubt that during the Han dynasty the text and the commentary were kept separate in that Work, for Too Yu tells us that in his edition of it, early in the Tsin dynasty, he 'took the years of the text and arranged them along with the corresponding years of the commentary.'[1] Moreover, in the Han dynasty, Tso's school and that of Kung-yang were distinguished as the old or ancient and the new or modern.[2] To myself, however, the more natural interpretation of 'the old text' in the entry appears to be—the text in the ancient character; and if there were evidence to show that there was an edition of the text in Lëw Hin's time, independent of that derived from the three commentaries, the result would be satisfactory. Yuen[3] Yuen was the first, so far as I know, to

[1] 春秋古經十二篇;經十一卷. [2] 左氏傳,三十卷;公羊傳,十一卷;穀梁傳,十一卷;鄒氏傳,十一卷;夾氏傳,十一卷.

[1] 分經之年,與傳之年相附. [2] 左氏先著竹帛,故漢時謂之古學,公羊漢時乃興,故謂之今學;—see the 十三經策案,卷十七, at the beginning. [3] 阮元;—see the proleg. to vol. I., p. 133.

do this, in the present century. In the preface to his 'Examination of the text of Tso's Commentary and K'ung Ying-tah's Annotations on it,'[4] he calls attention to the fact that among the discoveries of old tablets in the wall of Confucius' house[5] there were those of the Ch'un Ts'ëw. Pan Koo indeed omits to mention them in his appendix to Lëw Hin's catalogue of the Shoo and Works on it, where he speaks of the Shoo, the Le Ke, the Lun Yu, and the Hëaou King as having been thus found; but Heu Shin, in the preface to his dictionary, the Shwoh Wăn, published A.D. 100, adds to the tablets of these Works those of the Ch'un Ts'ëw.[6] I am willing therefore to believe that it was this copy of the text of the Ch'un Ts'ëw in the ancient character which headed the catalogue of Lëw Hin; and if it were so, all question as to the genuineness of our present Classic may be considered as at an end.

3. There are many of the scholars of China, who would hesitate to concur with me in this view, and prefer to abide by the opinion of which very full expression has been given by Ma Twan-lin. He

View on the subject of Ma Twan-lin.

says, 'Although there appears in the catalogue of the Han dynasty "The old Text of the Ch'un Ts'ëw," yet the original text, as corrected by the master, was never discovered; and the *old texts* compiled in the Han dynasty and subsequently have all been taken from the three commentaries, and called by the name of "The correct text." But there are many differences in the texts which appear in those commentaries, and it is impossible for the student to decide between them. For instance:—in I. i. 2 Tso gives the meeting between the marquis of Loo and E-foo of Choo as having taken place in Mëeh (蔑), while Kung and Kuh give the name as 眛, so that we cannot tell which of these characters the master wrote. So Mei (郿), in III. xxviii. 4, appears in Kung and Kuh as 微, and Keueh-yin (厥憖), in X. xi. 7, appears in Kung and Kuh as 屈銀. Instances of this kind are innumerable, but they are generally in the names of places and unimportant. In I. iii. 3, however, we have in Tso-she the entry 君氏卒, which would be the notice of the death of Shing Tsze, the mother of duke Yin, whereas in Kung and Kuh we read 尹氏卒, referring to the death of a high minister of Chow; so that we cannot tell whose death it was that the master chronicled as having taken place on

4 春秋左傳注疏校勘記. 5 See proleg. voi. I., pp. 12, 13. 6 壁中書者,魯共王壞孔子宅,而得,禮記,尚書,春秋,論語,孝經.

the day Sin-maou of the 4th month of the third year of duke Yin.[1]

'And not only so. In the 21st year of duke Sëang, both Kung-yang and Kuh-lëang have an entry to the effect that Confucius was then born. But in the Ch'un Ts'ëw only the births of the heir-sons of the rulers of States were entered, as in II. vi. 5. In other cases, the births even of hereditary nobles, who exercised an all-powerful sway in the government of their States, like the members of the Ke family [in Loo], did not find a place in the tablets; and though the master be the teacher of emperors and kings for myriads of ages, yet at his birth he was only the son of the commandant of the city of Tsow. The historiographers of Loo would not make a record of that event, and to say that he himself afterward entered it in the classic which he prepared, is in the highest degree absurd.

'Moreover Tso, after the capture of the *lin* in the 14th year of duke Gae, has further protracted the text to the 4th month of the 16th year, when the death of Chung-ne is recorded;—which even Tso Ching-nan considered to be not far from an act of forgery.

'Thus there are not only additions in the three commentaries to the proper text of the Ch'un Ts'ëw of things which are strange and partly incredible, but the authors of them added [to the text] and suppressed [portions of it] according to their pleasure. In what they write under the 21st year of Sëang, Kung and Kuh added to the text, to do honour to the master from whom they had received it, and Tso made his addition in the 16th year of Gae, to show his grief for the death of the master;—neither addition was in the original text of the Ch'un Ts'ëw. The three writers made their commentaries according to what was current in men's mouths, and what they heard with their ears, in their time, and each of them thrust in whatever addition he desired to make. Subsequent scholars again have adopted what they found in the three commentaries, one favouring this and another that, and trying to make it clear; but that they have attained to the mind of the sage in the use of his *stylus*, now writing down and now retrenching, a thousand years before them, is what I am not able to believe.'[2]

1 See my note on the passage in question, where I approve of a different interpretation of the text of Kung and Kuh from that which Ma Twan-lin mentions. My Chinese text in that passage is that of Kung and Kuh, and I take this opportunity to say that the text throughout is gathered from the K'ang-he edition of the Classic. The editors generally follow Tso-she; but occasionally, as in this case, they adopt the text of Kung or Kuh. They have not told us by what principles they were guided in the formation or preference of that which they have given.

2 春秋古經,雖漢藝文志有之,然夫子所修之春秋,其本文世所不見,而自漢以來,所編古經,則俱自三傳中

Ma's conclusions seem overstrained.

4. I have given the whole of Ma's remarks, because of the weight of his authority and the freedom with which he has expressed his views. The points, however, on which he insists do not make so unfavourable an impression on my mind against the integrity of our present text as they did upon his. That there was not in the Han dynasty a text of the Classic besides the texts found in the three commentaries is not so certain as he makes out. Very possibly, as I have shown in the second paragraph, a distinct text was found, as related by Heu Shin, in the year B.C. 153. But if we base the text simply on what is given in the commentaries, we must feel that we approximate very nearly to what it was when they made their appearance, to what it had been before the tyrant of Ts'in fancied that he had made an end of it. There is no evidence that anyone of them suppressed portions of the text as Ma affirms; and the additions of which he makes so much are only two, one by Kung-yang and Kuh-lëang

取出經文，名之曰正經耳，然三傳所載經文，多有異同，則學者何所折衷，如公及邾儀父盟於蔑，左氏以爲蔑，公穀以爲眛，則不知夫子所書者，曰蔑乎，曰眛乎，築郿，左氏以爲郿，公穀以爲微，則不知夫子所書者，曰郿乎，曰微乎，會於厥慭，公穀以爲屈銀，則不知夫子所書者，曰厥慭乎，曰屈銀乎，若是者，殆不可勝數，蓋不特亥豕魯魚之偶誤其一二而已，然此特名字之訛耳，其事未嘗背馳於大義，尙無所關也。至於君氏卒，則以爲聲子，魯之夫人也，尹氏卒，則以爲師尹，周之卿士也，然則夫子所書隱三年，夏四月辛卯之死者，竟爲何人乎，不寧惟是，公羊穀梁於襄公二十一年，皆書孔子生，按春秋惟國君世子生，則書之，子同生是也，其餘世卿擅國政，如季氏之徒，其生亦未嘗書之於册，夫子萬世帝王之師，然其始生，乃鄹邑大夫之子耳，魯史未必書也，魯史所不書，而謂夫子自紀其生之年，於所修之經，决無是理也，而左於哀公十四年獲麟之後，又復引經以至十六年四月，書仲尼卒，杜征南亦以爲近誣，然則春秋本文，其附見於三傳者，不特乖異未可盡信，而三子以意增損者有之矣，蓋襄二十一年所書者，公穀尊其師授而增書之也，哀十六年所書者，左氏痛其師亡而增書之也，俱非春秋之本文也，三子者，以當時口耳所傳受者，各自爲傳，又以其意之所欲增益者，攙入之，後世諸儒，復據其見於三子之書者，互有所左右而發明之，而以爲得聖人筆削之意於千載之上，吾未之能信也。

(with a variation, however, to which he does not advert), and one by Tso, for we may consider all the paragraphs that follow the account of the capture of the *lin* as one addition. They were both very natural, and I should suppose were intended originally as notes rather than additions to the text. The various readings again in the three are really not of great importance. Occurring mostly in the names of men and places,[3] they need not trouble us more than different ways of spelling unusual words in different editions of an English book would do. The most important variation of another character between them is that on which Ma insists so strongly,—君氏 and 尹氏 in I. iii. 3. This is not what we may compare to an error of orthography, arising from writing the same sound in different ways;—it is evidently an error of transcription. Tso, I am of opinion, copied down 君 instead of 尹, and then tried, ingeniously but unsatisfactorily, to account in his commentary for the unusual combination of 君氏. Kung and Kuh copied 尹 correctly, but their historical knowledge was not sufficint to enable them to explain who 尹氏 was. Ma has altogether overlooked the consideration of the value attaching to the various readings as showing the independence of the three recensions. Adding to them the two of Tsow and Këah which soon perished, we have five different texts of the Ch'un Ts'ëw in existence in the second century before our era. Tso, Kung-yang, and Kuh-lëang, had each his school of adherents, who sought to exalt the views of their master above those of his rivals. It is still competent to us to pronounce upon their respective views, and weigh the claims which they have to our consideration; but the question at present is simply about their texts. Notwithstanding the differences between these, there is no doubt in my mind that they flowed from a common original,

3 The following passage from Woo Ch'ing (吳澂; A.D. 1249-1333), may be considered as decisive on this point. I adduce it in preference to others, because he touches on some other matters which will interest some of my readers.—春秋經十二篇,左氏,公羊,穀梁各有不同,昔朱子刻易,書,詩,春秋,於臨漳郡,春秋一經,止用左氏經文,而曰,公,穀,二經,所以異者,類多人名地名,而非大意所繫,故不能悉具,竊謂三傳得失,先儒固言之矣,載事,則左氏詳於公穀,釋經則公穀精於左氏,意者左氏必有案據之書,而公穀多是傳聞之說,況人名地名之殊,或因語音字畫之舛,此類一從左氏可也.然有考之於義,確然見左氏爲失,而公穀爲得者,則又豈容以偏徇哉.

—an original which must have been compiled by Confucius from the Ch'un Ts'ëw of Loo. On the subsequent preservation of that text it is not necessary to enter, excepting in so far as the early history of the three commentaries is concerned. When the authority of them was once established, there was a succession of scholars who from dynasty to dynasty devoted themselves to the illustration of them, the Works of hundreds of whom are existing at the present day. It may not be possible for us to determine the exact reading, of names especially, in every paragraph, and there may be lacunæ in other paragraphs, and some paragraphs perhaps were lost before the three texts were transcribed; but the text as formed from them must in my opinion be considered, notwithstanding its various readings, as a fair reproduction of what Confucius wrote, a sufficient copy of the Work by which he felt that posterity would judge him.

I proceed in the next section to describe the three early commentaries, after which we shall be prepared to estimate the value of the Work itself.

SECTION IV.

THE THREE EARLY COMMENTARIES ON THE CH'UN TS'ËW.

1. Of the three early commentaries the first which made its appearance in the Han dynasty, and incomparably the most important, was that of Tso, or of Tso-k'ëw, for the opinions of scholars differ both as to the surname and the name of the author.[1] The account of it given by Pan Koo is—that Tso

The commentary of Tso.

1 It is a common opinion, which Mr. Wylie (General Notes on Chinese Literature, p. 6) endorses without hesitation, that the 'Narratives of the States' was by the same author as the Commentary about which we are inquiring; and we have the testimony of Sze-ma Ts'ëen's autobiographical letter to a friend (漢書六十二,司馬遷傳第三十二), as to his surname being Tso-k'ëw, and name Ming (左丘失明,厥有國語; and again, 左丘明無目). Our Tso would then have the surname of Tso-k'ëw. This is still held by many. Choo E-tsun particularly insists on it as a point 'exceedingly clear,' and explains the dropping of the K'ëw (丘 or 邱) from a superstitious feeling not to be always repeating the name of the Master (孔邱). Pan Koo appears to have considered the simple Tso to be the surname and K'ëw-ming the name; and there are many who concur with him. Others maintain that the surname was simply Tso, and that the name has been lost. So it is virtually now, for the Work is simply called the Tso Chuen. On these disputes about the surname and name, Hwang Tsih (黃澤; Yuen dynasty) says with truth:—左邱明,或謂姓左邱,名明,非傳春秋者,傳春秋者蓋姓左,而失其名,愚謂去古既遠,此以爲是,彼以爲非,又焉有定論.

K'ëw-ming was a disciple of the sage, who consulted along with him the historical records of Loo, before making his great Work; that when it was made, it was not advisable to publish it because of the praise and censure, the concealments and suppressions, which abounded in it, and that therefore he delivered it by word of mouth to the disciples, who thereupon withdrew and gave different accounts of the events referred to in it; that K'ëw-ming, in order that the truth might not be lost, made his commentary, or narratives of those events, to make it clear that the master had not in his text used empty words; and finally, that it was necessary for him to keep his work concealed, to avoid the persecutions of the powerful rulers and officers whose conduct was freely and fully described in it.[2] Pan Koo's account is correct thus far, that we have in Tso's Work a detailed account of most of the events of which the text of Confucius gives only hints. The Ch'un Ts'ëw may be loosely compared to the headings or summaries of contents which are prefixed to the chapters in many editions of our Bibles, and Tso's commentaries to the chapters themselves. But we shall find that they contain more than this.

Who Tso was.

2. Who Tso was it is not easy to say. In the Analects, V. xxiv., Confucius says, 'Fine words, an insinuating appearance, and excessive respect;—Tso-k'ëw Ming was ashamed of such things, and I also am ashamed of them. To conceal resentment against a person, and appear friendly with him;—Tso-k'ëw Ming was ashamed of such conduct, and I also am ashamed of it.'[1] Chaou K'e says, on the authority of K'ung Gan-kwoh, that the person whom Confucius spoke of thus, was the grand-historiographer of Loo, but adds nothing as to his being contemporary with the sage, or of an earlier time. The critics generally hold that he was some Worthy of an earlier age, on the ground that Confucius only drew comparisons between himself and men of a former period.[2] I am not fully convinced by their reasonings. The Chinese text of the Analects is not so definite as the English translation of it. What Confucius says about Tso-k'ëw Ming might be rendered in the present tense in the same way as what he says about himself. Nothing, however, would be gained by discussing a text on which it is not possible to arrive at a

1 *E.g.* Chaou K'wang(趙匡; of the T'ang dynasty) says:—論語左邱明耻之,丘亦耻之,夫子自比,皆引往人,故曰竊比於我老彭,又說伯夷等六人,云我則異於是,竝非同時人也,邱明者蓋夫子以前賢人,如史佚遲任之流,見稱於當時爾.

2 趙襄子.

positive decision. At the same time I may say that the view that Tso was a disciple of the master has very formidable difficulties to encounter. The Classic stops in the 14th year of duke Gae, B.C. 480, but Tso's commentary extends to the 4th year of duke Taou, Gae's successor, B.C. 463. In the last paragraph of it, moreover, there is an allusion to the ruin and death of Seun Yaou or Che Pih, a great officer of Tsin, which took place in 452, 27 or 28 years after the close of the Ch'un Ts'ëw. Not only so. The Head of the Chaou family is mentioned in the same paragraph by his posthumous or honorary title, and of course he could not have received it till after his death, which took place in B.C. 424, 56 years after the capture of the *lin*, and 54 years after the death of the sage. Is it possible to believe that one so much younger than Confucius was among his disciples and possessed his confidence to the extent which the commonly received accounts of the making of the Ch'un Ts'ëw suppose?

First appearance and subsequent history of his commentary.

3. Leaving these speculations about the name and person of Tso, we find that his commentary made its appearance soon after the rise of the Han dynasty. Heu Shin to his account of the discovery of the Ch'un Ts'ëw in the wall of Confucius house, quoted on p. 18, subjoins the statement that Chang Ts'ang, marquis of Pih-p'ing presented the commentary of Tso written in the old characters of the Chow dynasty.[1] Now this Chang Ts'ang had been high in office under the Ts'in dynasty, in charge, it would appear, of the imperial library. Having joined the party of the duke of P'ei, the founder of the Han dynasty, he became at last a favourite with him, and was placed in various positions of the greatest trust.[2] His appointment to be marquis of Pih-p'ing[3] took place in B.C. 200, about fifty years before the discovery of the text in the wall of Confucius' house. Heu Shin says that 'Chang presented' the Work, meaning, I suppose, that he did so to the first emperor of Han, who was too much occupied, however, with the establishment of his dynasty to give much attention to literary matters. But after the time of Chang Ts'ang we never lose sight of Tso's commentary. From him it passed to Këa E, of whom we have many notices as a famous

1 北平侯張蒼獻春秋左氏傳, 郡國亦往往于山川得鼎彝, 其銘卽前代之古文. 2 See the 漢書, 四十二, 傳第十二, the first memoir. 3 Pih-p'ing embraced the present department of Yung-p'ing, Chih-le, and some tadjacent territory.

scholar and statesman in the reign of the emperor Wăn (B.C. 178—156).[4] He published a Work of his own upon it;[5] and then it passed on to his grandson Këa Këa,[6] and Kwan Kung,[7] a great scholar at the court of King Hëen of Ho-këen,[8] through whom an attempt was made to obtain for it the imperial recognition, which was defeated by the friends of the commentary of Kung-yang. This, though later in making its appearance, had already found a place in the imperial college.[9] Kwan Kung transmitted his treasure to his youngest son, named Chang-k'ing,[10] and from him it went on to Chang Ch'ang[11] and Chang Yu,[12] both famous men of their time. To one of them, no doubt, belonged the 'Niceties of the Ch'un Ts'ëw, by Chang-she,' mentioned in Lëw Hin's catalogue.[13] Yu was intimate with Sëaou Wang-che,[14] perhaps the most distinguished man of the time, whom he interested in the Work of Tso, so that he called the attention to it of the emperor Seuen (B.C. 72–48), and it might now have been formally recognized but for Yu's death. The names of Yin Kăng-ch'e[15] and his son Yin Hëen,[16] of Teih Fang-tsin,[17] Hoo Chang,[18] and Këa Hoo[19] lead us from Yu to Lëw Hin.[20] Hin's connexion with Tso's Work may be considered as forming an era in its history. 'Having found,' we are told in his biography, 'in the imperial library, the Ch'un Ts'ëw and Tso's Chuen in the ancient characters, he became very fond of them. At that time Yin Hëen, a secretary of the prime minister, being well acquainted with Tso-she, examined along with Hin the text and commentary. Hin took his opinion in some particulars, and sought to learn the correct interpretation and great aim of the Works by application to the prime minister Teih Fang-tsin. Before this, because of the many ancient characters and ancient sayings in Tso's Chuen, students had contented themselves with simply explaining their meaning; but when Hin took it in hand, he quoted the words of the commentary to explain the text, and made

4 漢書,四十八,傳第十八. 5 賈誼春秋左氏傳訓故. 6 賈嘉. 7 貫公. 8 See the proleg. to vol. IV. p. 11. 9 K'ung Ying-tah, in his preface to Too Yu's edition of the Tso Chuen says:—漢武帝 (B.C. 139—86) 時,河間獻左氏,議立左學,公羊之徒上書詆左氏,左氏之學不立. 10 長卿. 11 張敞. 12 張禹. 13 張氏春秋微,十篇. 14 蕭望之. There is a long and interesting memoir of him in the 漢書,七十八. We find him, on his first introduction to the emperor Seuen, appealing to a passage in the Ch'un Ts'ëw. 15 尹更始 16 尹咸. 17 翟方進. 18 胡常. 19 賈護. 20 劉歆.

them throw light on each other, and from this time the exhibition of them in paragraphs and clauses was cultivated. Hin preferred Tso to Kung-yang and Kuh-lëang, considering that he agreed in his likings and dislikings with the sage, and that he had himself seen the master,—a very different case from that of Kung and Kuh who were subsequent to the seventy disciples'[21] The history then relates the disputes between Hin and his father Hëang, who was an adherent of the commentary of Kuh-lëang, and how he made an attempt to get the emperor Gae (B.C. 5— A.D.) to give Tso a place in the imperial college along with Kung and Kuh, which was defeated by the jealousy of their supporters. From this time, however, the advocates of Tso-she became more numerous and determined to have justice done to their master. They were successful for a short time in the reign of the emperor P'ing (A.D. 1—5), but Tso's Work was again degraded as of less authority than the other two commentaries; and though Këa Kwei[22] presented an argument on forty counts to prove its superiority, which was well received by the emperor Chang (A.D. 76—88), it was not till A.D. 99, under the emperor Ho,[23] that the footing of Tso in the imperial college was finally established. The famous Ch'ing K'ang-shing (A.D. 127—199) having replied to three Works of Ho Hëw,[24] the maintainer of the authority of Kung-yang, against Tso and Kuh-lëang, and shown the superiority of Tso, the other two commentaries began from this time to sink into neglect. It is melancholy to read the list of writers on Tso during the second and third dynasties of Han, of whom we have only fragmentary sentences remaining; but in A.D. 280, Too Yu or Too Yuen-k'ae, a scholar and general at the commencement of the Tsin dynasty,[25] completed a great Work under the title of 'Collected Explanations of the Text and Commentary of Tso-she on the Ch'un Ts'ëw, in thirty chapters.'[26] This Work still remains, and will ever be a monument of the scholarship and painstaking of the writer.

21 See the 漢書三十六,楚元王,傳第六. I have carefully read over the Work of 劉逢祿 of the present dynasty, included in the 皇清經解, and called 左氏春秋考證, in which he labours to upset all the testimony about Lëw Hin, but it is quite inconclusive and unsatisfactory. 22 賈逵. 23 Luh Tih-ming and others say this took place under Ho, in the 11th year of the period 元興. But that period lasted only one year. 元興 must be a mistake for 永元. 24 何休;—see further on. 25 春秋左氏經傳集解,三十卷;—by 杜預, styled 元凱. He is also called 征南, from his military operations in the South, as in the quotation from Ma Twan-lin on p. 19. He was born A.D. 222, and died in 284.

4. Nothing need be said on the history of the commentary of Tso since the beginning of the Han dynasty. Some of the scholars of that age traced it back from Chang Ts'ang to nearly the time of Confucius, and K'ung Ying-tah in his preface to Too Yu's Work quotes the following from a production of Lëw Hëang (B.C. 80—9) which is now lost:—'Tso K'ëw-ming delivered his Work to Tsăng Shin. Shin transmitted it to Woo K'e; Woo K'e to his son K'e; K'e to Toh Tsëaou, a native of Ts'oo, who copied out selections from it in 8 books; Toh Tsëaou to Yu K'ing, who made 9 books of selections from it; Yu K'ing to Seun K'ing; and Seun K'ing to Chang Ts'ang.'[1] I wish we had different and more authority for this statement, as Hëang was not himself an adherent of Tso's Work. In his son Hin's catalogue which I have already referred to, two Works are mentioned by Toh-she and Yu-she, but there is nothing in their titles to connect them with Tso;[2] and Sze-ma Ts'ëen says nothing in his memoir of Seun K'ing about any connexion that he had with the transmission of the commentary.[3] Tsăng Shin was the grandson of Tsăng Sin, one of Confucius' principal disciples,—the Tsăng Se of Mencius, II. Pt. i. I. 3. Tso's committing his Work to him would agree with what I have said in par. 2, and cast a doubt on his being a contemporary of the sage himself.

Attempt to trace Tso's Work nearly to the time of Confucius.

5. I have said that generally we have in the Work of Tso the details of the events of which we have but a shadow or the barest intimation in the text of the Ch'un Ts'ëw; but we have more than this. Of multitudes of events that during the 242 years of the Ch'un Ts'ëw period took place in Loo and other States, to which the text makes no allusion, we have from Tso a full account. Where he got his information he does not tell us. Too Yu is probably correct when he says that Tso was himself one of the historiographers of Loo.[1] Whatever of the history of that State was on record he was familiar with. If the records of other States were also collected there, he had studied them equally with those of his own. If he did not find them there, he must

The nature of Tso's Work.

[1] 劉向別錄云,左邱明授曾申,申授吳起,起授其子期,期授楚人鐸椒,椒作抄撮八卷,授虞卿,卿作抄撮九卷.授荀卿,卿授張蒼. [2] 鐸氏微三篇;虞氏微傳二篇. [3] See the 史記七十四,列傳第十四.

[1] 身爲國史,躬覽載籍,必廣記而備言之.

have gone in search of them, for he is as much at home in the events of Chow, Tsin, Ts'e, Sung, Ch'ing, Ts'oo, and other States, as he is in those of Loo. And not only does he draw from the records about the ruling Houses of the States, but also from the histories of the principal families or clans and the chief men in them.[2] From whatever quarter, in whatever way, he got his information, he has transmitted it to us. The events and the characters of the time pass as in reality and life before us. In no ancient history of any country have we such a vivid picture of any lengthened period of its annals as we have from Tso of the 270 years which he has embraced in his Work. Without his Chuen the text of the sage would be of little value. Let the former be preserved, and we should have no occasion to regret the loss of the latter.

To myself it appears plain that Tso's Work was compiled on a twofold plan. First, he had reference to the text of the Ch'un Ts'ëw, and wished to give the details of the events which were indicated in it. Occasionally also he sets himself to explain the words of that text, being sometimes successful and sometimes not. He lays down canons to regulate the meaning and application of certain characters, but it can hardly be said that we find him under the influence of the 'praise-and-censure' theory. In this respect he differs remarkably from Kung-yang and Kuh-lëang; and I have sometimes fancied that the characteristic is an evidence that he lived before Mencius, and had never read the accounts of the Classic which we find in him. His object evidently was to convey to his readers a knowledge of the facts given in the master's paragraphs as if independent and isolated in their connexion with one another. Hence he often mentions new facts which are necessary for that

Tso's Work compiled on a two-fold plan. He wished first to explain the text.

2 The following passage from Tan Tsoo (啖助) of the T'ang dynasty sets forth correctly this characteristic of Tso's work, and I adduce it without reference to Tsoo's peculiar opinions about our author:—左氏傳自周,晉,齊,宋,楚,鄭等國之事最詳,晉,則每出一師,具列將佐,宋,則每因興廢,備舉六卿,故知史策之文,每國各異,左氏得此數國之史以授門人,義則口傳,未形竹帛,後代學者乃演而通之,總而合之,編次年月,以爲傳記,又廣采當時文籍,故兼與子產,晏子,及諸國卿佐家傳,幷卜書及雜占書,縱橫家小說諷諫等,雜在其中,故叙事雖多,釋意甚少,是非交錯,混然難證,其大略皆是左氏舊意,故比餘傳,其功最高,博采諸家,叙事尤備,能令百代之下頗見本末.

purpose. As he generally introduces them chronologically, at the time of their occurrence, he seems at times merely to increase the mass of indigested matter; but by and by we find what he has thus related to stand in the relation of cause to something subsequently chronicled. But his method with these additions to the text, which are yet connected with it, is very various. As Too Yu says, 'Now he anticipates the text to show the origin of an affair; now he comes after the text [with his narrative] to bring out fully the meaning; now he lies alongside the text to discriminate the principles in it; and now he appears to cross the text to bring together things that differ:—thus various according to what he considered the requirements of the case.'[3] What is very surprising is that he does not appear to be conscious of frequent discrepancies between the details of his narratives and the things as stated by Confucius. Now and then, as on VI. xviii. 6, he says that the text conceals the nature of the fact; but generally he seems insensible of the untrustworthiness of the representation in it.

Let it be understood, however, that Tso does not give the details of every event which the Classic briefly indicates. We must suppose that where he does not do so, his sources of information failed him, and he was obliged to leave the notice of the text as it was. There is the erroneous or defective entry in III. xxiv. 9,—'The duke of Kwoh.' On it Tso says nothing. So on the five paragraphs of Chwang's 26th year he has nothing to say, while he introduces brief narratives of two other things, for the latter of which only we can account as being given with an outlook into the future. Generally speaking, the information given in the Chuen is scanty or abundant in proportion to its distance from or nearness to the era assigned to its compilation. The 18 years of duke Hwan, B.C. 710—693, occupy in the following Work 37 pages; the 15 years of duke Ting, B.C. 508—494, 50 pages. The 32 years of Chwang, B.C. 692—661, occupy 59 pages; the 32 of Ch'aou, B.C. 540—509, 173 pages. This certainly gives us for the Work one attribute of verisimilitude.[4]

3 傳先經以始事,或後經以終義,或依經以辯理,或錯經以合異,隨義而發;—see Too's preface. 4 I take the opportunity to advert here to a question which has produced no end of speculation and discussion among the scholars of China.—Why does the Ch'un Ts'ëw begin with duke Yin? Might we not have expected the sage to go back to the first origin of the State of Loo? I believe that the only reasonable answer to these inquiries is this,—that the annals of the State previous to duke Yin's rule had been altogether lost, or were in such a miserable state of dilapidation and disarrangement that nothing could be made of them. We might have expected a sentence or two from the sage to enlighten us on the subject; but his oracle is dumb. Neither does the Chuen say anything about it. How different the practice of writers of history in the West!

The second view of Tso;—to give a general view of the history of China during the Ch'un Ts'ëw period.

But while Tso intended his Work to be a commentary on the text of the Ch'un Ts'ëw, I believe that he had in view another and higher object, and wished to give his readers a general view of the history of the country throughout all its States during the Ch'un Ts'ëw period. The account of the Chuen quoted above from Too Yu carries us a considerable way to this conclusion. Tso shows the origin and issue of many events, one phase of which merely is mentioned in the text. The unconnected entries of the classic are thus woven together, and a history is made out of them. But the new matter introduced by him is so very much, and often having no relation to anything stated in the text, yet calculated to bring the whole field of the era before us, and to indicate the progress of events on towards a different state of the kingdom, that we must suppose this to have been a prominent object in the author's mind. This characteristic of the Work has not escaped the notice of native scholars themselves. As early as the Tsin dynasty, Wang Tsëeh preferred to it the commentary of Kung-yang on this account. 'Tso's style,' said he,' is so rich, and his aim so extensive, that he is to be regarded as an author by himself, and not having it for his principal object to illustrate the classic.'[5] Nearly to the same effect is the account of Tso's Chuen given by Wang Cheh of the Sung dynasty. After praising Tso as a skilful reader of the old histories and collector of various narratives, so that he accumulated a very complete account of the events in the Ch'un Ts'ëw, he yet adds:—'But though his book was made as an appendix to the classic, yet, apart from and outside that, it forms a book by itself, the author of which was led away by his fondness for strange stories, and carried his collecting them beyond what was proper. He was remiss in setting forth the fine and minute ideas of the sage, but yet his Work has a beginning and end, being all the compilation of one hand.' Chinese scholars write of Tso under the influence of their admiration and veneration for the sage. I could wish that he had written altogether independently of the Classic, in which case we might have had a history of those times as complete as a man

[5] 王接曰,左氏辭義贍富,自是一家書,不主爲經發;—see the 經義考, Bk. 169, p. 3. In Bk. 174, p. 3, there is quoted from him his contrary view of Kung-yang:—公羊附經立傳,經所不書傳不妄起,於文爲儉,通經爲長.

knowing only the heroes and events of his own country could make. It is not too much to call Tso the Froissart of China. The historical novel called 'The History of the various States' shows the use which can be made of his narratives. They lie necessarily in my pages so many *disjecta membra*, but some one may yet give, mainly from them, an account of the closing centuries of the feudal state of China that shall be found to have an universal interest.

6. Three more points in regard to Tso's Work have yet to be considered:—the manner of his composition; how far his narratives are entitled to our belief; and whether there is reason to believe that additions were made to them by writers of the Ts'in and Han dynasties. By the manner of Tso's composition I do not mean the general character of his style. There is but one opinion as to that. It is acknowledged on all hands that he was a master of his

Peculiarity of Tso's composition.

art. Condensed, yet vivid, he is eminently pictorial. The foreign student does not for some time find it easy to make out his meaning, but by and by he gets familiar with the style, and it then has a great charm for him. In the words which the foremost of French sinologues once used to me of him, Tso was *un grand ecrivain.*[1] But the peculiarity which I have in view is the way in which Tso constantly varies the appellations of the actors in his narratives. Very often they are named by their sacrificial or honorary epithets which were not given to them till after their death, so that it is plain he did not copy out the contemporaneous accounts or records which we suppose him to have had before him, and some critics have from this contended that the narratives were entirely constructed by himself, not drawn from historical sources.[2] But such a conclusion is more than the premiss will justify. Tso might very well call his subjects of a former time by the titles which had been accorded to them after their death, and by which

6 王哲曰，左氏善覽舊史，兼該衆說，得春秋之事亦甚備。其書雖附經而作，然於經外自成一書，故有貪惑異說，采掇過當，至於聖人微旨，頗亦疎略，而大抵有本末，蓋出於一手之所撰述。

1 I select only two Chinese testimonies of the excellence of Tso's style. The first is from Seun Sung (荀崧) of the Tsin dynasty:—其書善禮，多膏腴美辭，張本繼末，以發明經意，信多奇偉，學者好之。 The other is from Choo E-tsun of the present dynasty:—匪獨詳事也，文之簡要不可及。

2 *E. g.*, Lew Hwang (劉貺) of the T'ang dynasty says:—左氏紀年，序諸侯列會，具舉其論，知是後人追修，非當世正史也。

men generally would in his days speak of them. What is really perplexing is that in the same account the same individual is now called by his name, now by his honorary epithet, and now by his designation, or by one or other of his designations if he had more than one, so that the narrative becomes very confused, and it requires considerable research on the part of the reader to make out who is denominated in all this variety of ways. To give only one example:—in the account of the battle of Peih, in the 12th year of duke Seuen, of the leaders on the side of Tsin, we have, 1st, Seun Lin-foo, who by and by is styled Hwan-tsze;[3] 2d, Sze Hwuy, who is variously denominated Woo-tsze of Suy, Suy Ke, and Sze Ke, while elsewhere he is called Woo-tsze of Fan;[4] 3d, Sëen Hwoh, also called Che-tsze, and elsewhere Yuen Hwoh, or Hwoh of Yuen;[5] 4th, Seun Show, called also Che Chwang-tsze and Che Ke;[6] 5th, Han Keueh, by and by Han Hëen-tsze;[7] 6th, Lwan Shoo, by and by Lwan Woo-tsze;[8] 7th, Chaou Soh, by and by Chaou Chwang-tsze;[9] and 8th, Keih K'ih, by and by Keih Hëen-tsze.[10] Similar instances might be quoted in great number. Chaou Yih says that such a method of varying names and appellations was characteristic of the style of that time.[11] If, indeed, it was characteristic of the time, I must think that Tso possessed it in an exaggerated degree. The confusion produced by it in his Work seems to have led to its cure. Sze-ma Ts'ëen and the writers of the Books of Han are careful, at the commencement of their biographies, to give the surname, name, and designation or designations of their subjects, so that the student has none of the perplexity in reading them, which he finds with Tso's Chuen.

The other two points regarding the Work, which I indicated are of more importance, and I will consider them together. Have we

Are Tso's narratives reliable? Were they supplemented or added to.

reason to receive Tso's narratives as reliable, having been transcribed by him from pre-existent records with merely such modifications of style as suited his taste? Or did he invent some of them himself? Or were they added to by writers in the Ts'in dynasty and that of

[3] 荀林父;桓子. [4] 士會;隨武子;隨季;士季;范武子. [5] 先縠;彘子;原縠. [6] 荀首;知莊子;知季. [7] 韓厥;韓獻子. [8] 欒書;欒武子. [9] 趙朔;趙莊子. [10] 郤克;郤獻子. [11] 篇中或用名,或用字,或用謚號,蓋當時文法如此;—see Chaou on the Ch'un Ts'ëw, Ch 左傳叙事氏名錯雜.

the Former Han? It is difficult to reply to these questions categorically. What has the greatest weight with me in favour of Tso's general credibility is the difference between his commentary and those of Kung-yang and Kuh-lëang. What of narrative belongs to the latter bears upon it the stamp of tradition, and evidently was not copied from written records but from accounts current in the mouths of men. It is, moreover, of comparatively small compass. Their Works must have been written when the memory of particular events in the past had in a great measure died out. If Tso's sources of information had been available for them, they would, we may be sure, have made use of them. The internal evidence of the three Works leaves no doubt in the mind as to the priority of Tso's. And as they all made their appearance early in the Han dynasty, we are carried back for the composition of Tso's into the period of Chow. As his last entry is about an affair in the 4th year of duke Taou, who died B.C. 430, and he mentions in it the Head of the Chaou family in Tsin by his honorary epithet of Sëang-tsze, which could not have been given before 424, we can hardly be wrong in assigning Tso to the fifth century before Christ. This brings him close to the age of Confucius who died in B.C. 478. Tso may then have been a young man;—he could hardly be a disciple enjoying that intimate association with the sage which Lew Hin, Pan Koo, and other Chinese scholars were fond of asserting.

But to maintain the general credibility of Tso's Chuen as having been taken from authoritative sources and records acknowledged as genuine among the States of China when he wrote, leaves us at freedom to weigh his narratives and form our own opinion on grounds of reason as to the degree of confidence which we ought to repose in them. There are few critics of eminence among the Chinese who do not allow themselves a certain amount of liberty in this respect. Ch'ing E-ch'uen laid down two canons on the subject. 'The Chuen of Tso,' he says, 'is not to be entirely believed; but only that portion of it which is in itself credible.'[12] To this no objection can be taken; but he opens a very difficult question, when he goes on, 'We should from the Chuen examine the details of the events referred to in the text, and by means of the text discriminate between what

[12] 程子曰,左傳不可全信,信其所可信者爾,以傳考經之事迹,以經別傳之眞僞;—see the 經義考, Bk. 169. p. 5

is true and false in the Chuen.'[13] On this I shall have to give an opinion in the next section, and only remark now that if we find the statements of the text and the Chuen in regard to matters of history irreconcileable, the most natural course would seem to be to decide in favour of the latter.

The K'ang-he editors defer in general to the authority of Tso; but even they do not scruple to suppress his narratives occasionally, or to elide portions of them. They suppress, for instance, the account of the conference between the marquises of Loo and Ts'e at Këah-kuh, given under XI. x. 2, considering the part which Confucius is made to play at it to be derogatory to him.

Wang Gan-shih[14] of the Sung dynasty published a treatise under the title of 'Explanations of the Ch'un Ts'ëw,' in which he undertook to prove from eleven instances that the Chuen was not composed by Tso K'ëw-ming of the Chow dynasty, but by some one of a later date, under the dynasty, probably, of Ts'in.[14] Wang's treatise is unfortunately lost, and we know not what all the eleven instances were. One of them was the use of the term *lah*[15] in the Chuen on V. v. 9, to denominate a sacrifice after the winter solstice, which, it is contended, was first appointed under the dynasty of Ts'in. It may have been another where in IX. xi. 10 and xii. 5 we find mention made of military commanders of Ts'in with the title of *shoo chang*,[16] which, again it is contended, was of later date than the Chow dynasty. Ch'ing E-ch'uen at any rate adduces these two as cases in the Chuen of purely Ts'in phraseology.[17]

Apart from any discussion of these instances, I venture to state my own opinion, that interpolations were made in the Chuen after Tso had put his finishing touch to it, and probably during the dynasty of the former Han; and there are two classes of passages which seem to bear on them and in them the evidence of having been so dealt with.

[i] There are the moralizings which conclude many narratives and are interjected in others, generally with the formula—'The superior man will say,' and sometimes as if quoted from Confucius. They have often nothing or next to nothing to do with the subject of the narrative to which they are attached, and the manner in which they occasionally bring in quotatious from the odes reminds

13 王安石. 14 See the 欽定四庫全書總目,卷二十六, upon the 春秋左傳正義. 15 虞不臘矣在此行. 16 庶長. 17 虞不臘矣,幷庶長皆秦官秦語.

us of Han Ying's Illustrations of the She, of which I have given specimens in the proleg. to vol. IV. Choo He well asks what connexion the concluding portion of the Chuen after I. vi. 2 has to do with what precedes, and points out many reflections in other parts which cannot be considered as the utterances of a superior man but the speculations of a mere scholar.[18] Lin Leuh of the Sung dynasty and a multitude of other scholars attribute all these passages to Lëw Hin.[19] They certainly seem to me to bear upon them the Han stamp.

[ii.] There is a host of passages which contain predictions of the future, or allusions to such predictions, grounded on divination, meteorological and astrological considerations, and something in the manner or deportment of the parties concerned;—predictions which turn out to be true. We may be sure that none of these were made at the time assigned to them in the Chuen. Some of them which had their fulfilment before the end of the Ch'un Ts'ëw period may have been current in Tso's days, and incorporated by him with his narrative. Others, like the ending of the Chow dynasty after an existence of so many hundred years, the fulfilment of which was at a later date, were, no doubt, fabricated subsequently to that fulfilment, and interpolated during the time of the first Han.

But after deducting all these suspicious portions from Tso's Chuen, there remains the mass of it, which we may safely receive as having been compiled by him from records made contemporaneously with the events, and transmitted by him with the graces of his own style. It is, in my opinion, the most precious literary treasure which has come down to posterity from the Chow dynasty.

[18] 左傳君子曰,最無意思,因舉芟夷蘊崇一段,是關上文甚事,左傳是一箇審利害之幾,善避就底人,所以其書有貶死節等事,其間議論,有極不是處,如周鄭交質之類,是何議論,其曰宋宣公可謂知人矣,立穆公,其子饗之,命以義夫,只知有利害,不知有義理,此段不如公羊,說君子大居正,却是儒者議論;—see the Critical Introduction to the K'ang-he Ch'un Ts'ëw, pp. 28, 29. [19] 林栗曰,左傳凡言君子曰,是劉歆之辭 [20] The following is a list of passages of the character spoken of:—on I. iii. 5; vii. after 4: II. ii. 4; ix. 4: III. i. at the beginning; xi. 3; xx. at the beg.; xxi. 2; xxii. 3; xxxii. after 1: IV. i. at the end; ii. after 3: V. ii. after 3; xi. after 1; xii. 3d after 1; xiv. 4; xv. 13; xxii. at the end; xxxi. 9: VI. i. 3; v. after 3; ix. 12; x. 3; xiv. 5; xv. 12: VII. iii. 4, 8; iv. last but one; xiv. 6; xv. last but one: VIII. xiv. 1; xv. 7; xvi. at the end: IX. xxi. 8; xxiv. 5, and at the end; xxvii. 5; xxix. 2d and 4th after 1, 8; xxx. 7, and after 7; xxxi. at the beg., 2, 5, and after 7: X. 2, and 2d after 2, 4; vii. 4; ix. 3; x. at the beg.; xi. 2, 3, and after 3; xii. 3; xv. 2, and after 6; xviii. at the beg.; xx. at the beg.; xxi. at the beg., 1; xxv. 1; xxxi. 7; xxxii. 2, 4: XI. ix. 3; xv. 1: XII. ix. after 4. In the 困學紀聞集

7. On the other two early commentaries, those of Kung-yang and Kuh-lëang, it is not necessary that I should write at so much length. There is really nothing in them to entitle them to serious attention. Down to the present day, indeed, there are scholars in China who publish their lucubrations in favour of the one or of the other; but I think that my readers will all agree with me in the opinion which I have expressed about them, when they have examined the specimens of them which are appended to this chapter.

The commentaries of Kung-yang and Kuh-lëang.

The commentaries themselves and various Works upon them are mentioned in Lëw Hin's catalogue;—as stated above on page 17.

With regard to the Work of Kung-yang, Tae Hwăng, of the second Han dynasty, tells us that Kung-yang Kaou received the Ch'un Ts'ëw and explanations of it from Confucius' disciple Puh Shang or Tsze-hëa, and handed it down to his son Kung-yang P'ing; that P'ing handed it down again to his son Te; Te to his son Kan; Kan to his son Show; and that, in the reign of the emperor King (B.C. 155—140), Show, with his disciple Hoo-woo Tsze-too, committed it to bamboo and silk. According to this account, the Work was not committed to writing till about the middle of the second century before Christ. If it were really transmitted, from mouth to mouth, down to that time from the era of Confucius, we can hardly suppose that it did not suffer very considerably, now receiving additions and now losing portions, in its onward course.[2] The fact, moreover, of its having been confined for more than 300 years to one

Kung-yang.

證,卷六下, this set of passages is touched on. It is said:—八世之後莫之與京 (on III. xxii. 3), 其田氏篡齊之後之言乎,公侯子孫必復其始 (IV. i. at the end), 其三卿分晉之後之言乎,其處者爲劉氏 (VI. xiii. at the beg.), 其漢儒欲立左氏者所附益乎,皆非左氏之舊也,新都之篡以沙鹿崩爲祥, (V. xiv. 3), 釋氏之熾,以恆星不見爲證, (III. vii. 2), 蓋有作俑者矣. Choo He often speaks very doubtfully about Tso's Chuen. *E. g.* 左傳是後來人做. 或以左氏乃楚左史倚相之後, but this last insinuation is mere surmise.

1 戴宏曰,子夏傳與公羊高,高傳與其子平,平傳與其子地,地傳與其子敢,々傳與其子壽,至漢景帝時,壽乃共弟子齊人胡母子都著於竹帛; quoted in the preface to Ho Hëw's edition of Kung-yang. 2 According to Ho Hëw, this transmission of the Classic from mouth to mouth was commanded by Confucius, from his foreknowledge of the attempt of the tyrant of Ts'in to burn all the monuments of ancient literature!—孔子知秦將燔詩書,其說口授相傳,至漢公羊氏及弟子胡毋生等,乃記於竹帛.

family takes away from the confidence which we might otherwise be inclined to repose in it.

There can be no doubt, however, that it was made public in the reign of King, and was acknowledged and admitted by his successor Woo (B.C. 139—86) into the imperial college. Hoo-woo was a contemporary and friend of the scholar Tung Chung-shoo;[3] and in the biography of the scholar Këang Kung,[4] an adherent of Kuh-lëang's commentary, we are told that the emperor Woo made Këang and Tung dispute before him on the comparative merits of their two Masters, when Tung was held to be the victor. The emperor on this gave in his adhesion to Kung-yang, and his eldest son became a student of his Work.

It is not important to trace the history of Kung-yang's commentary farther on. The names of various writers on it and of their Works are preserved, but the Works are lost till we arrive at Ho Hëw (A.D. 129—183), who published his 'Explanations of Kung-yang on the Ch'un Ts'ëw.'[5] This still remains. Ho Hëw did for Kung-yang what, as we have seen, Too Yu did at a later period for Tso K'ëw-ming.

The commentary of Kuh-lëang is, like that of Kung-yang, carried back to Tsze-hëa; but the line of transmission down to the Han dynasty is imperfectly given. The general opinion is that Kuh-lëang's name was Ch'ih,[6] but Yen Sze-koo says it was He.[7] The next name mentioned as intrusted with the text which Ch'ih or He had received, and the commentary which he had made upon it, is Sun K'ing, the same who appears on p. 27, as the 6th in the list of those who handed on the Work of Tso. From Sun K'ing it is said to have passed to a Shin Kung of Loo.[7] Këang Kung, mentioned above, received it from Shin;[7] and though it did not win the favour, as advocated by him, of the emperor Woo, yet it gained a place in the imperial college in the reign of Seuen (A.D. 72—48), and for some time was held generally in great estimation. It has been preserved to us in the Work of Fan Ning, a famous scholar and statesman of the Tsin dynasty in the second half of the 4th century; the title of which is, 'A Collection of the Explanations of the Chuen of Kuh-lëang on the Ch'un Ts'ëw.'[8]

Kuh-lëang.

[3] 董仲舒. [4] 江公. See the 漢書八十八,儒林傳第五十八. [5] 何氏休春秋公羊解詁. [6] 赤. [7] 喜顏師古曰,穀梁子,名喜受經於子夏,爲經作傳,傳孫 (*al.* 荀) 卿,卿傳魯申公,申公傳瑕邱,江公. [8] 春秋穀梁傳集解. For the biography of Fan Ning, see the 晉書,七十五,列傳第四十五.

7. One cannot compare carefully even the specimens of the two commentaries which I have given without seeing that there is often a great similarity between them, and having the conclusion suggested to the mind that the one was not made without reference to the other. It is not to be wondered at that some scholars, like Lin Hwang-chung of the Sung dynasty, should have supposed the two to be the production of the same writer.[1] But the differences between them, and occasionally the style of composition, forbid us entertaining such a view. That they were one man has been maintained on another ground. The surnames of Kung-yang and Kuh-lëang ceased with the publication of the commentaries. No Kung-yang nor Kuh-lëang appears after that in Chinese history.[2] This is certainly strange, especially when we consider that there were five Kung-yangs concerned, according to the received account, in the transmission of the commentary from Tszehëa to the Han dynasty. I must leave this matter, however, in its own mist. Ch'ing Ts'ing-che,[3] Lo Peih,[4] and other Sung scholars held that the author of the two commentaries had been a Këang, and that Kung-yang and Kuh-lëang were merely two ways of spelling it;[5] but the method of spelling by finals and initials was, there is reason to believe, unknown in the Han dynasty.

Speculation as to a connexion between the commentaries of Kung and Kuh; and that these were only one person.

1 The K'ang-he editors in their Critical Introduction, p. 7, quote on this point from Choo He: 一問公穀傳,大概皆同,曰,所以林黃中說,只是一人,只看他文字,疑若非一手者. 2 See the 氏姓譜, chh. 147, 156. 3 鄭清之. 4 羅壁. 5 萬見春謂,皆姜字切韻脚,疑爲姜姓假託.

SECTION V.

THE VALUE OF THE CH'UN TS'ËW.

1. I come now to what must be considered as the most important subject in this chapter,—to endeavour to estimate the value of the Ch'un Ts'ëw as a document of history; and this will involve a judgment, first, on the character of Confucius as its author, or as having made himself responsible for it by copying it from the tablets of his native State and giving it to the world with

Object of this section.

his *imprimatur*, and, next, a judgment on the influence which it has had on the successive governments of China and on the Chinese people at large.

2. My readers have received, I hope, a distinct idea of the nature of the Work as made up of the briefest possible notices of the events of the time which it covers, without any attempt to exhibit the connexion between them, or any expression of opinion as to the moral character which attaches to many of them. I have spoken of the disappointment which this occasions us, when we address ourselves to its perusal with the expectations which its general reputation and the glowing accounts of it given by Mencius have awakened. We cannot reconcile it with our idea of Confucius that he should have produced so trivial a Work; and we cannot comprehend how his countrymen, down to the present day, should believe in it, and set it forth as a grand achievement.

Statement of the case.

If there were no other attribute but this triviality belonging to it, we might dismiss it from our notice, and think of it only as of a mirage, which had from the cloudland lured us to it by the attractive appearances which it presented, all vanishing as we approached it and subjected it to a close examination. But there are other attributes of the Work which are of a serious character, and will not permit us to let it go so readily. On p. 13 I have applied the term *colourlessness* to the notices composing it, meaning thereby simply the absence of all indication of feeling or opinion respecting the subjects of them on the part of the writer or compiler. But are the things so dispassionately told correct in point of fact? Are all the notices really informing, or are many of them misleading? Is the very brief summary a fair representation of the events, or is it in many cases a gross misrepresentation of them?

In what I have said in the preceding sections, I have repeatedly intimated my own opinion that many of the notices of the Ch'un Ts'ëw are not true; and the proof of this is found in the contradictions which abound between them and the events as given in detail in the Chuen of Tso, contradictions which are pointed out in my notes in hundreds of cases. It may occur to some that the Classic itself is to be believed rather than the narratives of Tso and the other commentators on it. If we are to rest in this dictum, there is of course an end of all study of the Ch'un Ts'ëw period. From the Work of Confucius, confessedly, we learn nothing of interest, and now the relations of Tso which are

so rich in detail are not to be credited;—the two centuries and a half become a blank. But it is impossible to rest in this view. The multitude of details which Tso gives makes him the principal witness in the case; but Kung and Kuh, greatly differing as they do from him in the style of their commentaries, very often bear out his statements, and are equally irreconcileable with the notices of the sage and the inferences which we naturally draw from them. How is it that the three men, all looking up with veneration to Confucius, yet combine to contradict him as they do? Kung and Kuh have their praise-and-censure theory to explain the language which the master uses; but we have seen that it is inadmissible, and it supplies no answer to the question which I have just put. And the mass of Chinese scholars and writers, for nearly 2000 years, have not scrupled to accept the history of the Ch'un Ts'ëw period given by Tso as in the main correct, maintaining at the same time their allegiance to Confucius as 'the teacher of all ages,' the one man at whose feet the whole world should sit, accepting every paragraph from his *stylus* as a divine oracle. The thing is to me inexplicable. There have been many times when I have mused over the subject in writing the pages of this volume, and felt that China was hardly less a strange country to me than Lilliput or Laputa would be.

3. The scholars of China are ready, even forward, to admit that Confucius in the Ch'un Ts'ëw often conceals[1] the truth about things. On V. i. 6 Kung-yang says, 'The Ch'un Ts'ëw conceals [the truth] on behalf of the high in rank, out of regard to kinship, and on behalf of men of worth.'[2] On V. i. 1 Tso says that it was the rule for the historiographers to conceal any wickedness which affected the character of the State.[3] But this 'concealing' covers all the ground occupied by our three English words—ignoring, concealing, and misrepresenting.

Chinese scholars admit that the Classic conceals things.

[i.] The Ch'un Ts'ëw often ignores facts, and of this I will content myself with adducing two instances. The first shall be comparatively, if not quite, an innocent omission. The fifth Book, containing the annals of duke He, commences simply with the notice that 'it was his first year, the spring, the king's first month.'

It ignores facts.

1 The character employed for to conceal is 諱, which is explained in various dictionaries by 避, 'to avoid;' 隱, 'to keep out of view,' and 忌, 'to shun,' 'to be cautious of.' 2 春秋爲尊者諱爲親者諱爲賢者諱 3 諱國惡禮也

It is not said that 'he came to the [vacant] seat,' that is, that he did so with the formal ceremonies proper to celebrate his accession to the marquisate. Tso asks why this notice was not given, and says it was because the duke He had gone out of the State. 'The duke,' says he, 'had fled out of the State and now re-entered it; but this is not recorded, being concealed (*i. e.*, being ignored). To conceal the wickedness of the State was according to rule.' On the murder of duke Chwang's son Pan, who should have succeeded to his father, Shin, who became duke He, had fled to the State of Choo, and a boy of eight years old, known as duke Min, was made marquis, and when, within less than two years, he shared the fate of Pan, Shin returned to Loo, and took his place. What connexion all this had with the omission of the usual pageantry or ceremonies, and whether we have in it the true explanation of the absence of the usual notice, I am not prepared to say; but we cannot see what harm there could have been in mentioning duke He's flight from the State and subsequent return to it. A good and faithful chronicler would have been careful to do so, especially if the events did affect, as Tso says, the inauguration of the new rule.[4]

The second instance of ignoring shall be one of more importance. It is well known that the lords of the great States of Ts'oo and Woo usurped during the Ch'un Ts'ĕw period the title of *king*, thus renouncing their allegiance to the dynasty of Chow which acknowledged them only as viscounts. It is by this style of viscount that they are designated in the Ch'un Ts'ĕw; but the remarkable fact is that it does not once notice the burial of anyone of all the lords of Ts'oo, or of Woo. The reason is that in such notices he must have appeared with his title of king. The rule was that every feudal lord, duke, marquis, earl, or baron, should after death be denominated as *kung* or duke, and to this was added the honorary or sacrificial epithet by which he was afterwards to be known. When a notice was entered in the Ch'un Ts'ĕw of Loo, say of the burial of the marquis Ch'ung-urh of Tsin, the entry was that on such and such a month and day they buried duke Wăn of Tsin. But the officers, deputed for the purpose from Loo, had assisted at the burial not of any duke of Ts'oo or of Woo, but of king so and

4 It will be well for the student to read the long note of K'ung Ying-tah on Too Yu's remarks on the Chuen here. He acknowledges that it is impossible to say when the rule for concealing things was observed and when not. 或諱大不諱小,或諱小不諱大,皆當時臣子率己之意而爲之隱,故無淺深常準.

so. What were the historiographers to do? If they called the king when living a viscount, it would seem to us reasonable that they might have been satisfied to call him a duke when dead. But this would have been a direct falsification of the notification which they had received from the State of the deceased. They therefore ignored the burial altogether, and so managed to make their suzerain of Chow the only king that appeared in their annals. Confucius sanctioned the practice; or if he suppressed all the paragraphs in which the burials of the lords of Ts'oo and Woo were entered, either as dukes or kings, then specially against him lies the charge of thus shrinking from looking the real state of things fairly in the face, as if he could make it any better by taking no notice of it.

[ii.] A large list of cases of ignoring might be made out by comparing the notes and narratives of Tso with the entries of the Ch'un Ts'ëw, but the cases of concealing the truth are much more

It conceals the truth about things. numerous; and in fact it is difficult to draw the line in regard to many of them between mere concealment and misrepresentation. I have quoted, on p. 13, from Maou K'e-ling many startling instances of the manner in which the simple notice 'he died' is used, covering almost every possible way of violent and unnatural death. It may be said that most of them relate to the deaths of princes of other States, and that the historiographers of Loo simply entered the notices as they were communicated to them from those States. Might we not have expected, however, that when their entries came under the revision of Confucius, he would have altered them so as to give his readers at least an inkling of the truth? But it is the same with the chronicling of deaths in Loo itself. Duke Yin was basely murdered, with the connivance of his brother who succeeded him, and all that is said about it in I. xi. 4 is—'In winter, in the 11th month, on Jin-shin, the duke died.' His successor was murdered in turn, with circumstances of peculiar atrocity, and the entry in II. xviii. 2 is simply—'In summer, in the 4th month, on Ping-tsze, the duke died in Ts'e.' In III. xxxii. three deaths are recorded. We read:—'In autumn, in the 7th month, on Kwei-sze, duke [Hwan's son] Ya died;' 'In the 8th month, on Kwei-hae, the duke died in the State-chamber;' 'In winter, in the 10th month, the duke's son Pan died.' Only the second of these deaths was a natural one. Ya was compelled to take poison by a half-brother Ke-yëw, under circumstances which are held by

many critics to justify the deed. Pan who was now marquis, though he could not be entered as such by the historiographers till the year had elapsed, was murdered by an uncle, who wished to seize the marquisate for himself, without any mitigating circumstances. How is it that these three deaths, so different in their nature and attendant circumstances, are described by the same word? Here it is said 'Ya died,' and 'Pan died;' and they did not die natural deaths. In I. v. 7 it is said—'duke [Hëaou's] son K'ow died,' and in VIII. v. 13 we have—'Ke-sun Hăng-foo died;' and they both died natural deaths. What are we to think of a book which relates events in themselves so different without any difference in its forms of expression? The K'ang-he editors are fond of the solution of such perplexities which says that Confucius meant to set his readers inquiring after the details of the events which he indicated; but why did he not obviate the necessity for such inquiries altogether by varying his language as it would have been very easy to do? But for the Chuen we should entirely misunderstand a great number of the entries in the text.

To take two instances of a less violent kind than these descriptions of deaths,—in III. i. 2, we read that 'in the 3d month the [late duke Hwan's,] wife [Wăn Këang] retired to Ts'e,' and in X. xxv. 5 we read that 'in the 9th, month, on Ke-hae, the duke [Ch'aou] retired to Ts'e.' In both passages 'retired' is equivalent to 'fled.' Duke Hwan's widow was understood to have been an accomplice in the murder of her husband, and to have been guilty of incest with her half-brother, the marquis of Ts'e;—she found it unpleasant, probably dangerous, for her to remain in Loo, and so she fled to Ts'e, where she would be safe and could continue to follow her evil courses. All this the historiographers and Confucius thought it necessary to gloss over by writing that she withdrew or retired to Ts'e. The case of duke Ch'aou was different. He had been kept, like several of his predecessors, in a state of miserable subjection by the principal nobles of the State, especially by the Head of the Ke-sun family. Instigated by his sons, high-spirited young men who could not brook the restraints and shame of their condition, he attempted to cope with his powerful minister, and got the worst of it in the struggle. The consequence was that he fled to Ts'e; and the text is all that the Ch'un Ts'ëw tells us about these affairs, unless we accept its most important entry of the ominous fact that a few months before the duke's flight 'grackles came to Loo and built nests in trees!' Every one will allow that

sons should speak tenderly of the errors of their parents, and ministers and subjects generally throw a veil over the faults of their rulers; but it seems to be carrying the instinctive feeling of dutiful forbearance too far when a historian or chronicler tries to hide the truth about his ruler's conduct and condition from himself and his readers in the manner of the Ch'un Ts'ëw. It should be kept in mind, moreover, that the historiographers of Loo, if Ch'aou had been the ruler of another State, would, probably, not have scrupled to say that Ke-sun E-joo drove him out, and that he fled to Ts'e. Where their own State was concerned, they dared not look the truth in the face. Had Wăn Këang been the marchioness of another State, they would have thought that it did not come within their province to say anything about her.

Two more instances of concealment will finish all that it is necessary to say on this part of my indictment against our Classic; and they shall be entries concerning the king. In V. xxviii. 16, it is said that 'the king [by] Heaven's [grace] held a court of inspection at Ho-yang;' and we suppose that we have an instance of one of those exercises of the royal prerogative which distinguished the kingdom in normal times. But the fact was very different. In the 4th month of the year Tsin had defeated Ts'oo in a great battle, and the States of the north were safe for a time from the encroachments of their ambitious neighbour. Next month the marquis of Tsin called a great meeting of the northern princes at which he required the king to be present. The king responded to the summons of his feudatory, and a brother of his own presided over the meeting;—though both of these facts are *ignored* in the text. In the winter, the marquis called another meeting in Ho-yang, a place in the present district of Wăn, in the department of Hwae-k'ing, Ho-nan, at which also he required the presence of the king, and which is chronicled in the 16th paragraph. Tso quotes a remark of Confucius on the case,—that 'for a subject to call his ruler to any place is a thing not to be set forth [as an example];' but to this I would reply that, the fact being so, it should not be recorded in a way to give the reader quite a different idea of it.

The other instance is less flagrant. In V. xxiv. 4 it is said, 'The king [by] Heaven's [grace] left [Chow], and resided in Ch'ing].' The facts were that a brother of the king had raised an insurrection against him, so that he was obliged to leave his capital and the imperial domain, and take refuge in Ch'ing, where he remained

until in the next year he was restored to the royal city by an army of Tsin. But as the Ch'un Ts'ëw says nothing of the troubles which occasioned the king's flight, so it says nothing about the manner in which he was restored. The whole history of the case is summed up in the paragraph that I have quoted, which conceals the facts, and of itself would not convey to us anything like an accurate impression of the actual circumstances.

[iii.] I go on to the third and most serious charge which can be brought against the Ch'un Ts'ëw. It not only ignores facts, and con-

The Ch'un Ts'ëw misrepresents.

ceals them, but it also often misrepresents them, thus not merely hiding truth or distorting it, but telling us what was not the truth. The observation of Mencius, that, when the Ch'un Ts'ëw was made, rebellious ministers and villainous sons became afraid, suggests the instances by which this feature of the Classic may be best illustrated.

Let us first take the case of Chaou Tun, according to the entry in VII. ii. 4, that 'Chaou Tun of Tsin murdered his ruler, E-kaou.' The fact is that Tun did not murder E-kaou. The marquis of Tsin was a man of the vilest character, utterly unfit for his position, a scourge to the State, and a hater of all good men. Tun was his principal minister, a man of dignity and virtue, and had by his remonstrances, excited the special animosity of the marquis, who at one time had sent a bravo to his house to assassinate him, and at another had let loose a bloodhound upon him. Wearied out with the difficulties of his position, Tun had fled from the Court, and had nearly left the State, when a relative of his, called Chaou Ch'uen, attacked the marquis and put him to death; on which Tun returned to the capital, and resumed his place as chief minister. The only fault which I can see that he committed was that he continued to employ his relative Ch'uen in the government; but the probability is that he had not the power to deal with him in any other way. Had he been able to execute him, and proceeded to do so, it would have been, I venture to think, a proceeding of doubtful justice. But I ask my readers whether it was right, considering all the circumstances of the case, to brand Tun himself as the murderer of the marquis.

According to Tso, the entry in the text was made in the first place by Tung Hoo, the grand-historiographer of Tsin, who showed it openly in the court, and silenced Tun when he remonstrated with him on its being a misrepresentation of himself. Tso also gives a

remark of Confucius, praising Tung Hoo, who made it his rule in what he wrote 'not to conceal!' and praising also Chaou Tun who humbly submitted to a charge of such wickedness. 'Alas for him!' said our sage. 'If he had crossed the border of the State, he would have escaped the charge.' The historiographers of Loo had entered the record in their Ch'un Ts'ëw as they received it from Tsin; but I submit whether Confucius, in revising their work, ought not to have exercised his 'pruning pencil,' and modified the misrepresentation. A sage, as we call him, he might have allowed something for the provocations which Tun had received, and for the wickedness of the marquis's government; he ought not to have allowed Tun to remain charged with what was the deed of another.

Let us take a second case. In X. xix. 2 we read—'Che, heir-son of Heu, murdered his ruler Mae.' This, if it were true, would combine the guilt of both regicide and parricide. According to all the Chuen, Che was not the *murderer* in this case. He was watching his sick father, and gave him a wrong medicine in consequence of which he died. We have no reason to conclude that there was poison in the medicine which the son ignorantly gave. Some critics say that he ought to have tasted it himself before he gave it to his father. He might have done so, and yet not have discovered that it would be so injurious. There is no evidence, indeed, that he did not do so. The result preyed so on the young man's mind that he resigned the State to a younger brother, refused proper nourishment, and soon died. Even if it were he himself who insisted on the form of the entry about his father's death, Confucius, if he had feeling for human infirmity, would have modified it, and not allowed poor Che to go down to posterity charged with the crime of parricide, which, if we had only the Ch'un Ts'ëw, there would be no means of denying.

Let us take a third case. It may seem to come properly under the preceding count of concealment of the truth, but I introduce it here, because of its contrast with the record in the next case which I will adduce. In X. i. 11, it is said,—'In winter, in the 11th month, on Ke-yëw, Keun, viscount of Ts'oo, died.' The viscount, or king as he styled himself, was suddenly taken ill, of which Wei, the son of a former king, was informed, when he was on his way, in discharge of a mission, to the State of Ch'ing. He returned immediately, and entering the palace as if to inquire for the king's health, he strangled him, and proceeded to put

to death his two sons. Here certainly was a murder, which ought to have been recorded as such. No doubt, the murderer caused a notification to be sent to other States in the words of the Ch'un Ts'ëw, saying simply that Keun had died, as if the death had been a natural one, and the historiographers had chronicled it in the terms in which it reached them; but ought not Confucius, in such a case especially, to have corrected their entry? To allow so misleading a statement to remain in his text was not the way to make 'rebellious ministers afraid.'

The fourth case relates to the death of the above Wei, also called K'ëen, the murderer of his king. Twelve years afterwards he himself came to an evil end. In X. xiii. 2 it is said—'In summer, in the 4th month, the Kung-tsze Pe of Ts'oo returned from Tsin to Ts'oo, and murdered his ruler K'ëen in Kan-k'e.' The real facts were these. Wei or K'ëen displayed in his brief reign an insatiable ambition, and was guilty of many acts of oppression and cruelty. Having despatched a force to invade Seu, he halted himself at Kan-k'e to give whatever aid might be required. Certain discontented spirits took the opportunity of his absence from the capital to organize a rebellion, which was headed by three of his brothers, one of whom was the Kung-tsze Pe. This Pe had fled to Tsin when K'ëen murdered Keun, and was invited by the conspirators from that State back to Ts'ae in the first place, and forced to take command of the rebel forces. These were greatly successful. They advanced on the capital of Ts'oo, took possession of it, and put to death the sons of the absent king. The intelligence of these events threw him into the greatest distress and consternation. His army dispersed, and he took refuge with an officer who remained faithful to him, and in his house he strangled himself in the 5th month, unable to endure the disgrace and misery of his condition. What are we to make of such opposite and contradictory methods of describing events? Wei murdered Keun; and the deed is told as if Keun had died a natural death. The same Wei strangled himself, and the deed is told as if it had been a murder done by the Kung-tsze Pe. Pe was led by the device of a brother, K'e-tsih, to kill himself in the 5th month, perhaps before Wei had committed suicide. The Ch'un Ts'ëw says of this event that 'Ke-tsih put to death—not *murdered*—the Kung-tsze Pe;' and we may suppose that K'e-tsih, who became king, sent word round the States that Pe had murdered his predecessor; but surely Confucius ought to have

taken care that the whole series of transactions should not be misrepresented as it is in his paragraphs.

Let us take a fifth case. In XII. vi. 8 it is said that 'Ch'in K'eih of Ts'e murdered his ruler T'oo.' In the previous year, Ch'oo-k'ëw, marquis of Ts'e, had died, leaving the State to his favourite son T'oo, who was only a child. His other sons, who were grown up, fled in the winter to various States. Ch'in K'eih, one of the principal ministers of the State, finding that the government did not go on well, sent to Loo for Yang-săng, one of Ch'oo-k'ëw's sons, who had taken refuge there, and so managed matters in Ts'e that he was declared marquis, and the child T'oo displaced. Yet K'eih had no malice against T'oo, and so spoke of him in a dispute which he had with Yang-săng, not long after the accession of the latter, as to awaken his fears lest the minister should attempt to restore the de-graded child. The consequence was that he sent a trusty officer to remove T'oo from the city where he had been placed for safety to another. Whether it was by the command of the new marquis, or on an impulse originating with himself, that officer took the opportunity to murder the child on the way. This man, therefore, whose name was Choo Maou, was the actual murderer of T'oo. If he were too mean in position to obtain a place in the Ch'un Ts'ëw, the murder should have been ascribed to Yang-săng or the marquis Taou, by whose servant and in whose interest, if not by whose command, it was committed. To ascribe it to Ch'in K'eih must be regarded as a gross misrepresentation. I cannot think that the existing marquis of Ts'e could have sent such a notification of the event to Loo, for for him to make Ch'in K'eih responsible for the deed was to declare that his own incumbency of the State was unjust, as it was Ch'in K'eih who had brought it about. Are we then to ascribe the entry entirely to Confucius? And are we to see in it a remarkable proof of *his* hatred of rebellion and usurpation, and his determination to hold the prime mover to it, however distant, and under whatever motives he had acted, responsible for all the consequences flowing from it?

The sixth and last case which I will adduce may be said not to be so contrary to the letter of the facts as the preceding five cases, and yet I am mistaken if in every western reader, who takes the trouble to make himself acquainted with those facts, it do not awaken a greater indignation against the record and its compiler than any of them. In VII. x. 8 we read that 'Hëa Ch'ing-shoo of

Ch'in murdered his ruler P'ing-kwoh.' The circumstances in which the murder took place are sufficient, I am sure, to make us pronounce it a case of justifiable homicide. Hëa Ch'ing-shoo's mother, a widow, was a vile woman, and was carrying on a licentious connexion with the marquis of Ch'in and two of his ministers at the same time.[1] The things which are related about the four are inexpressibly filthy. As the young man grew up, he felt deeply the disgrace of his family; and one day when the marquis and his ministers were feasting in an apartment of his mother's mansion, or rather of his own, for he was now the Head of the clan, he overheard them joking about himself. 'He is like you,' said the marquis to one of his companions. 'And he is also like your lordship,' returned the other. The three went on to speculate on what share each of them had in the youth, till he could no longer contain himself, and made a violent attack upon them. The ministers made their escape, and the marquis had nearly done so too, when, as he was getting through a hole in the stable, an arrow from the young man's bow transfixed him. So he died, and the Ch'un Ts'ëw records the event as if it had been an atrocious murder! The poor youth met with a horrible fate. In the following year, the viscount of Ts'oo, himself flaunting the usurped title of king, determined to do justice upon him. Aided by the forces of other States, he invaded Ch'in, made a prisoner of Hëa Ch'ing-shoo, and had him torn in pieces by five chariots to which his head and his four limbs were bound. This execution is coldly related in xi. 5 by 'The people of Ts'oo put to death Hëa Ch'ing-shoo of Ch'in.' The text goes on to tell that the viscount entered the capital of Ch'in, and restored the two ministers, partners in the marquis's adultery, who had made their escape to Ts'oo; the whole being worded, according to Tso, 'to show how he observed the rules of propriety!'

4. It remains for me, having thus set forth the suppressions, the concealments, and the misrepresentations which abound in the Ch'un Ts'ëw, to say a few words on the view which we must take from it of Confucius as its author or compiler.

What are we to think from the Ch'un Ts'ëw of Confucius?

Again and again I have spoken of the triviality of the Work, and indicated my opinion of its being unworthy of the sage to have put together so slight a thing. But these positively bad characteristics of it on which I have now enlarged demand the expression of a sterner judgment.

1 See vol. IV. Pt. I. xii. ode IX.

The appointment of historiographers, at whatever period it first took place, was intended, no doubt, to secure the accurate record of events, and Confucius tells us, Ana. XV. xxv., that 'even in his [early] days a historiographer would leave a blank in his text,' that is, would do so rather than enter incorrectly anything of which he was not sure. I have mentioned on p. 45 the exaggerated idea of his duty which was cherished and manifested by Tung Hoo the grand-historiographer of Tsin; and in Tso's Chuen on IX. xxv. 2, we have a still more shining example of the virtue which men in this office were capable of displaying. There three brothers, historiographers of Ts'e, all submit to death rather than alter the record, which they had made correctly, that 'Ts'uy Ch'oo of Ts'e murdered his ruler Kwang,' and a fourth brother, still persisting in the same entry, is at last let alone. These instances serve to show the idea in which the institution originated, and that there were men in China who understood it, appreciated it, and were prepared to die for it. Such men according to Confucius' testimony were no more to be found in his time. According to the testimony of a thousand scholars and critics, it was because of this fact,—the few faithful historiographers in the past and the entire want of them in the present,—that the sage undertook the revision of the Ch'un Ts'ëw of Loo. Might not the history of the institution in that ante-Christian time be adduced as a good illustration of what Lord Elgin once said, that 'at all points of the circle described by man's intelligence, the Chinese mind seems occasionally to have caught glimpses of a heaven far beyond the range of its ordinary ken and vision?'[1]

Well—we have examined the model summary of history from the *stylus* of the sage, and it testifies to three characteristics of his mind which it is painful to have thus distinctly to point out. First, he had no reverence for truth in history,—I may say no reverence for truth, without any modification. He understood well enough what it was,—the description of events and actions according as they had taken place; but he himself constantly transgressed it in all the three ways which I have indicated. Second, he shrank from looking the truth fairly in the face. It was through this attribute of weakness that he so frequently endeavoured to hide the truth from himself and others, by ignoring it altogether, or by giving an imperfect and misleading account of it. Wherever his prejudices were concerned, he was liable to do this. Third, he had more

1 See Letters and Journals of James, eighth Earl of Elgin, p. 392.

sympathy with power than with weakness, and would overlook wickedness and oppression in authority rather than resentment and revenge in men who were suffering from them. He could conceive of nothing so worthy of condemnation as to be insubordinate.[2] Hence he was frequently partial in his judgments on what happened to rulers, and unjust in his estimate of the conduct of their subjects. In this respect he was inferior to Mencius his disciple.

I have written these sentences about Confucius with reluctance, and from the compulsion of a sense of duty. I have been accused of being unjust to him, and of dealing with him inhumanly.[3] Others have said that I was partial to him, and represented his character and doctrines too favourably. The conflicting charges encourage me to hope that I have pursued the golden Mean, and dealt fairly with my subject. My conscience gives no response to the charge that I have been on the look-out for opportunities to depreciate Confucius. I know on the contrary that I have been forward to accord a generous appreciation to him and his teachings. But I have been unable to make a hero of him. My work was undertaken that I might understand for myself, and help others to understand, the religious, moral, social, and political condition of China, and that I might see and suggest the most likely methods of accomplishing its improvement. Nothing stands in the way of this improvement so much as the devotion of its scholars and government to Confucius. It is he who leads them that causes them to err and has destroyed the way of their paths.

Influence of the Ch'un Ts'ëw on Chinese governments and the people.

5. The above sentence leads me to the last point on which I proposed to touch in this section,—the influence which the Ch'un Ts'ëw has had on the successive governments of China and on the Chinese people at large. And here I will be brief.

A great part of the historical literature of the country continues still to be modelled after our Classic and the Chuen of Tso. Immediately after the Chow dynasty the name of Ch'un Ts'ëw was given to a species of Work having little affinity with that of Confucius. We have the Ch'un Ts'ëw of Leu Puh-wei, the chief minister of Ts'in, Luh Këa's Ch'un Ts'ëw of Ts'oo and Han,[1] and many others, which were never held in great repute. In the after Han dynasty, how-

2 See the Analects, VII. xxxv. 3 See a review of my 1st volume, in the Edinburgh Review, April, 1869.

1 呂不韋, 呂氏春秋, 陸賈楚漢春秋. See Chaou Yih's first chapter on the Ch'un Ts'ëw, where he gives the names of a score of these Works.

ever, there was composed the 'Chronicles of Han,'[2] on the plan of the Ch'un Ts'ëw. Histories of this kind received in the Sung dynasty the name of 'General Mirrors,'[3] and 'General Mirrors, with Summary and Details,'[3] the summary corresponding to the text of the Ch'un Ts'ëw, and the details to the Chuen. Down to the present dynasty Works have been composed with names having more or less affinity to those; and in reading them the student has to be on the watch and determine for himself how far the details bear out the statement of the summary. Such Works as the 'Digest of the History of the Successive Dynasties'[4] are more after the plan of the text of the Ch'un Ts'ëw, but they become increasingly complex and difficult of execution with the lapse of time and the increasing extent of the empire.

But the influence of the Ch'un Ts'ëw on the literature of China is of little importance excepting as that influence has aided its moulding power on the government and character of the people; and in this respect it appears to me to have been very injurious. The three defects of Confucius which have left their impress so clearly on his Work have been painfully conspicuous in the history of the country and the people down to the present day. The teachings of Mencius, bringing into prominence the lessons of the Shoo and the She concerning the different awards of Providence, according as a government cherished or neglected the welfare of the people, have modified the extreme reverence for authority which was so remarkable in Confucius; but there remain altogether unmitigated the want of reverence for truth, and the shrinking from looking fairly at the realities of their condition and relations. And these are the great evils under which China is suffering at the present day. During the past forty years her position with regard to the more advanced nations of the world has been entirely changed. She has entered into treaties with them upon equal terms; but I do not think her ministers and people have yet looked this truth fairly in the face, so as to realize the fact that China is only one of many independent nations in the world, and that the 'beneath the sky,' over which her emperor has rule, is not *all* beneath the sky, but only a certain portion of it which is defined on the earth's surface and

2 漢紀, composed by 荀悅, at the command of the emperor Hëen (獻帝). 3 *E.g.*, Sze-ma Kwang's 資治通鑑, and Choo He's 通鑑綱目. 綱目 means a net,—the rope by which the whole is drawn together and the eyes or meshes of which it is composed. 4 歷代統紀表.

can be pointed out upon the map. But if they will not admit this, and strictly keep good faith according to the treaties which they have accepted, the result will be for them calamities greater than any that have yet befallen the empire. Their lot has fallen in critical times, when the books of Confucius are a very insufficient and unsafe guide for them. If my study of the Ch'un Ts'ëw help towards convincing them of this, and leading them to look away from him to another Teacher, a great aim of my life will have been gained.

SPECIMENS OF THE COMMENTARIES OF KUNG-YANG AND KUH-LËANG.

隱公、元年、一章。元年、春、王正月。

The first year of duke Yin, par. 1.

It was the [duke's] first year, the spring, the king's first month.

公羊傳曰、元年者何。君之始年也。

春者何。歲之始也。

王者孰謂。謂文王也。

曷爲先言王而後言正月。王正月也。

何言乎王正月。大一統也。

公何以不言卽位。成公意也。

何成乎公之意。公將平國而反之桓。

曷爲反之桓。桓幼而貴、隱長而卑、其爲尊卑也微、國人莫知、隱長又賢、諸大夫扳隱而立之、隱於是焉而辭立、則未知桓之將必得立也、且如桓立、則恐諸大夫不能相幼君也、故凡隱之立、爲桓立也。

隱長又賢、何以不宜立。立適以長不以賢、立子以貴不以長。

桓何以貴。母貴也。

母貴、則子何以貴。子以母貴、母以子貴。

穀梁傳曰、雖無事、必舉正月、謹始也。

公何以不言卽位、成公志也。

焉成之。言君不取爲公也。

君之不取爲公、何也。曰、將以讓桓也。

讓桓正乎。曰、不正。

春秋成人之美、不成人之惡、隱不正而成之何也。將以惡桓也。

其惡桓何也。隱將讓而桓弑之、則桓惡矣、桓弑而隱讓、則隱善矣。

善則其不正焉何也、春秋貴義而不貴惠、信道而不信邪、孝子揚父之美、不揚父之惡、先君之欲與桓、非正也、邪也、雖然、既勝其邪心、以與隱矣、己探先君之邪志、而遂以與桓、則是成父之惡也、兄弟、天倫也、爲子受之父、爲諸侯受之君、己廢天倫而忘君父以行小惠、小道也、若隱者、可謂輕千乘之國、蹈道則未也。

The Chuen of Kung-yang says:—

'What is meant by 元年? The first year of the ruler.

What is meant by 春 (spring)? The first season of the year.

What is meant by 王 (the king)? It means king Wăn.

Why does [the text] first give "king," and then "first month?" [To show that] it was the king's first month.

Why does it [so] mention the king's first month?

To magnify the union of the kingdom [under the dynasty of Chow].

Why is it not said that the duke came to the [vacant] seat? To give full expression to the duke's mind.

In what way does it give full expression to the duke's mind? The duke intended to bring the State to order, and then restore it to Hwan.

What is meant by restoring it to Hwan?

Hwan was younger, but nobler [than the duke by birth]; Yin was grown up, but lower [than Hwan by birth]. The difference between them in these respects, however, was small, and the people of the State did not know [their father's intention about the succession]. Yin being grown up and a man of worth, the great officers insisted on his being made marquis. If he had refused to be made so, he did not know for certain that Hwan would be raised to the dignity; and supposing that he were raised to it, he was afraid that the great officers might not give their assistance to so young a ruler. Therefore the whole transaction of Yin's elevation was with a view [in his mind] to the elevation of Hwan.

But since Yin was grown up and a man of worth, why was it not proper that he should be made marquis?

Among the sons of the wife proper, the succession devolved on the eldest, and not on the worthiest and ablest. Among a ruler's sons by other ladies of his harem, the succession devolved on the noblest, and not on the eldest.

In what respect was Hwan nobler [in rank] than Yin?

His mother was of higher position [than Yin's mother].

Though the mother was nobler, why should the son be [also] nobler? A son

The Chuen of Kuh-lëang says:—'Although there was nothing to be recorded [under the first month], it was necessary to specify it;—its being the commencement [of the rule] required this attention to be paid to it.

Why is it not said that the duke came to the [vacant] seat? To give full expression to the duke's mind.

In what way does this give full expression to the duke's mind? It tells that Yin did not himself care to be duke.

What is meant by saying that he did not himself care to be duke? That he intended to resign the marquisate to Hwan.

Was it correct in him [to wish] to resign it to Hwan?

It was not correct.

The Ch'un Ts'ëw gives full expression to men's excellent qualities, but does not do so to their evil;—why should it give such expression to [the intention of] Yin which was not correct?

With a view to show detestation of Hwan.

How does that detestation of Hwan appear?

Yin intended to resign in his favour, and yet Hwan murdered him;—showing Hwan's wickedness. Hwan murdered him, and yet Yin would have resigned in his favour;—showing Yin's goodness.

If Yin was thus good, why do you say that he was not correct?

In the Ch'un Ts'ëw, what is righteous is held to be noble, and not what is [merely] kind. It would lead forward in the [straight] path, and not in the crooked. A filial son tries to display the excellent qualities of his father, and not the evil ones. The father was not correct, but perverse, in seeking to give the State to Hwan. Notwithstanding, he overcame this perversity of mind, and the State was given [at last] to Yin; but Yin had fathomed the purpose of their father, and thereon would have given the State to Hwan;—carrying out their father's wickedness. That there should be elder brother and younger brother is in the order of Heaven. A man receives his sonship from his father; and a feudal prince receives his rank from the king. To disannul the order of Heaven, and forget his ruler and father in order to do a small kindness, is what is called walking in a small path. Looking at Yin, we

was held to share in the nobility of his mother; and a mother shared in the [subsequent] nobility of her son.'

may say that he could make light of a State of a thousand chariots, but could not tread the way that is right.'

桓公、十有一年、四章。宋人執鄭祭仲。

The eleventh year of duke Hwan, par. 4.

The people of Sung seized Chae Chung of Ch'ing.

公羊傳曰、祭仲者何。鄭相也。

何以不名。賢也。

何賢乎祭仲。以爲知權也。

其爲知權奈何。古者鄭國處于留、先鄭伯有善於鄶公者、通乎夫人以取其國、而遷鄭焉、而野留。莊公死、已葬、祭仲將往省于留、塗出於宋、宋人執之、謂之曰、爲我出忽而立突。祭仲不從其言、則君必死、國必亡、從其言、則君可以生易死、國可以存易亡、則突可以故出、而忽可以故反、是不可得、則病、然後有鄭國、古人之有權者、祭仲之權是也。

權者何。權者反於經、然後有善者也、權之所設、舍死亡無所設、行權有道、自貶損以行權、不害人以行權、殺人以自生、亡人以自存、君子不爲也、

The Chuen of Kung-yang says:—

'Who was Chae Chung?

The chief minister of Ch'ing.

Why is he not mentioned by his name?

Because of his worth.

What worthiness was there in Chae Chung?

穀梁傳曰、宋人者、宋公也。其曰人何也。貶之也。

The Chuen of Kuh-lëang says:—

'人 [people] here means the duke of Sung.

Why is he designated 人 (the people, or one of the people)?

To condemn him.'

He is to be considered as knowing how to act according to circumstances.

In what way did he know to act according to circumstances?

Anciently the capital of Ch'ing was in Lëw. A former earl of Ch'ing was on friendly terms with the duke of Kwei; and having an intrigue with his wife, he took the capital of Kwei, transferred that of Ch'ing to it, and left Lëw to become a wilderness. After the death of duke Chwang, Chae Chung was going to inspect the state of Lëw; and as his road lay through Sung, the people of that State seized him, and said, "Drive out Hwuh (Chwang's eldest son, who was now earl of Ch'ing) for us, and raise Tuh (Hwuh's brother) to the earldom."

If Chae Chung did not do as they required, his ruler must die, and the State perish. If he did as they required, his ruler would exchange death for life, and the State be preserved instead of perishing. Then by and by, [by his gradual management], Tuh might be sent forth as before, and Hwuh might return as before. If these things could not be secured, he would have to suffer [under the imputation of evil conduct], but yet there would be the State of Ch'ing. When the ancients acted according to the exigency of circumstances, they acted in the way in which Chae Chung now did.

What is meant by acting according to the exigency of circumstances?

It is acting contrary to the ordinary course of what is right, yet so that good shall result. Such a course is not to be adopted apart from the imminent danger of death or ruin. There is a way to regulate the pursuing of it. A man may adopt it when the censure and loss will fall on himself, bnt not to the injury of another. A superior man will not slay another to save himself, nor ruin another to preserve himself.'

十有五年、一章。春、二月、天王使家父來求車。

The fifteenth year, par. 1.

In spring, in the second month, the king [by] Heaven's [grace] sent Këa Foo to Loo to ask for carriages.

公羊傳曰、何以書。譏。
何譏爾。王者無求、求車、非禮也、

The Chuen of Kung-yang says:—
'Why was this entry made?
By way of censure.
Censure of what?
The kings did not ask for anything. To ask for carriages was contrary to propriety.

穀梁傳曰、古者諸侯時獻于天子、以其國之所有、故有辭讓而無徵求、求車、非禮也、求金、甚矣。

The Chuen of Kuh-lëang says:—
'Anciently the feudal princes at the [proper] times presented to the son of Heaven their offerings of the things which they had in their States. He might thus decline, but he did not demand or ask for, [anything]. To ask for carriages was contrary to propriety; to ask for money was still more so.

莊公、四年、四章。紀侯大去其國。

The fourth year of duke Chwang, par. 4.

The marquis of Ke made a grand leaving of his State.

公羊傳曰、大去者何。滅也。
孰滅之。齊滅之。
曷爲不言齊滅之。爲襄公諱也、春秋爲賢者諱。
何賢乎襄公、復讐也。
何讐爾。遠祖也、哀公亨乎周、紀侯譖之、以襄公之爲於此焉者、事祖禰之心盡矣。
盡者何。襄公將復讐乎紀、卜之曰、師喪分焉、寡人死之、不爲不吉也。
遠祖者幾世乎、九世矣。
九世猶可以復讐乎。雖百世可也。
家亦可乎。曰、不可。

穀梁傳曰、大去者、不遺一人之辭也、言民之從者、四年而後畢也、紀侯賢而齊侯滅之、不言滅而曰大去其國者、不使小人加乎君子。

The Chuen of Kuh-lëang says:—
'"Made a grand leaving" is as much as to say that [the marquis] did not leave a man behind him. It tells us that the people did not cease to follow him till all were gone in the space of four years. The marquis of Ke was a worthy prince, and the marquis of Ts'e extinguished his State. The text does not say so, but that he made a grand leaving of it, thereby not allowing [the injurious action of] a small man towards a superior man to appear.

國何以可。國君一體也、先君之恥、猶今君之恥也、今君之恥、猶先君之恥也、

國君何以爲一體。國君以國爲體、諸侯世、故國君爲一體也。

今紀無罪。此非怒與。曰、非也、古者有明天子、則紀侯必誅、必無紀者、紀侯之不誅、至今有紀者、猶無明天子也。古者諸侯必有會聚之事、相朝聘之道、號辭必稱先君以相接、然則齊紀無說焉、不可並立乎天下、故將去紀侯者、不得不去紀也。

有明天子、則襄公得爲若行乎。曰、不得也。

不得、則襄公曷爲爲之。上無天子、下無方伯、緣恩疾者可也。

The Chuen of Kung-yang says:—

'What is meant by "made a grand leaving?"

That [the State] was extinguished.

Who extinguished it?

Ts'e.

Why does [the text] not say that Ts'e extinguished it?

It conceals the fact out of regard to duke Sëang. The Ch'un Ts'ëw conceals things out of regard to men of worth.

What worthiness was there in duke Sëang?

He was taking vengeance.

Vengeance for what?

For the boiling of his remote ancestor duke Gae at [the court of] Chow, through his being slandered by a marquis of Ke. The action of duke Sëang at this time is considered as a carrying by him to the utmost of his service of his ancestors.

How so?

When he was about to avenge the [old] wrong, he consulted the tortoise-shell, and was told that he would lose half his army. [He observed], "Though I should die myself, the answer should not be considered unlucky."

How many generations removed from him was the remote ancestor?

Nine.

May an injury be avenged after nine generations?

Yes; even after a hundred.

May [the Head of] a clan take such vengeance?

No.

Why then may [the ruler of] a State do it?

The ruler and the State are one. The disgrace of a former ruler is the same as the disgrace of the ruler of to-day. The disgrace of the ruler of to-day is the same as the disgrace of a former ruler.

How are the ruler and the State considered as one?

The ruler regards the State as his body, and one ruler comes after another;—hence the ruler and the State form one body.

But the present [marquis of] Ke had been guilty of no offence;—was not this [extinction of him] a case of rage?

No. If there had been in the ancient time an intelligent son of Heaven, the [then] marquis of Ke would have been taken off, and there would have been no [more any] marquis of Ke. His not having been taken off, and there being still a marquis of Ke, was the same as if there were no intelligent son of Heaven. Anciently the princes had their occasions of meeting together, and their interchanges of court and complimentary visits, when they made reference in their language to their predecessors as furnishing the ground of their intercourse; but nothing of the kind ever took place between Ts'e and Ke;—it was incumbent on them not to exist together under the same sky. Therefore [when Ts'e] set about removing the marquis of Ke, it could not but remove [the State of] Ke.

If there had been [now] an intelligent son of Heaven, could duke Sëang have done what he did?

No.

Why then did he do it?

When there is in the highest position [as it were] no son of Heaven, and below him no president of the quarter of the kingdom, one can for himself repay his long-standing wrongs and obligations of a contrary kind.'

僖公、二年、三章。虞師晉師滅夏陽。

The second year of duke He, par. 3.

An army of Yu and an army of Tsin extinguished Hëa-yang.

公羊傳曰、虞、微國也、曷爲序乎大國之上、使虞首惡也。曷爲使虞首惡。虞受賂假滅國者道、以取亡焉

其受賂奈何。獻公朝諸大夫而問焉、曰、寡人夜者寢而不寐、其意何也。諸大夫有進對者、曰、寢不安與、其諸侍御有不在者與。獻公不應。荀息進曰、虞郭見與。獻公揖而進之、遂與之入、而謀曰、吾欲攻郭、則虞救之、攻虞、則郭救之、如之何、願與子慮之。荀息曰、君若用臣之謀、則今日取郭、而明日取虞爾、君何憂焉。獻公曰、然則奈何。荀息曰、請以屈產之乘、垂棘之白璧、往、必可得也、則寶出之內藏、藏之外府、馬出之內廐、繫之外廐爾、君何喪焉。獻公曰諾、雖然、宮之奇存焉、如之何。荀息曰、宮之奇知則知矣、雖然、虞公貪而好寶、見寶必不從其言、請終以往。於是終以往、虞公見寶許諾、宮之奇果諫、記曰、脣亡則齒寒、虞郭之相救、非相爲賜、則晉今日取郭、而明日虞從而亡爾、君請勿許也。虞公不從其言、終假之道以取郭。還四年反取虞、虞公抱寶牽馬而至、荀息見曰、臣之謀何如。獻公曰、子之謀

穀梁傳曰、非國而曰滅、重夏陽也。

虞無師、其曰師、何也。以其先晉、不可以不言師也。

其先晉何也。爲主乎滅夏陽也、夏陽者、虞虢之塞邑也、滅夏陽而虞虢舉矣。

虞之爲主乎滅夏陽、何也。晉獻公欲伐虢、荀息曰、君何不以屈產之乘、垂棘之璧、而借道乎虞也。公曰、此晉國之寶也、如受吾幣而不借吾道、則如之何。荀息曰、此小國之所以事大國也、彼不借吾道、必不敢受吾幣、如受吾幣、而借吾道、則是我取之中府、而藏之外府、取之中廐、而置之外廐也。公曰、宮之奇存焉、必不使受之也。荀息曰、宮之奇之爲人也、達心而懦、又少長於君、達心則其言略、懦則不能强諫、少長於君、則君輕之、且夫玩好在耳目之前、而患在一國之後、此中知以上、乃能慮之、臣料虞君中知以下也。公遂借道而伐虢。宮之奇諫曰、晉國之使者、其辭卑而幣重、必不便於虞。虞公弗聽、遂受其幣而借之道。宮之奇諫曰、語曰脣亡則齒寒、其斯之謂與。挈其妻子以奔曹。

獻公亡虢、五年而後舉虞、

則已行矣、寶則吾寶也、雖然、吾馬之齒亦已長矣。蓋戲之也。

夏陽者何。郭之邑也。
曷不繫于郭。國之也。
曷爲國之。君存焉爾。

The Chuen of Kung-yang says:—'Yu was a small State; why is it that it is here made to take precedence of a great one? To make Yu take the lead in the wickedness.

Why is Yu made to take the lead in the wickedness?

Yu received the bribes with which those who [were going to] extinguish the State [of Kwoh] borrowed a way through it, and thus brought on its own ruin.

How did it receive [those] bribes? Duke Hëen [of Tsin] gave audience to his great officers, and asked them why it was that he had lain all night without sleeping. One of them advanced and said, "Was it because you did not feel at ease [in your mind]? or was it because your [proper] bedfellow was not by your side?" The duke gave no answer, and then Seun Seih came forward and said, "Was it because Yu and Kwoh were appearing to you?" The duke motioned to him to come [more] forward, and then went with him into an inner apartment to take counsel. "I wish," said he, "to attack Kwoh, but Yu will go to its relief, and if I attack Yu, Kwoh will succour it;—what is to be done? I wish to consider the case with you." Seun Seih replied, "If you will use my counsel, you shall take Kwoh to-day, and Yu to-morrow; why should your lordship be troubled?"

"How is this to be accomplished?" asked the duke. "Please let [me go to Yu]," said the other, "with your team of K'ëuh horses and your white *peih* of Ch'uy-keih, and you are sure to get [what you want]. It will only be taking your valuable [*peih*] from your inner treasury, and depositing it in an outer one, and taking your horses from an inner stable, and tying them up in an outer one;—your lordship will lose nothing by it." The duke said, "Yes; but Kung Che-k'e is there. What are we do with him?" Seun Seih replied, "Kung Che-k'e is indeed knowing; but the duke of Yu is covetous, and fond of valuable

荀息牽馬操璧而前曰、璧則猶是也、而馬齒加長矣。

The Chuen of Kuh-lëang says:—'The use of the term "extinguished," when it is not a State that is spoken of, arises from the importance of Hëa-yang.

Yu had no army;—why is its army mentioned here?

Because it took the lead of Tsin [in the affair], and it was necessary therefore to speak of its army.

How did it take the lead of Tsin?

It presided over the extinguishing of Hëa-yang. Hëa-yang was a strong city of Yu and Kwoh. If it could be extinguished, then both Yu and Kwoh might be dealt with.

In what way did Yu preside over the extinguishing of Hëa-yang?

Duke Hëen of Tsin wanted to invade Kwoh, and Seun Seih said to him, "Why should not your lordship take your team of K'ëuh horses, and your *peih* of Ch'uy-keih, and with them borrow a way through Yu?" "Those are the most precious things in the State of Tsin," said the duke. "Suppose Yu should receive my offerings, and not lend us the passage, in what position should we be?" "But," replied Seun Seih, "this is the way in which a small State serves a great one. If Yu do not lend us the right of way, it will not venture to receive our offerings. If it receive our offerings and lend us the way, then we shall [merely] be taking [the *peih*] from our own treasury, and placing it [for a time] in one outside, and taking [the horses] from our own stable, and placing them [for a time] in one outside." The duke said, "There is Kung Che-k'e there;—he will be sure to prevent the acceptance of our offerings." "Kung Che-k'e," replied the minister, "is an intelligent man, but he is weak; and moreover, he has grown up from youth near his ruler. His very intelligence will make him speak too briefly; his weakness will keep him from remonstrating vehemently; and his having grown up near his ruler will make that ruler despise him. Moreover, the attractive objects will be before the ruler of Yu's senses, and the danger will be hid behind another State. The case, indeed, would cause anxiety to one whose intelligence was above mediocrity, but I imagine that the intelligence of the ruler of Yu is below mediocrity."

curios;—he is sure not to follow his minister's advice. I beg you, considering everything, to let me go."

The deliberation ended with duke Hëen's adopting the proposed course; and when the duke of Yu saw the valuable [offerings], he granted what [Tsin] asked. Kung Che-k'e did indeed remonstrate, saying, "There are the words of the Record, 'When the lips are gone, the teeth are cold.' Yu and Kwoh are the saviours of each other. If they do not give mutual help, Tsin will to-day take Kwoh, which Yu will to-morrow follow to ruin. Do not, O ruler, grant what is asked." The duke did not follow his advice, and ended by lending a passage [through his State to Tsin] to take Kwoh. In the fourth year after, Tsin returned, and took Yu. The duke of Yu [came], carrying the *peih* and leading the horses, when Seun Seih said [to the marquis of Tsin], "What do you now think of my plan?" "It has succeeded," said duke Hëen. "The *peih* is still mine; but the teeth of the horses are grown longer." This he said in joke.

What was Hëa-yang?

A city of Kwoh.

Why is the name not preceded by the name of the State?

It is dealt with as if had been itself a State.

Why so?

Because [the fate] of the ruler of the State was bound up with its fate.'

On this duke Hëen sought [in the way proposed] for a passage [through Yu] to invade Kwoh. Kung Che-k'e remonstrated, saying, "The words of the envoy of Tsin are humble, but his offerings are great;—the matter is sure not to be advantageous to Yu." The duke of Yu, however, would not listen to him, but received the offerings, and granted the passage through the State. Kung Che-k'e remonstrated [again], suggesting that the case was like that in the saying about the lips being gone and the teeth becoming cold, after which he fled with his wife and children to Ts'aou.

Duke Hëen then destroyed Kwoh, and in the fifth year [of our duke He] he dealt in the same way with Yu. Seun Seih then had the horses led forward, while he carried the *peih* in his hand, and said, "The *peih* is just as it was, but the horses' teeth are grown longer!"

十有六年、一章、春、王正月、戊申朔、隕石于宋五、是月、六鷁退飛、過宋都。

The sixteenth year, par. 1.

In spring, in the king's first month, on Mow-shin, the first day of the moon, there fell stones in Sung, five of them. In the same month, six fish-hawks flew backwards, past the capital of Sung.

公羊傳曰、曷爲先言霣而後言石、霣石記聞、聞其磌然、視之則石、察之則五。

穀梁傳曰。先隕而後石、何也隕而後石也。于宋四竟之内曰宋、後數、

是月者何。僅逮是月也。
何以不日。晦日也。
晦則何以不言晦、春秋不書晦也、朔有事則書、晦雖有事不書。
曷爲先言六而後言鷁。六鷁退飛、記見也、視之則六、察之則鷁、徐而察之則退飛。
五石六鷁何以書。記異也。
外異不書、此何以書。爲王者之後記異也。

The Chuen of Kung-yang says:—

'How is it that the text first says, "there fell," and then "stones?"

There fell stones is a record of what was heard. There was heard a noise of something falling. On looking at what had fallen, it was seen to be stones. On examination it was found there were five of them.

What is the meaning of "in the same month?"

That the thing occurred just within this month.

Why is the day not given?

It was the last day of the moon.

Why does the text not say so?

The Ch'un Ts'ëw does not enter the last day of the moon. When anything happened on the first day of the moon, it was so written; but although anything happened on the last day of the moon, the day was not given.

Why does the text say "six," and then "fish-hawks?"

"Six fish-hawks backwards flew" is a record of what was seen. When they looked at the objects, there were six. When they examined them, they were fish-hawks. When they examined them leisurely, they were flying backwards.

Why is this account given of [these] five stones and six fish-hawks? It is the record of a strange thing.

But strange things in other States are not recorded;—why is this given here?

Because [Sung belonged to the descendants] of the kings [of Shang].'

散辭也、耳治也。
是月者、決不日而月也。
六鶂退飛、過宋都、先數、聚辭也、目治也。
子曰、石無知之物、鶂微有知之物、石無知、故日之、鶂微有知之物、故月之、君子之於物、無所苟而已、石鶂猶且盡其辭、而况於人乎、故五石六鶂之辭不設、則王道不亢矣。
民所聚曰都。

The Chuen of Kuh-lëang says:—'Why does the text first say "there fell," and then "stones?" There was the falling, and then the stones.

"In Sung" means within the four quarters of that State. The number following after indicates that the stones were scattered about. [The language] has respect to the hearing of the ears.

"In the same month" says definitely that it was not on the same day, but [some time] in the month.

In "six fish-hawks flying backwards, past the capital of Sung," the number is put first, indicating that [the birds] were collected together. [The language] has respect to the seeing of the eyes.

The master said, "Stones are things without any intelligence, and fish-hawks creatures that have a little intelligence. The stones, having no intelligence, are mentioned along with the day [when they fell], and the fish-hawks, having a little intelligence, are mentioned along with the month [when they appeared]. The superior man [even] in regard to such things and creatures records nothing rashly. His expressions about stones and fish-hawks being thus exact, how much more will they be so about men! If the language had not been as it is about the five stones and six fish-hawks, the royal way would not have been fully exhibited."

Where the people collect is called "the capital."'

文公、十有一年、六章。冬、十月、甲午、叔孫得臣敗狄于鹹。

The eleventh year of duke Wăn, par. 6.

In winter, in the tenth month, on Këah-woo, Shuh-sun Tih-shin defeated the Teih in Hëen.

公羊傳曰、狄者何。長狄也。兄弟三人、一者之齊、一者之魯、一者之晉、其之齊者、王子成父殺之、其之魯者、叔孫得臣殺之、則未知其之晉者也。
其言敗何。大之也。
其日何。大之也。
其地何。大之也。
何以書。記異也。

The Chuen of Kung-yang says:—'What is meant by "the Teih?"

A gigantic Teih. There were three brothers, one of whom went to Ts'e, another to Loo, and the third to Tsin. The one that went to Ts'e was killed by the king's son Ch'ing-foo. The one who came to Loo was [now] killed by Shuh-sun Tih-shin. I do not know anything about the one who went to Tsin.

Why is the word "defeated" used?
To magnify the affair.
Why is the day specified?
To magnify the affair.
Why is the place given?
To magnify the affair.
Why is the thing recorded?
As a record of what was strange.

穀梁傳曰、不言帥師而言敗、何也。直敗一人之辭也。
一人而曰敗、何也。以衆焉言之也。
傳曰、長狄也、弟兄三人、佚宕中國、瓦石不能害、叔孫得臣最善䠶者也、䠶其目、身橫九畝、斷其首而載之、眉見於軾。然則何爲不言獲也。曰、古者不重創、不禽二毛、故不言獲、爲內諱也。
其之齊者、王子成父殺之、則未知其之晉者也。

The Chuen of Kuh-lëang says:—

'How is it that we find here "defeated," and nothing about "leading a force?"

The language indicates that the defeat was only of one man.

How is "defeated" used with reference to one man?

Because he [was equal to] a multitude.

It is recorded that there were three gigantic Teih, who, one after another, threw the Middle States into confusion, and whom tiles and stones could not hurt. Shuh-sun Tih-shin was a skilful archer, and sent an arrow into the eye [of this one]. The giant's body stretched over 9 acres. His head was cut off, and put into a carriage, when the eye-brows appeared over the cross-bar. In these circumstances, why is it not said that he was captured? Anciently they did not inflict a second wound, nor capture a gray-haired enemy. Captured is not used here, to conceal the thing out of regard to Loo.

The giant that went to Ts'e was killed by the king's son Ch'ing-foo. Nothing is known about the one who went to Tsin.'

十有四年、七章。晉人納接菑於邾、弗克納。

The fourteenth year, seventh paragraph.

The people of Tsin undertook to establish Tsëeh-tsze as viscount of Choo, but did not [or, were not able to] do so.

公羊傳曰、納者何。入辭也。

其言弗克納、何。大其弗克納也。

何大乎其弗克納。晉郤缺帥師、革車八百乘、以納接菑于邾婁、力沛若有餘、而納之。邾婁人言曰、接菑晉出也、貜且齊出也、子以其指、則接菑也四、貜且也六、子以大國壓之、則未知齊晉孰有之也、貴則皆貴矣、雖然、貜且也長。郤缺曰、非吾力不能納也、義實不克爾也。引師而去之、故君子大乎其弗克納也。

此晉郤缺也、其稱人、何。貶。

曷爲貶。不與大夫專廢置君也。

曷爲不與。實與而文不與。

文曷爲不與。大夫之義、不得專廢置君也。

The Chuen of Kung-yang says:—'What is meant by 納 (to restore)? It means to [make to] enter.

Why is it said they were not able to restore him?

To magnify that fact.

Why is it magnified?

Keih Keueh of Tsin led a force of 800 chariots of leather, to in-state Tsëeh-tsze

穀梁傳曰、是郤缺也、其曰人、何也。微之也。

何爲微之也。長轂五百乘、綿地千里、過宋、鄭、滕、薛、夐入千乘之國、欲變人之主、至城下而後知、何知之晚也。

弗克納、未伐而曰弗克、何也。弗克其義也。捷菑、晉出也、貜且、齊出也、貜且、正也、捷菑、不正也。

The Chuen of Kuh-lëang says:—'[The leader here] was Keih Keueh;—why is he called 人 (man)?

To make light of him.

Why does [the text] make light of him?

He had 800 chariots with their long naves, extending over a thousand *le* of ground. He passed by Sung, Ch'ing, T'ăng, and Sëeh, and entered at length a State of a thousand chariots, wishing to change the ruler whom the people had set up. But when he came beneath the wall of its capital, he then knew [the error of his enterprise]. How late was he in coming to that knowledge!

"He was not able to in-state." It is not said that he had invaded Choo;—how is mention made of his inability?

That "was not able" shows that [success] was forbidden by righteousness. Tsëeh-tsze's mother was a daughter of Tsin, and K'woh-tseu's was a daughter of Ts'e. K'woh-tseu was the proper [successor to their father], and Tsëeh-tsze was not.'

in Choo-low;—a force surely more than sufficient for the purpose. But when he [proposed] to in-state him, the people of Choo-low said, "Tsëeh-tsze is the son of a daughter of Tsin, and K'woh-tseu of a daughter of Ts'e. Try them on your fingers;—there will be four for Ts'ëeh-tsze, and six for K'woh-tseu. If you will compel us by the power of your great State, we do not yet know whether Ts'e or Tsin will take the lead. In rank the men are both noble, but K'woh-tseu is the elder." Keih Keueh said, "It is not that my strength is insufficient to in-state him, but in point of right I cannot do so." With this he led his army away, and therefore the superior man magnifies his not in-stating [Tsëeh-tsze].

The actor here was Keih Keueh of Tsin;—why is he called 人 (a man)? To condemn him.

Why is he condemned?

Not to allow a great officer to take it on him to displace or to set up a ruler.

How does it not allow this?

The actual [statement] allows it, but the style does not allow it.

Why does the style not allow it?

According to the right idea of a great officer, he cannot take it on him to displace or appoint a ruler.'

宣公八年、三章。辛巳、有事於太廟、仲遂卒于垂。

The eighth year of duke Seuen, paragraph three.

On Sin-sze there was a sacrifice in the grand temple, when Chung Suy died at Ch'uy.

公羊傳曰、仲遂者何。公子遂也。

何以不稱公子。貶。

曷爲貶。爲弑子赤貶。

然則曷爲不於其弑焉貶。於文則無罪、於子則無年。

穀梁傳曰。爲若反命而後卒也。

此公子也、其曰仲、何也。疏之也。

何謂疏之也。是不卒者也、不疏、則無用見其不卒也。

The Chuen of Kung-yang says:—'Who was Chung-suy?

The Kung-tsze Suy.

Why is he not here styled Kung-tsze?

By way of censure.

Why is censure expressed?

Because of his murder of [Wăn's] son Ch'ih.

But why was not the censure (or, degradation) expressed at the time when he committed that murder?

Because he had [then] been guilty of no offence against [duke] Wăn, and there had [since] been no year [in which to signify his offence] against [Wăn's] son.'

則其卒之何也。以譏乎宣也。

其譏乎宣何也。聞大夫之喪.則去樂卒事。

The Chuen of Kuh-lëang says:—'This looks as if he had first reported the execution of his mission and then died.

He was a Kung-tsze;—why does he appear here simply as Chung?

To treat him as if his relationship [to the ducal family] had been distant.

Why deal with him so?

To vitiate the notice of his dying. If he had not been so dealt with, that notice would not have been vitiated.

Why then mention his dying at all?

To convey censure of [duke] Seuen.

Why to censure [duke] Seuen?

On hearing of the death of a great officer, he should have removed the musicians and finished the business [in which he was engaged].'

十有五年、八章。初稅畝。

The fifteenth year, par. eighth.

For the first time a tax was levied from the produce of the acres.

公羊傳曰.初者何。始也。

稅畝者何。履畝而稅也。

初稅畝何以書.譏。

何譏爾。譏始履畝而稅也。

何譏乎始履畝而稅。古者什一而藉。

古者曷爲什一而籍。什一者.天下之中正也.多乎什一.大桀小桀.寡乎什一.大貉小貉.什一者.天下之中正也.什一行.而頌聲作矣。

The Chuen of Kung-yang says:—'What is the meaning of 初?

For the first time.

What is meant by levying a tax from the acres?

穀梁傳曰.初者.始也。古者什一.藉而不稅.初稅畝.非正也。古者三百步爲里.名曰井田.井田者.九百畝.公田居一.私田稼不善.則非吏.公田稼不善.則非民.初稅畝者.非公之去公田而履畝十取一也.以公之與民爲已悉矣。古者公田爲居.井竈葱韭盡取焉。

The Chuen of Kuh-lëang says:—'初 means for the first time. Anciently, a tenth of the produce was levied by the mutual cultivation of the public fields, and the others were not taxed. To commence levying part of the produce from [all] the acres was not right. Anciently,

Walking over the acres, and levying part of the produce.

Why is an entry made of this first levying part of the produce of the acres [generally]?

To condemn it.

What was there to condemn in it? The introduction of the system of walking over the acres, and levying part of the produce.

What was there to condemn in the introduction of this system? Anciently a tithe was taken [for the State] by the mutual labour of the people on the public fields.

Why did they anciently appoint this system?

The tax of a tenth [thus procured] is the justest and most correct for all under the sky. If more than this tenth be taken, we have great Këehs and little Këehs. If less, we have great Mih and little Mih. A tithe is the justest and most correct for all under the sky. When a tithe is the system, the sounds of praise [everywhere] arise.'

300 paces formed a *le*, and a square of that size was called the nine-squares fields, consisting of 900 acres, of which the public fields formed one portion. If the yield from the private fields was not good, the officer of agriculture was blamed. If the yield from the public fields was not good, the people were blamed. [The record of] this first levying part of the produce from all the acres blames the duke for putting away the system of the public fields, and walking over all the fields to take a tithe of them, because he thereby required from the people all their strength. Anciently, [the people] had their dwellings in the public fields; there were their wells and cooking places; there they grew their onions and scallions.'

成公三年、四章。甲子、新宮災、三日哭。

The third year of duke Ch'ing, par. four.

On Këah-tsze the new temple took fire, when we wailed for it three days.

公羊傳曰、新宮者何。宣公之宮也。

宣宮、則曷爲謂之新宮。不忍言也。

其言三日哭、何。廟災三日哭、禮也。

新宮災、何以書。記災也。

The Chuen of Kung-yang says:—'What was the new temple?

The temple of duke Seuen.

'Why is duke Seuen's temple called the new temple?

穀梁傳曰、新宮者、禰宮也。三日哭、哀也、其哀、禮也。

迫近不敢稱謚、恭也。

其辭恭且哀、以成公爲無譏矣。

The Chuen of Kuh-lëang says:—'The new temple was the temple of the duke's father.

To wail for three days was expressive of [great] grief, but that grief was according to the rules of propriety.

[The duke] could not bear to say [directly that it was his father's temple].

Why is it said that they wailed for it three days?

It was a rule that, when a temple was burned, there should be a wailing for three days.

Why was this entry of the burning of the new temple made?

To record the calamity.'

In consequence of the near relationship, [the duke] did not dare to call it by his father's honorary title;—thereby showing his respect.

The language being respectful, and the grief great, there is no condemnation of duke Ch'ing to be sought here.'

襄公七年、十章。鄭伯髡頑如會、未見諸侯、丙戌卒于鄵。

The seventh year of duke Sëang, par. ten.

K'wăn-hwan, earl of Ch'ing, went to the meeting; but before he had seen the [other] princes, on Ping-seuh he died at Ts'aou.

公羊傳曰、操者何。鄭之邑也。

諸侯卒其封內、不地、此何以地。隱之也。

何隱爾。弑也。

孰弑之。

其大夫弑之。曷爲不言其大夫弑之。爲中國諱也。

曷爲爲中國諱。鄭伯將會諸侯于鄬、其大夫諫曰、中國不足歸也、則不若與楚。鄭伯曰、不可。其大夫曰、以中國爲義、則伐我喪、以中國爲彊、則不若楚。於是弑之。

鄭伯髡原何以名。傷而反、未至乎舍而卒。

未見諸侯、其言如會何。致其意也。

The Chuen of Kung-yang says:—'What was Ts'aou?

A city of Ch'ing.

When a prince died anywhere within

穀梁傳曰、未見諸侯、其曰如會、何也。致其志也。

禮諸侯不生名、此其生名、何也。卒之名也。

卒之名、則何爲加之如會之上。見以如會卒也。

其見以如會卒、何也。鄭伯將會中國、其臣欲從楚、不勝其臣、弑而死。

其不言弑、何也。不使夷狄之民加乎中國之君也。

其地、於外也、其日、未踰竟也、日卒時葬、正也。

The Chuen of Kuh-lëang says:—'As he had not seen the [other] princes, how is it said that he went to the meeting?

To express fully his purpose.

According to the rules, princes were not named when they were alive;—why is he so named here?

Because of his death.

If he is named because of his death, why is the name placed before the statement that he went to the meeting?

his own territories, the place was not mentioned;—why is it mentioned here?

To conceal the fact.

To conceal what fact?

His murder.

Who murdered him?

His great officers.

Why does not the text say so?

The thing is concealed on account of the Middle States?

Why so?

When the earl of Ch'ing was about to go to the meeting of the States in Wei, his great officers remonstrated with him, saying, "The Middle States are not worth adhering to; you had better join with Ts'oo.' When the earl objected to this counsel, they said, "If you think that the Middle States are righteous, they [notwithstanding] invaded us when we were mourning [for the last earl]; if you say that they are strong, yet they are not so strong as Ts'oo." With this they murdered him.

Why is he named—"the earl of Ch'ing, K'wăn-yuen?"

[To express sorrow] that having been wounded, and being on his return [to his capital], he died before he reached his halting place.

As he did not see the [other] princes, why is it said that he went to the meeting?

To express fully his purpose.'

To show that he died through going to the meeting.

How does it show that he died through going to the meeting?

The earl of Ch'ing was going to meet [the princes of] the Middle States, and his ministers wished him to follow Ts'oo. Not succeeding, they murdered him, and he died.

Why is it not mentioned that he was murdered?

Not to allow it to appear that barbarous people (*i. e.*, the ministers who wished to follow the barbarous Ts'oo) had dealt so with a prince of the Middle States.

The place was outside [the capital]; on the day he had not crossed the borders [of the State]; the day of his death and the time of his burial [are given, as if all] had been correct.'

二十有五年、十章。十有二月、吳子遏伐楚、門于巢卒。

The twenty-fifth year, tenth par.

In the 12th month, Goh, viscount of Woo, invaded Ts'oo, and died in an attack on one of the gates of Ch'aou.

公羊傳曰、門于巢卒者、何。入門乎巢而卒也。

入門乎巢而卒者、何。入巢之門而卒也。

吳子謁何以名。傷而未反至乎舍而卒也。

穀梁傳曰、以伐楚之事、門于巢卒也。

于巢者、外乎楚也、門于巢乃伐楚也。

諸侯不生名、取卒之名、加之伐楚之上者、見以伐

The Chuen of Kung-yang says:—'What is meant by 門于巢卒?

That he entered a gate in Ch'aou and died.

In what way had he entered a gate in Ch'aou and died?

He had entered a gate of Ch'aou and died.

Why does the viscount of Woo appear with his name Yeh?

[To show that] he was wounded and died before he could return to the station [of his own troops].'

楚卒也。

其見以伐楚卒.何也。古者、大國過小邑、小邑必飾城而請罪、禮也、吳子謁伐楚、至巢入其門、門人射吳子、有矢創、反舍而卒、古者雖有文事、必有武備、非巢之不飾城而請罪、非吳子之自輕也。

The Chuen of Kuh-lëang says:—'In consequence of being engaged in an invasion of Ts'oo, he attacked one of the gates of Ch'aou and died.

The words "of (or, at) Ch'aou" show that that place was outside Ts'oo. By attacking the gates of Ch'aou, he [would be able to] invade Ts'oo.

A prince was not named when alive. Here the name, properly given to him when dead, is taken and placed before his invasion of Ts'oo, to show that it was in consequence of that invasion that he died.

How does it show that it was through his invasion of Ts'oo that he died?

Anciently, when [the army of] a great State was passing by a small city, the rule was that that small city should man its walls and ask what was its offence. Yeh, the viscount of Woo, in [proceeding to] invade Ts'oo, came to Ch'aou, and entered one of its gates, when the gate-keeper shot him, so that he returned to the station [of his troops], wounded by an arrow, and died. Although an undertaking be of a civil nature, there should be at the same time military preparation. [The entry] condemns Ch'aou for not manning its walls and asking what was its offence, [and also] condemns the viscount of Woo for his careless exposure of himself.'

昭公四年、三章。四章。秋、七月、楚子、蔡侯、陳侯、許男、頓子、胡子、沈子、淮夷、伐吳.執齊慶封殺之。

The fourth year of duke Ch'aou, parr. 3 and 4.

In autumn, in the seventh month, the viscount of Ts'oo, the marquises of Ts'ae and Ch'in, the baron of Heu, the viscounts of Tun, Hoo, and Shin, and the Hwae tribes, invaded Woo. They seized K'ing Fung of Ts'e, and put him to death.

公羊傳曰、此伐吳也、其言執齊慶封何。爲齊誅也。
其爲齊誅奈何。慶封走至吳、吳封之於防。
然則曷爲不言伐防。不與諸侯專封也。
慶封之罪何。脅齊君而亂齊國也。

The Chuen of Kung-yang says:—'This was an invasion of Woo;—how is it that the paragraph tells us of the seizure of K'ing Fung of Ts'e?

He was taken off in behalf of Ts'e.

How was it that he was taken off in behalf of Ts'e?

K'ing Fung had run away to Woo, and Woo had invested him with Fang.

In that case why is it not said that they invaded Fang?

Not to allow to the feudal princes the right of granting investiture.

What was the crime of K'ing Fung?

He had exercised a pressure on the ruler of Ts'e, and thrown that State into confusion.'

穀梁傳曰、此入而殺、其不言入、何也。慶封封乎吳鍾離。
其不言伐鍾離何也。不與吳封也。
慶封其以齊氏何也。爲齊討也。靈王使人以慶封令於軍中曰、有若齊慶封弒其君者乎。慶封曰、子一息、我且一言、曰、有若楚公子圍弒其兄之子而代之爲君者乎。軍人粲然皆笑。
慶封弒其君、而不以弒君之罪罪之者、慶封不爲靈王服也、不與楚討也、春秋之義、用貴治賤、用賢治不肖、不以亂治亂也、孔子曰、懷惡而討、雖死不服、其斯之謂與。

The Chuen of Kuh-lëang says:—'Here they must have entered [the place where K'ing Fung was] and slain [him];—why does the text not mention that entering?

K'ing Fung had been invested with Chung-le of Woo.

Why does it not say that they invaded Chung-le?

Not to allow to Woo the right of granting investiture.

Why is "Ts'e" put before "K'ing Fung" like a clan-name?

[To show that] he was punished in behalf of Ts'e. King Ling sent a man to go round the army with him, and proclaim, "Is there anyone like K'ing Fung of Ts'e who murdered his ruler?" K'ing Fung said to the man, "Stop a moment; I also have a word to say." With this he cried out, "Is there anyone, who, like the Kung-tsze Wei of Ts'oo, murdered the son of his elder brother, and made

himself ruler in his place?" The soldiers all laughed and chuckled.

K'ing Fung had murdered his ruler, but that crime is not mentioned here in connexion with him, because he was not subject to king Ling, and the text would not allow to Ts'oo [the right] to punish him. It is a part of the righteousness of the Ch'un Ts'ëw to employ the noble to regulate the mean, and the worthy to regulate the bad, but not to employ the disorderly to regulate disorder. Do we not have the same sentiment in what Confucius said, "Let a man who himself cherishes what is wicked punish another, and that other will die without submitting to him?"'

十有九年、二章、五章。夏、五月、戊辰、許世子止弒其君買。冬、葬許悼公。

The nineteenth year, parr. 2 and 5.

In summer, in the fifth month, on Mow-shin, Che, heir-son of Heu, murdered his ruler Mae. In winter, there was the burial of duke Taou of Heu.

公羊傳曰、賊未討、何以書葬。不成于弒。

曷爲不成于弒。止進藥而藥殺也。

止進藥而藥殺、則曷爲加弒焉爾。譏子道之不盡也。

其譏子道之不盡奈何。曰、樂正子春之視疾也、復加一飯、則脫然愈、復損一飯、則脫然愈、復加一衣、則脫然愈、復損一衣、則脫然愈、止進藥而藥殺、是以君子加弒焉爾。

曰、許世子止弒其君買、

穀梁傳曰、日弒、正卒也、正卒、則止不弒也、不弒而曰弒、責止也。止曰、我與夫弒者、不立乎其位。以與其弟虺、哭泣歠飦粥、嗌不容粒、未踰年而死、故君子卽止自責而責之也。

日卒時葬、不使止爲弒父也。

曰、子旣生、不免乎水火、母之罪也。羈貫成童、不就師傅、父之罪也。就師學問無方、心志不通、身之罪也。心志旣通、而名譽不聞、友之罪也。名譽旣聞、

是君子之聽止也。葬許悼公、是君子之赦止也、赦止者、免止之罪辭也。

The Chuen of Kung-yang says:—'How do we have the burial recorded here, while the ruffian [-murderer] was not yet punished? The thing did not amount to a murder.

How did it not amount to a murder?

Che gave [his father] medicine, and the medicine killed him.

In these circumstances why does the text say that Che murdered him?

To censure Che for not fully discharging the duty of a son.

How does it censure his failure in that?

Yoh-ching Tsze-ch'un, when watching his sick [father], would give him an additional dish of rice, [and watch] eagerly whether it made him better; or he would give him a dish less, and watch the result eagerly. He would put on him a garment more, or a garment less, than usual, in the same way. Che gave the medicine, and the medicine killed [his father], and therefore the superior man charged him with murdering him.

In the [former] entry that 'Che, heir-son of Heu, murdered his ruler Mae," the superior man allows the charge against Che; in the [second] entry about the burial of duke Taou, he pardons Che. He pardons Che, that is, he withdraws the charge against him.'

有司不舉、有司之罪也。有司舉之、王者不用、王者之過也。許世子不知嘗藥、累及許君也。

The Chuen of Kuh-lëang says:—'The mention of the day along with the murder shows that the death was a natural one. As it was so, Che did not murder [his father]. Though he did not murder him, it is said that he did;—to reprove Che. Che said, "I am the same as a murderer, and will not stand in my father's place." On this he resigned the State to his brother Hwuy, wept and wailed, and lived on congee, without taking a grain of rice, till in less than a year he died. The superior man here reproves him according as he reproved himself.

The specification of the day of the death and of the season of the burial does not allow Che to lie under the charge of murdering his father.

When a son is born, if he escape not death from fire or water, it is the crime of his mother; if he have grown up to a boy with two tufts of hair, and do not go to a teacher, it is the crime of his father; if he go to a teacher, and his studies are desultory, and his mind do not become intelligent, it is the crime of himself; if he become intelligent, and the fame of his name be not heard of, it is the crime of his friends; if the fame of his name be heard of, and the officers do not bring him into notice, it is the crime of the officers; if the officers bring him to notice, and the king do not employ him, it is the fault of the king. The heir-son of Heu did not know [his duty] to taste the medicine [for the ruler], and that ruler was involved [in the consequences of his ignorance].

定公元年、一章、二章。元年春、王。夏、六月、戊辰、公卽位。

The first year of duke Ting, parr. 1, 2.

In the [duke's] first year, in spring, the king's.......In summer, in the sixth month, on Mow-shin, the duke came to the vacant seat.

公羊傳曰、定何以無正月。正月者、正卽位也、定無正月者、卽位後也。
卽位何以後。昭公在外、得入、不得入、未可知也。
曷爲未可知。在季氏也。
定哀多微辭、主人習其讀而問其傳、則未知己之有罪焉爾。
癸亥、公之喪至自乾侯、則曷爲以戊辰之日、然後卽位。正棺於兩楹之間、然後卽位。子沈子曰、定君乎國、然後卽位。
卽位不日、此何以日。錄乎內也。

The Chuen of Kung-yang says:—'How is it that Ting has no first month [in his first year]?

[The mention of] the first month is to adjust the [ruler's] coming to the [vacant] seat; and Ting's having no first month is because his coming to the [vacant] seat was later.

How was it later?

[The coffin of] duke Ch'aou was [still] outside [the State], and whether it would be allowed to enter or not was not yet known.

How was it not yet known?

It depended on the Head of the Ke family.

In [the records about] Ting and Gae there are many obscure expressions. If they—the rulers—had read the text and inquired about its explanation, they would not have known whether they were charged with crime or not.

As it was on Kwei-hae that duke [Ch'aou's] coffin came from Kan-how, how was it that it was Mow-shin before [Ting] ascended the [vacant] seat?

When the coffin had been placed right between the two pillars, then he ascended the [vacant] seat. My master Shin-tsze said, 'When the funeral rites of the

穀梁傳曰、不言正月、定無正也。
定之無正、何也。昭公之終、非正終也、定之始、非正始也。
昭無正終、故定無正始、不言卽位、喪在外也、殯、然後卽位也。
定無正、見無以正也。
踰年不言卽位、是有故公也、言卽位、是無故公也。卽位授受之道也。先君無正終、則後君無正始也、先君有正終、則後君有正始也、戊辰、公卽位、謹之也、定之卽位、不可不察也、公卽位何以日也。戊辰之日、然後卽位也。
癸亥、公之喪至自乾侯、何爲戊辰之日、然後卽位也。正君乎國、然後卽位也。
內之大事日、卽位君之大事也、其不日、何也。以年決者不以日決也。
此則其日、何也。著之也。
何著焉。踰年卽位、厲也、於厲之中又有義焉。
未殯、雖天子之命猶不敢、況臨諸臣乎。
周人有喪、魯人有喪、周人弔、魯人不弔、周人曰、固吾臣也、使人可也、魯人曰、吾君也、親之者也、使大夫則不可也、故周人弔、魯人不弔、以其下成康爲未久也。
君、至尊也、去父之殯、而往弔、猶不敢、況未殯而臨諸臣乎。

[former] ruler had been settled in the State, then [the new ruler] took the [vacant] seat.

The day of taking that seat should not be given;—how is it given here?

It is a record of what took place in Lo̤o itself.'

The Chuen of Kuh-lëang says:—'The text does not mention the first month, because Ting had no first month [in his first year].

Why had Ting no first month?

Because duke Chaou's death was not a proper death, and Ting's commencement of his rule was not a proper commencement. As Chaou's was not a proper death, Ting could not have a proper beginning. It is not said [here] that he came to the [vacant] seat, because [Chaou's] coffin was outside the State.

The coffin was now placed in state, and so he took the [vacant] seat. Ting's having no first year shows that there was something which prevented him from having it. But the reason of its not being said that he came to the vacant seat when the year [in which duke Ch'aou died] was expired, was that [the coffin] of the former duke was [still outside]. The notice of coming to the [vacant] seat was the regular way of declaring that the State was passed from one ruler to another. If the former did not die a proper death, the latter could not have a proper beginning; and *vice versa*. The notice that duke [Ting] came to the [vacant] seat on Mow-shin, is an instance of the care observed [in such a matter];—it was necessary that Ting's accession should be thus definitely marked.

How is the day of the duke's accession given?

[To show that] it was on the day Mow-shin.

It was on Kwei-hae that duke [Ch'aou's] coffin came from Kan-how;—how was it not till Mow-shin that [Ting] took the [vacant] seat?

The proper ceremonies in the State must be gone through for the [former] ruler, before that could be done. Shin-tsze said, "When the coffin was placed right between the two pillars, his successor took the [vacant] seat."

The great affairs within a State were mentioned with the day. The taking the [vacant] seat was a great affair for the ruler;—why is it [generally] given without the day?

It was made to commence with the year, and not regulated by the day.

Why then is the day given here?

To give emphasis to it.

In what way does it give emphasis to it?

To have taken the [vacant] seat when

the year was expired, would have been hazardous; and besides there was a point of righteousness in the case. Before the coffin [of his predecessor] was set in state, a prince would not dare to show himself as ruler to the ministers, even though he had the charge of the son of Heaven. There might be a death equally in Chow and in Loo. From Chow a message of condolence would be sent, but not from Loo. In Chow they would say, "He was our subject; we may send to condole [on his death]." In Loo they would say, "He was our ruler. Was like our father. We cannot send a great officer [to offer our condolences]." In this way from Chow they sent to condole, but not from Loo, for the time was not long removed from Ch'ing and K'ang. The king was the most honourable; yet [the new ruler of Loo] would not dare to leave his father's coffin, and go to Chow on a visit of condolence; how much less would he show himself as ruler to the ministers, before the coffin was placed in State!

哀公六年、七章、八章。齊陽生入于齊。齊陳乞弑其君荼。

The sixth year of duke Gae, parr. 7, 8.

Yang-săng of Ts'e entered [the capital of] that State. Ch'in K'eih of Ts'e murdered his ruler T'oo.

公羊傳曰、弑而立者、不以當國之辭言之、此以當國之辭言之、何。爲諼也。

此其爲諼奈何。景公謂陳乞曰、吾欲立舍何如。陳乞曰、所樂乎爲君者、欲立之則立之、不欲立、則不立、君如欲立之、則臣請立之。陽生謂陳乞曰、吾聞子蓋將不欲立我也。陳乞曰、夫千

穀梁傳曰、陽生入而弑其君、以陳乞主之、何也。不以陽生君荼也。

其不以陽生君荼、何也、陽生正、荼不正。

不正、則其曰君何也。荼雖不正、已受命矣。

入者、內弗受也、荼弗正、何用弗受。以其受命、可以言弗受也。

乘之主.將廢正而立不正.必殺正者、吾不立子者.所以生子者也、走矣。與之玉節而走之。

景公死.而舍立.陳乞使人迎陽生于諸家、除景公之喪.諸大夫皆在朝.陳乞曰.常之母有魚菽之祭.願諸大夫之化我也。諸大夫皆曰諾.於是皆之陳乞之家.坐.陳乞曰、吾所爲甲.請以示焉。諸大夫皆曰諾、於是使力士舉巨囊、而至于中霤.諸大夫見之皆色然而駭、開之則闖然公子陽生也。

陳乞曰、此、君也已。諸大夫不得已、皆逡巡北面再稽首而君之爾。自是往弒舍。

The Chuen of Kung-yàng says:—'Murderers and setters up [of new rulers] are not mentioned as high ministers (*i.e.*, with clan-name and name following the name of the State);—how is such a notice given here?

Because of [Ch'in K'eih's] deceit.

How did he show his deceit?

Duke King said to him, "I wish to make Shay (*i.q.* Tso's T'oo) my successor; what do you say to it?" He replied, "Whomsoever you would be pleased to see as ruler. and wish to appoint as your successor, I will support him; and whomsoever you do not wish so to appoint, I will not support. If your lordship wish to appiont Shay, I beg to be allowed to support him." Yaug-săng said to Ch'in K'eih. "I have heard that you will not be willing to raise me to the marquisate." The minister said, "In a State of a thousand chariots, if you wish to set aside the proper heir and appoint one who is not so, you must kill the proper heir. My not supporting you is the way I take to preserve your life. Fly." And hereupon he gave Yaug-săng a seal-token of jade, with which he fled.

When duke King died, and Shay had been made marquis, Ch'in K'eih had Yang-săng brought back, and kept him in his house. When the mourning for

陽生其以國氏何也.取國.於荼也。

The Chuen of Kuh-lëang says:—'It was Yang-sang who entered [Ts'e], and murdered his ruler;—how is it that Ch'in K'eih is represented as taking the lead in the deed?

Not to allow Yang-săng to be ruler over T'oo.

Why does [the text] not allow Yang-săng to be ruler over T'oo?

Yang-săng was the proper heir [of Ts'e], and T'oo was not.

If T'oo were not the proper heir. why is he called the ruler?

Although he was not the proper heir, he had received the appointment [from his father].

"Entered" denotes that the enterer is not received. Since T'oo was not the proper heir, why use that style?

As he had received the appointment, that style might be employed.

Why is the name of the State used as if it were Yang-săng's clan-name?

He took the State from T'oo.

duke King was over, and all the great officers were at court, Ch'in K'eih said, "My mother is celebrating a sacrifice with fish and beans; I wish you all to come and renovate me at it." All accepted the invitation, and when they were come to his house, and sitten down, he said "I have some buffcoats which I have made; allow me to show them to you." To this they assented, and he then made some stout fellows bring a large sack into the open court. The sight of this frightened the officers, and made them change colour; and when the sack was opened, who should come forth from it but the Kung-tsze Yang-săng? "This," said Ch'in K'eih, "is our ruler." The officers could not help themselves, but one after another twice did obeisance with their faces to the north, and accepted [Yang-săng] as their ruler; and from this he went and murdered Shay.'

十有三年、三章。公會晉侯及吳子于黃池。

The thirteenth year, paragraph 3.

The duke had a meeting with the marquis of Tsin and the viscount of Woo at Hwang-ch'e.

公羊傳曰、吳何以稱子。吳主會也。

吳主會、則曷爲先言晋侯。不與夷狄之主中國也。

其言及吳子何。會兩伯之辭也。

不與夷狄之主中國、則曷爲以會兩伯之辭言之。重吳也。

曷爲重吳、吳在是、則天下諸侯莫敢不至也。

穀梁傳曰、黃池之會、吳子進乎哉、遂子矣。

吳、夷狄之國也、祝髮文身、欲因魯之禮、因晋之權、而請冠端而襲、其籍於成周、以尊天王、吳進矣。

吳、東方之大國也、累累致小國以會諸侯、以合乎中國、吳能爲之、則不臣乎。

吳進矣、王、尊稱也、子、卑稱也、辭尊稱、而居卑稱、以會乎諸侯、以尊天王。

The Chuen of Kung-yang says:—'Why is [the lord of] Woo styled viscount?

Because Woo took the direction of the meeting.

If Woo took the direction of the meeting, why does [the text] first mention the marquis of Tsin?

Not to allow a barbarous [State] to take the direction of the Middle States.

What is the force of 及 before the viscount of Woo?

It serves to point out the meeting as one of two presiding chiefs.

As [the text] does not allow a barbarous [State] to take the direction of the Middle States, why does it represent the meeting as one of two presiding chiefs?

Because of the weight of Woo.

How had Woo so much weight? Woo being there, the [other] princes of the kingdom would not dare not to come.

吳王夫差曰好冠來。孔子曰,大矣哉,夫差未能言冠,而欲冠也。

The Chuen of Kuh-lëang says:—'Is not the viscount of Woo advanced at this meeting in Hwang-ch'e? Here it is that he is [styled] viscount.

Woo was a barbarian State, where they cut their hair short and tattooed their bodies. [Its ruler now] wished, by means of the ceremonies of Loo and the power of Tsin, to bring about the wearing of both cap and garment. He contributed [also] of the products of the State to do honour to the king approved by Heaven. Woo is here advanced.

Woo was the greatest State of the east. Again and again it had brought the small States to meet the feudal princes, and to unite with the Middle States. Since Woo could do this, was it not loyal? Woo is here advanced. King is the most honourable title, and viscount is comparatively mean. [The ruler of Woo, however,] declined the honourable title, and was content with the mean one, to meet with the other princes and do honour to the king approved by Heaven. Foo-ch'ae, king of Woo, used to say, "Bring me a good cap." Confucius said, "Great was Foo-ch'ae!" Foo-ch'ae could not have told you about the caps [of different ranks], but he wished for a cap.

APPENDIX II.

A LETTER QUESTIONING THE CONFUCIAN AUTHORSHIP OF THE CH'UN TS'EW BY YUEN MEI OF THE PRESENT DYNASTY.

I have found the following letter in a large collection of the letters of the writer, published first, with glosses, in 1859 by Hoo Kwang-tow (胡光斗), a great admirer of them, under the title of 音註小倉山房尺牘. The writer, Yuen Mei (袁枚), styled Tsze-ts'ae (子才) and Këen-chae (簡齋), was a member of the Han-lin college, and died in 1797, at the age of 82. The letter was written in reply to Yeh Shoo-shan (葉書山), also a member of the Han-lin college.

答葉書山庶子。

承示春秋指微、具見精識、駕啖助趙匡而過之、胡安定不足道也。第鄙意終覺春秋一書、斷非孔子所作。孔子自稱述而不作、作春秋、史官事也。孔子非史官、不在其位、不謀其政、焉有侵史官之權、而妄爲代作。曰知我罪我、儼然以素王自居、不但夫子不肯、魯之君臣及史官亦不能容也。且既云筆則筆、削則削、游夏不能贊一詞矣、乃孔子絶筆於獲麟、而後之春秋從哀公十四年起、直書至十六年孔子卒而後止、三年中是又何人之筆、何人所贊哉、可見魯自有史官、有春秋不與孔子爲存亡也。書之可信者、莫如論語、論語載子之教人、則書、詩、執禮、自勉則五十學易、絶無半字及春秋、韓宣子聘魯、見易象與魯春秋、楚語莊王傅太子申叔時教之以春秋、晉語稱羊舌肸習於春秋、是孔子之前、四方之國有春秋久矣。或者孔子自衞反魯、正雅頌之餘、偶讀春秋、而略加修飾、公穀所引有不修春秋之稱、是未可知也、而作則斷無之事。尤可笑者、盧仝高束三傳、獨抱遺經、以究終始、然則天王狩于河陽、周襄王無故遠狩于千里之外、隱桓二公皆被弑、而經皆書薨、是聖人之筆、轉不如晉之董狐、齊之南史氏矣、亂臣賊子、又何所鑒戒而懼耶。

'I have received your "Recondite Meanings of the Ch'un Ts'ëw," in which your exquisite knowledge is everywhere apparent. While availing yourself of [the Works of] Tan Tsoo and Chaou K'wang, you have far excelled them, and that of Hoo Gan-ting is not worthy to be spoken of [in comparison with yours]. But in my poor view I always feel that the Ch'un Ts'ëw was certainly not *made* by Confucius.

'Confucius spoke of himself as "a transmitter and not a maker (Ana. VII. i.)." To make the Ch'un Ts'ëw was the business of the historiographers. Confucius was not a historiographer, and [he said that] "he who is not in a particular office has nothing to do with plans for the administration of its duties (Ana. VIII. xiv.);"—how should he have usurped the power of the historiographers, and in an unseemly way made [this Work] for them?

'In the words, "It is [the Ch'un Ts'ëw] which will make men know me, and make men condemn me (Mencius, III. Pt. ii. IX. 8)," he appears to take the position of an unsceptred king; but not only would the master not have been willing to do this, but the ruler and ministers and historiographers of Loo would not have borne it.

'It is said that "Confucius wrote what he wrote and retrenched what he retrenched, so that neither Yëw nor Hëa were able to improve a single character (See the quotation from Sze-ma Ts'ëen, on p. 14)." Now the *stylus* of Confucius ceased its labours when the *lin* was taken, but the Ch'un Ts'ëw is continued after that,

which happened in [the spring of] Gae's 14th year, and only ends with the record of Confucius' death in the 16th year;—whose *stylus* have we during those three years, and by whom was this portion of the work improved? It is clear that, as Loo had its historiographers, the preservation or the loss of the Ch'un Ts'ëw had no connexion with Confucius.

'Of all the books [about Confucius] there is none so trustworthy as the Analects. They tell us that the subjects which he taught were the Odes, the Shoo, and the maintenance of the rules of Propriety (Ana. VII. xvii.), and how, stimulating himself, he said, that, [if his life were prolonged], he would give fifty years to the study of the Yih; but there is not half a character in them about the Ch'un Ts'ëw.

'When Han Seuen-tsze was on a complimentary visit to Loo (See above, p. 8), he saw the Yih with its diagrams and the Ch'un Ts'ëw of Loo. In the "Narratives of the States," under the State of Ts'oo, we find Shin Shuh-she, the tutor of the eldest son of king Chwang, teaching him the Ch'un Ts'ëw *(Ib.)*, and under the State of Tsin we have Yang-sheh Heih celebrated for his acquaintance with the Ch'un Ts'ëw *(Ib.)*. Thus before Confucius, the States of the four quarters of the kingdom had long had their Ch'un Ts'ëw. Perhaps when Confucius returned from Wei to Loo, in his leisure from his correcting labours on the Ya and the Sung (Ana. IX. xiv.), he happened to read the Ch'un Ts'ëw, and made some slight improvements in it, so that we find Kung and Kuh quoting from what they call "the unrevised Ch'un Ts'ëw." On this we cannot speak positively; but certainly there was no such thing as the *making* of the Ch'un Ts'ëw. What is still more ridiculous, Loo T'ung laid the three commentaries up high on his shelves, and would only look at the text to search out the beginning and end [of the things referred to]. But [if we adopt that plan], we have the entry that "the king [by] Heaven's [grace] held a court of inspection in Ho-yang (V. xxviii. 16)," which is to the effect that king Sëang of Chow held a court of inspection, without any cause, at a spot so far—a thousand *le*—[from his capital]. Then again, dukes Yin and Hwan were both murdered, and the text simply says that they died. In this way the upright *stylus* of the sage turns out not to be equal to that of Tung Hoo of Tsin, or to Ts'e's historiographer of the South. What is there [in the Ch'un Ts'ëw] to serve as a warning to make rebellious ministers and villainous sons afraid?'

Having arrived at my own conclusions about the Ch'un Ts'ëw before I met with Yuen Mei's letter, I was astonished and gratified to find such a general agreement between his views and mine. He puts on one side with remarkable boldness the testimony of Mencius, on which I have dwelt in the first section as presenting the greatest difficulty in the way of our accepting the Ch'un Ts'ëw as the work of the sage. He would fain deny, as I have said I should be glad to do, that Confucius had anything to do with compiling the chronicle; but the evidence is too strong on the opposite side, and his supposition, that Confucius, without any great purpose, made some slight improvements in the Ch'un Ts'ëw of Loo towards the end of his life, does not satisfy the exigencies of the case. He has the same opinion that I have of the serious defects of the Work,

and on that account he would deny any authorship of Confucius in connexion with it; while I have ventured to reason on those defects as symptomatic of defects in the character of the compiler.

While not scrupling to brush away traditions with a bold hand, Yuen yet mentions one which served his purpose,—that Confucius ceased his labours on the Ch'un Ts'ëw when the *lin* was taken in the 14th year of duke Gae. Some say that it was the appearance of the *lin* which induced Confucius to set about the compilation of the classic as a lasting memorial of himself. Others say that the appearance of the *lin* was to signalize the conclusion of the sage's Work, but how long he had been engaged upon it previously they do not pretend to say. Nothing really is known upon the subject; and the silence of the Analects in regard to it, to which Yuen calls attention, is really note-worthy.

CHAPTER II.

THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE CH'UN TS'EW:—

WITH TABLES OF SOLAR ECLIPSES; OF THE YEARS AND LUNAR MONTHS OF THE WHOLE PERIOD; AND OF THE KINGS, AND THE PRINCES OF THE PRINCIPAL FIEFS, FROM THE COMMENCEMENT TO THE CLOSE OF THE CHOW DYNASTY.

SECTION I.

THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE TEXT.

1. I have observed on p. 10 that natural phænomena, supposed to affect the general well-being of the State, formed one class of the things recorded in the Ch'un Ts'ëw. Of this nature were eclipses of the sun, included by Maou K'e-ling, in the note on pp. 11, 12, among the "calamities and ominous occurrences," that are the 18th of the divisions under which he arranges all the subjects of these Chronicles. It must not be supposed that these eclipses were recorded with a view to the accumulation of astronomical facts for any scientific purpose;—the whole doctrine of the ancient Chinese concerning them was that given in the 9th ode of Book IV., Part II. of the She, made on occasion of an eclipse before the Ch'un Ts'ëw period, and which gives us the first certain date in ancient Chinese history.

"The sun was eclipsed,
A thing of very evil omen.
For the moon to be eclipsed
Is but an ordinary matter;
Now that the sun has been eclipsed,—
How bad it is!"

The eclipses recorded in the Ch'un Ts'ëw determine its chronology.

But whatever was the motive for recording the eclipses, they are of the utmost value for determining the chronology of the time comprised in our Classic. It contains altogether the entries of thirty-six eclipses, the table of which given by Mr. Chalmers at the conclusion of his article on the "Astronony of the ancient Chinese," in the prolegomena to my third volume, with his own calculation of the times of their occurrence, I reproduce here with some slight variations.

SOLAR ECLIPSES RECORDED IN THE CH'UN TS'EW.

AS RECORDED IN THE TEXT.					No.
Duke's sac. title.	*Year of Rule.*	*Year of Cycle.*	*Moon.*	*Day of Cycle.*	
隱公	3	58	II.	6	I.
桓公	3	9	VII.	29 *total.*	II.
,, ,,	17	23	X.		III.
莊公	18	42	III.		IV.
,, ,,	25	49	VI.	8	V.
,, ,,	26	50	XII.	60	VI.
,, ,,	30	54	IX.	7	VII.
僖公	5	3	IX.	45	VIII.
,, ,,	12	10	III.	7	IX.
,, ,,	15	13	V.		X.
文公	1	32	II.	60	XI.
,, ,,	15	46	VI.	38	XII.
宣公	8	57	VII.	1 *total.*	XIII.
,, ,,	10	59	IV.	53	XIV.
,, ,,	17	6	VI.	40	XV.
成公	16	23	VI.	3	XVI.
,, ,,	17	24	XII.	54	XVII.
襄公	14	39	II.	32	XVIII.
,, ,,	15	40	VIII.	54	XIX.
,, ,,	20	45	X.	53	XX.
,, ,,	21	46	IX.	47	XXI.
,, ,,	21	46	X.	17	XXII.
,, ,,	23	48	II.	10	XXIII.
,, ,,	24	49	VII.	1 *total.*	XXIV.
,, ,,	24	49	VIII.	30	XXV.
,, ,,	27	52	XII.	12	XXVI.
昭公	7	3	IV.	41	XXVII.
,, ,,	15	11	VI.	54	XXVIII.
,, ,,	17	13	VI.	11	XXIX.
,, ,,	21	17	VII.	19	XXX.
,, ,,	22	18	XII.	10	XXXI.
,, ,,	24	20	V.	32	XXXII.
,, ,,	31	27	XII.	48	XXXIII.
定公	5	33	III.	48	XXXIV.
,, ,,	12	40	XI.	3	XXXV.
,, ,,	15	43	VIII.	17	XXXVI.
哀公	14	57	V.	57	XXXVII.

SOLAR ECLIPSES RECORDED IN THE CH'UN TS'EW.

BY CALCULATION.				
Year.	*Month & day. New style.*	*Chinese Moon.*	*Day of Cycle.*	
—719	February 14	III.	6	Visible at sunrise.
—708	July 8	VIII.	29	Total about 3h. P.M.
—694	October...................... 3	XI.	7	Visible—Afternoon.
—675	April........................ 6	V.	49	Sunset.
—668	May 18	VI.	8	Morning.
—667	November 3	XII.	60	Morning.
—663	August 21	IX.	7	Afternoon.
—654	August.....................11	IX.	45	Afternoon.
—647	March 29	V.	7	Afternoon.
—644	January....................28	III.	21	*Not visible.*
—625	January....................26	III.	60	Visible at Noon.
—611	April 20	V.	38	Sunrise.
—600	September 12	X.	1	Total 3h. 30m. P.M.
—598	February 26	IV.	53	Visible at Sunrise.
—591	October...................... 5	XI.	8	*Not visible.*
—574	May 1	VI.	3	Visible at Noon.
—573	October.....................17	XI.	54	Morning.
—558	January 8	II.	32	Noon.
—557	May 23	VI. *Intercal.*	54	*Scarcely visible* at Sunrise.
—552	August......................25	X.	53	Noon.
—551	August......................13	IX.	47	Noon.
—551	September.................	X.		*No Eclipse.*
—550	December..................30	II.	10	Visible at Sunrise.
—548	June 12	VII.	1	Total about 1h. 15m P.M.
—548	July	VIII.		*No Eclipse.*
—545	October 7	XI.	12	Visible in the Morning.
—534	March 11	IV.	41	Forenoon.
—526	April.........................10	V.	54	Forenoon.
—524	August......................14	IX.	10	Afternoon.
—520	June.......................... 3	VII.	19	Forenoon.
—519	November 18	XII.	10	Afternoon.
—517	April 1	V.	32	Sunrise.
—510	November 7	XII.	48	Forenoon.
—504	February 10	III.	48	Noon.
—497	September 15	X.	3	Forenoon.
—494	July..........................15	VIII.	17	Forenoon.
—480				

2. In the table in the prolegomena to vol. III. Mr. Chalmers has referred these eclipses in the Ch'un Tsëw to the emperors, or kings rather, of Chow in whose reigns they occurred; as we have to do here only with the period of the Ch'un Ts'ëw, I have substituted for the titles of the kings those of the marquises of Loo, in connexion with whom the eclipses are mentioned in the text of the Classic. At his request also I have given the years in his calculation as –719,–708, &c., instead of B.C. 719, 708, &c., as being in accordance with the usage of astronomers.[1] His calculation of the month and day, according to new style, remains unchanged, because it makes the comparison of the Chinese moons with our own, in relation to the solstices, plainer and easier for general readers. I have also introduced a 37th eclipse, which is recorded, in the brief supplement to the Classic, in the 4th paragraph after the text proper terminates.

Results of the comparison of the eclipses as recorded and calculated.

Comparing now the times of the 36 eclipses as recorded and calculated, it will be seen, *first*, that two of them are entirely erroneous, and could not have taken place at all. Two eclipses are given as having occurred in the 21st and 24th years of duke Sëang, corresponding to—551 and—548, on successive months;—a thing physically impossible. On p. 491 of this volume I have given the remark of a scholar of the T'ang dynasty that such a thing perhaps did occur in ancient times! No reasonable account of the twice repeated error has ever been given. Possibly two eclipses did occur some time during the Ch'un Ts'ëw period on the months and days mentioned, but in other years; and the tablets of them got misplaced, and appear where they now do. In the mean time the records must be regarded as entirely erroneous.[2]

1 Mr. Chalmers has sent me the following extract of a letter from Professor Airy—now Sir. G.B. Airy—the Astronomer Royal, with whom he corresponded through a friend some years ago on the subject of these ancient Chinese eclipses:—'The year [of the eclipse in the She-king] may be expressed in either of these forms:—

—775 for Astronomical purposes;
B.C. 776 for Chronological purposes.'

2 The three early commentaries do not touch on this error. Their writers, no doubt, were not aware that there was any error. In the note appended to the article on 'The Antiquity of the Chinese proved by Monuments.' in the 2d volume of the 'Memoires concernant les Chinois,' the texts of these eclipses are given and translated without any intimation of their being wrong. In the article, however, p. 98, the writer says on the eclipses in the Ch'un Ts'ëw:—"Si, dans la multitude, il s'en trouve quelques-unes (comme il s'en trouve en effet), qui n' aient pu avoir eu lieu, disons alors que, comme la coutume a toujours eté que les Calculateurs fissent part du résultat de leurs Calculs, plusieurs jours avant où devant arriver l'eclypse, afin qu'on disposât tout pour les cérémonies qui se pratiquoient dans ces sortes d'occasions, il est arrivé que les Astronomes, faute de bonnes Tables, ayant prédit une fausse eclipse, dont l'annonce a eté livrée aus Historiographes, ceux-ci en ont tenu registre de la méme maniere que si elle avoit eté vraie; soit qu'ils la crussent telle, parce qu' un ciel obscur et chargé de nuages avoit empêché d'observer; soit que, par négligence, ou par un simple oubli, ils eussent manqué à la rayer du catalogue des evénemens.' The explanation here suggested is specially inapplicable to the two eclipses under notice.

It will be seen, *secondly*, that two more of the eclipses are somehow given incorrectly. The 10th is recorded as happening in the 1st month of the 15th year of duke He, corresponding to –644. As proved by calculation, there was an eclipse in the 3d Chinese moon of that year, but it was not visible in Loo. This error, like the two former ones, must be left unexplained. The 15th eclipse appears as having occurred in the 17th year of duke Seuen, corresponding to –591, in the 6th month, on the cycle day Kwei-maou. But there was then no eclipse. Chinese astronomers discovered this error in the time of the eastern Tsin dynasty; but they have found no way of accounting for it. They have called attention, indeed, to the fact that an eclipse was possible on the 1st day of the fifth month; but that would be visible only in the southern hemisphere. It occurred to Mr. Chalmers, however, to try the 7th year of duke Seuen, and he found that that year, in the 6th month, on Kwei-maou, which was then the day of the new moon, there was an eclipse visible in Loo. No doubt, this was the eclipse intended in the text, inaccurately arranged under the 17th year instead of the 7th. This happy rectification of one error shows in what direction the rectification of the other errors is to be sought.

It will be seen, *thirdly*, that of the remaining 32 eclipses, the years, months, and cycle-days of 18, as determined by calculation, agree with those which are given in the text, while of the other 14 the years and cycle-days agree, and the months are different, generally by one month or two, and in two cases by three months. The difference of the months, however, gives confirmation to the truthfulness of the text, showing, indeed, that it is not absolutely correct, but proving, to my mind, that the historiographers entered the eclipses in the current months of the years when they were observed. In order to make those current months agree with the true months it would have been necessary that the process of intercalation should be regularly and scientifically observed. But it was not so observed in the time of the Ch'un Ts'ëw. In proof of this I need only refer the reader to what Mr. Chalmers has said on the subject in the prolegomena to vol. III. p. 99, and to his valuable table of the years and months of the Ch'un Ts'ëw, which concludes this section. There was not room for the same error with the cycle-days. No science was required in their application. Each successive day had its name determined by the successive terms of the cycle; and, when these were exhausted, the historiographers had only to begin again. Whether the months

were long or short, and whether the year contained an intercalary month or not, the cyclical names of the days were sure to be given correctly. All that was necessary was not to let any day go by unmarked. Those 14 eclipses,[3] correct as to the years and cycle-days of their occurrence, and incorrect, only in the months to which they are referred, from an assignable cause, are to be accepted with as little hesitation as the 18 in regard to the date of which the record and the calculation entirely agree. The errors in them are of such a character as to show that the text was not constructed subsequently, but was made by the historiographers of Loo, in the exercise of their duties, along the whole course of the period.

The chronology is determined by the eclipses;—as in par. 1.

3. It is hardly necessary to point out how the long list of eclipses thus verified determines the chronology of the Ch'un Ts'ëw period. The first eclipse occurred in the 3d year of duke Yin, in –719, and therefore we know that the period commenced in –721. The last eclipse occurred in the last year of duke Ting, in –494, from which we have only to subtract 14 years of duke Gae's rule to get the last year of the period; and indeed in the supplementary text we have an eclipse occurring in Gae's 14th year, or in –480.

I have called attention in the preceding paragraph to the fact of the cycle-days being always given correctly for the eclipses. So they generally are for other events; but sometimes they are given wrong,—as will be seen by comparing the subjoined table with the text, the days which could not be verified being omitted in the table. The errors of this kind, which are on the whole wonderfully few, are for the most part pointed out in the notes, according to the calculations of Too Yu, who says that there must be an error of the month or of the day. In some cases there may be a corruption of the cyclical names through carelessness of transcribers, which would give an error of the day; more frequently, I believe, the month is wrongly given, through the same irregularity of intercalation which has made the months given for the eclipses differ from the true months as ascertained by calculation.

The different commencements of the year in the three ancient dynasties.

4. I take this opportunity to touch on another subject which has often perplexed students of ancient Chinese history,—the different commencements of the year in the three great ancient dynasties of Hëa, Shang, and Chow. According to the representations of the scholars of

3 Of the third and fourth of those eclipses the text does not give the cyclical days; but I have not thought it worth while to call attention to this in *my* text.

the Han and all subsequent dynasties, the beginning of the year was changed, to signalize the new dynasty, by an exercise of the royal prerogative. Indeed, the phrase '*san ching*,'[1] occurring in the Shoo, III. ii. 3, has been interpreted as meaning the 'three commencements of the year;' in which case it would be necessary to suppose that even before the Hëa dynasty the year had begun at different dates and in different months. But if I were translating the Shoo-king afresh, I should feel compelled to cast about for another meaning for the phrase in that passage. In point of fact the Ch'un Ts'ëw seems to show that the new commencement arose from the necessity of error which there was not sufficient science to correct. The year of the Hëa dynasty began originally with the first month of spring. By the end of that dynasty, through the neglect of the intercalation, it commenced, I suppose, a month earlier, and hence the sovereigns of Shang made that the beginning of their year. But during their tenure of the kingdom, the same process of error took place, and the year, I suppose again, had come to approximate to the time of the winter solstice when the kings of Chow superseded them. They adopted the retrogression, and made it their theory that the year should begin with the new moon preceding the winter solstice, *i.e.*, between our November 22 and December 22. But their astronomers and historiographers had not knowledge enough to keep it there. An inspection of Mr. Chalmers' table following this paragraph shows a very marked tendency, increasing as time went on, to make the year begin in the month before the new moon preceding the winter solstice. Previous to the time of duke He, many of the years begin in the commencing month of the Shang dynasty; but subsequently, the 30th, 32d, and 33d years of duke He, the 18th year of Wăn, the 3d, 4th, and 6th of Seuen, the 1st, 4th, 7th, 10th and 12th of Ch'ing, the 16th, 19th, 21st, and 27th of Sëang, the 1st, 4th, 15th, 20th, and 28th of Ch'aou, and the 2d, 7th, and 10th of Ting, all began in the month before the proper commencement of the Chow year. This was, no doubt, the ordinary commencement of the year when the dynasty of Ts'in superseded that of Chow, and so its emperor declared that the year should then begin;—three months before the period of Hëa, embracing a whole season, so that what was called its spring was actually the winter of the year, and the names of all the seasons were wrongly

[1] 三正

applied. Thus each of the four dynasties which ran out their course before our Christian era had its different commencement of the year. Chinese writers, however, generally speak only of 'three correct beginnings,' being unwilling to allow the dynasty of Ts'in to rank with those of Hea, Shang, and Chow.

As has been pointed out in the 'Astronomy of the ancient Chinese' by Mr. Chalmers, after the establishment of the Han dynasty, the Chinese endeavoured to open communications with the west; and from India they must have received great additions to their astronomical knowledge. Their scholars became able to make a reformation of the calendar; and adopting the maxim of Confucius, that the seasons of Hëa should be followed, they determined and arranged that the year should thenceforth commence with the beginning of spring, as it has since, with more or less of correctness, done.

The above observations show that of the four 'correct beginnings of the year,' (including that of Ts'in), one only was correct, and the proper nomenclature regarding them would be 'one correct and three erroneous beginnings.' They should also end the partial and bigoted pretensions of Chinese writers, when they talk of the universal knowledge of their ancient worthies, and the more culpable partiality and bigotry of some Sinologues who try to bear out their assertions.

5. In the following table the intercalary months are indicated by a line. The principal guide in determining them has been the cycle-days given in connexion with many of the events referred to. According to the theory of the Chinese year, as explained in vol. III., p. 22, there ought to be 7 intercalary months in every 19 years. It will be seen that during the Ch'un Ts'ëw period these months were introduced very irregularly.

The small figures denote the cyclical numbers of the days mentioned in the text, so far as they can be verified. A small capital (E) indicates an eclipse. The most important thing to be observed in the table is the changing position of the first month, sometimes preceding, sometimes following, the winter solstice, without any apparent rule.

LUNAR MONTHS ACCORDING TO CONFUCIUS.

The small figures are the Cyclical numbers of days mentioned in the History.

Cyclical Number of Shortest Day.	LUNAR MONTHS ACCORDING TO CONFUCIUS.	YEARS.
		—
60	I II III IV V VI VII VIII IX X XI XII ,	721
5	I . . . . VIII . . . XII 52 ——,	720
10	I II 6E III 47 IV 28 . . . VIII 17 . . . XII 20 ,	
16	I II . . . . ,	
21	I . . . . XII 18 ——,	
26	I . . . V 58 . . . . ,	
31	I . . . . ——,	715
37	I . III 27 . . VI 36 VII 7 . IX 28 . . . ,	
42	I . III 10 . . . . ,	
47	I II 50 . . . VI . . IX 15 X . . ——,	
52	I . . . . . VII 19 . . . XI 29 . ,	
58	I . . IV 44 . . . . ,	710
3	I . . IV 45 . . . . ——,	
8	I . . . . . VII 29E . . . . . ,	
13	I . . . . ,	
19	I 26 . . . . ——,	
24	I . . . . . . VIII 19 IX 4 . . . . ,	705
29	I II 36 . . . . ——,	
34	I 16 . . . V 14 . . . . . . ,	
39	I . . . . ,	
45	I 57 . . . . XII 43 ——,	
50	I . . . V 20 . . . IX . . . ,	700
55	I . . . . VI 39 VII 24 VIII . . XI 23 XII 44 ——,	
60.	I II . . . . ,	
6	I . . . . . . VIII 9 . . . XII 54 ,	
11	I . III 32 IV 6 . VI . . . . . . ——,	
16	I . . . . ,	695
21	I 53 II . . V 43 VI 14 . VIII 30 . X 7E . . ,	
27	I . . IV 13 V 34 . . . . XII 26 ,	
I32	. . . . X 12 . . ——,	
37	I . . . . XII 22 ,	
42	I . . . . ——,	690
48	I . . . . VI 2 . . . . . . ,	
53	I . . . . ,	
58I	. . . . ,	
I 3	. . IV 28 . . . . ——,	
9	I 31 . . . . XI 20 . ,	685
I14	. . . . . . VII 34 VIII 57 . . . . ——,	
19	I . . . . ,	
24	I . . . 15 V . 15 . . . . . . ——,	
30	I . . . . . . VIII 31 . . . . ,	
35	I . . . . ,	680
40I	. . . . ——,	
45	I . . . . ,	
51	I . . . . ,	
56I	. . . . ——,	
1	I . . IV 49E . VI 54 . . . . . . ,	675
6	I . . . . ,	
I12	. . . . ——,	
17	I . . . V 58 . VII 35 . . . . . ,	
22	I 50 . . . . . VII 33 . . . . . ,	
I27	. . . . XII 51 ——,	670
32	I . . . . . . VIII 14 . . . . ,	
38I	. . . V 50 VI 8E . . . . . . ,	

I43 . . . . XI160E——,
48 I . . . . , —
I53 . III 51 IV44 . . . . ——, 665
59 I . . . . ,
4 I . . . . VIII 60 IX7E . . . . ,
I.9 . . . . ——,
14 I . . . . . . VII 30VIII 60. X 56 . . ,
20I . . . . . VI 58 . . . . , 660
I25 . . . V 22 —— . .VIII 38 . . . . .
30 I . . . . . VII 5 . . X 19 . ——XII54,
35. I . . . V 18 . . . . ,
41 1 . . . . ,
46 I . . . . , 655
I51 . . . . IX45E . . . ——,
I 56 . . . . ,
I 2 . . . . ,
I 7 . . . . XII 44 ,
I 12 . III 14 . . . VII 22 . IX 5 . . . ——, 650
17I . . . . ,
I23 . . . . ——,
28 I . . IV7E . . . . XII 14 ,
I33 . . . . ——,
38 I . . . . VIII 28 . . . . . , 645
44 I II21E . . . . IX 16 XI 59 . ,
45I49 . III9 IV33 . . VII 1 . . . . . . ,
I 54 . . . . XII 12 ——,
59I . . . V 15 . . 24 VIII . . . . . ,
I5 . . . . . VI 46 . . . . ——, 640
10 I . . . . V 42 . . . . ,
15I . . . . XII 50 ,
I20 . . . . VIII 44 . . XI 6 . ,
I 25 . . . V 27 . . . . ——,
I31 . . . . , 635
I 36 43. III IV 10. . . . . XII 60 ——,
41 I 56 . . . . ,
I46 . . . . . VI 27 . VIII 32 . . . XII 11 ,
I 52 . III 43 IV 6 V 50 . . . . . . 9 . . . ,
I 57 . . . . , 630
I .2 . . . . IX 31 . . . ——,
I 7 . . . . ,
I 13. . IV 26. . . . . XII 16 ,
I . 18 . IV 18 . . . . . —— . . XII 42 ,
I 23. III60E IV 54 . . . . . . X 44 . . ——, 625
I28 II 1 III 42. . . . VIII 4 . . . . . ,
I 34 . . . . XII 6 ——,
39I . . . . XI 39 . ,
I44 . III 48 . . . . X 21 . . ,
I 49 . . . . VIII 12 . . . . . ——, 620
55I . III 11 IV 25 . . . . ,
I 60 . . . . VIII 45 . X 19 . . ,
I 5 II 38 . . . . IX 10. . . . ——,
I10 . . III 28 . . . . ,
I 16 . . . . X 31 . . . , 615
I 21I37 . . —— . . . . XII 55,
I 26 . . . . V 19 . . . . 26 XII ,
I 31 . . . 12 V VI 10 . . . IX 21 . . . ,
I 37. . . . . VI38E . . . . ——,
I42 . . . . . VI 5 . VIII8 . . . . . . , 610

I 47 . . IV 60 . VI 20 . . . . ,
I . 52 14 . . V 35 VI 10 . . . . . . ——,
158 . . . . ,
I 49 3II . . . . . . IX 2 X 12 . . . ,
I . 8 . . . . X 23 . . . , 605
I . 13 . . . . . VI 22 . . . . . . ——,
I 18 . . . . ,
I . 24 . . . . ——,
I 29 . . . . ,
I 34 . . . . ——VI 18. . . X 1E 26 . . , 600
I 39 . . . . 58 IX X 10 . . . ,
I 45. . IV53E V 30 . . . . ——,
I50 . . . . X 24 . . ,
I 55 . . . . 52 VI . . . . . . XII 15 ,
I 60. . . . . ——, 595
I 6 . . . V 9 . . . . ,
I 11 . . . . . VI 40 . . . . ——,
16 I . . . . ,
I21 . . . . VI 56 . . . . . XI8E19 . ,
I 27 . . . . . . VII 11 . . X 59 . . . , 590
I 32 58 . . . . ——,
I 37 . . IV 23 . VI 10 VII46 VIII 19. . XI 33 . ,
I 4248III . . . . XI 43 . ,
I . 48 9 III IV 51 . . . . ——,
I53 . . . . XI 46 XII26 , 585
I 58 II 18 . IV . VI 19 . . . . ,
I . 3 . . . . . . VIII 5 . . . . . ——,
I 9 . . . . X 40 . . . ,
I 14. . . . . . VII 13 . . . XI 57 . ,
I . 19 . . V 43 VI . . . . ——, 580
I 24 . III 26 . . . . ,
I . 30 . . . . ——,
I 35 . . . . ,
I 40. . . . . . . ——VIII . X 27 . . ,
I 45 . III 42 . . . . VIII 17 . . . . . , 575
I 51 . . IV 8 . VI3E . . . . X 12 . XII 2 ,
I 56. . . . . VI 22 . . IX 38 . 9 XI XII54E——,
I157 . . . . VIII 26. . . XII 44 ,
I 6 . . . . IX 58 . . . . ——,
I11 . . . . V 27 VI VII26 . . . . , 570
I 17 . . IV 59 . VI 56 . . . . ,
I 22. 46 III . . . . VII 25 VIII48. . . . . ——,
I27 . . . . XII 8 ,
I 32 . III 19 . . . .
I 38. . . . . X 59 ——. XII 23 , 565
I43 . . . . ,
I 48 . . . . V 58 . . VIII20 . . . 36 XII ,
I 53 . . . V 31 . . . . ——,
I59 . . . . . . VII 56 . . . . ,
I 4. . . . . ——. 560
I9 . . . . IX 17 . . . . ,
I 14 II32E IV 56 . . . . ,
I 20II36 . . . . . VII54E. . . . XI 60 . ,
I . 25 III 15 . V 60 . . . . ——,
I 30 II 7 . . . . , 555
I 35. . . . . ,
I . 41 . . . . . VII28 VIII53. . . . . ——,
I 4648. . . . . VI 57 . . . . X53E . . ,
I . 51 . . . . ——IX47E . E . . ,

I 56 . . . . . . VII 58 . . . . . . , 550
I 2 II10E III 6 . . . . . VIII16 . X 12 . . ——,
I7 . . . . . . VIII1E . E . . . . . ,
1 12 . . . V12 VI49 . 6 VIII . . . . . ,
I 17II 28 . . . . . . VIII19 . . . . ,
I .23 . . . . . VII . 18 . . . XII12E ——, 545
I 28 . . . . XII 51 ,
I 33. . . V 7 . . . —— . . . . ,
I38 . . . V 31 . . . . ,
I 44 . . . . VI 18 . . IX 30 X 10 . . ,
I .49 . . . VI 54 . . . . ——XI46 . , 540
I 54 . . . . ,
I 44 59 . . . . ,
I .4 . . —— VI 43 . . . . . . XII52 ,
I 10 . . . . . VII 5 . . . . . . ,
I 15. III . . VI 23 . —— . . . . . , 535
I20 . . IV41E . . . VIII 5 . . XI 20 XII 60 ,
I 25 . . IV 38 . . . . . . —— X 19 . . ,
I31 57 II . . . . ,
I 6 . . . . . VII 25 . . . . XIII ,
I 41 . . IV 54 V 21 . . . IX 36 . XI 34 . ——, 530
I46 . III 9. . . . . ,
I 52 . . . . . . VIII 11 . . . . ,
I 57. . . . . ,
I II210 . . . VI54E . . —— . . . . . ,
I 7 . . . . . . VIII36 . . . . , 525
I 13 . . . . . . IX 4 X10E . . ——,
I 18 . . . V 19 . . . . ,
I 23. . . V 5 . . . . ,
I .28 . . . . . VIII48—— . . XI 28. ,
I 34 . . . . . VII19E VIII12 . . . . , 520
I 39. . IV 2 . . . . —— XII10E,
I44 50 . . . . . VII5 VIII32. . . . ,
I 49II 23 . . V32E . . VIII . 34 . . . . ,
I 55 . . . . . VII . IX36 X56 XI36 . ——,
I 60 . . . . IX 57 . . . , 515
I 5. . . . .
I .10 . IV 23 . —— . VII30. . . . . . ,
I 16 . . IV 37 . . . . ,
I 21. . . —— VI 17 . . . . ,
I26 . . IV 54 . . . . XII48E , 510
I 31 . . . . XII 56 ,
I 37. . . . VI60 VII30 . . . . ,
I .42 . . V 29 —— . . . . ,
I 47 II 28. . . . . ,
I 52II . 30 IV 17 . . . . ——XI 7 . , 505
I 57 . III48E . . VI33 VII49 . . . . . . ,
I 60 3 . . . . ,
I .8 . . . . ——,
I 13 . . . . . . VII 5 . . . . . ,
I 18. . IV 45 . . . . , 500
I .24 . . . . . —— . . . .
I 29 . . . . ,
I 34. . . . . X 60 XI3E . ——,
I39 . . . . ,
I 45 III8 . . . . ——, 495
I50 II 38 . . V 48 . VII9 VIII17E IX54 . . .
I 55 . . IV18 . . . .
I 60II30 . IV13 . . . VIII11 . . . . ——,

I6 . . IV 31 V 28 . VII 13 . . X 40 . ,
I 11 II 47 . . . VI 38 . VII 51 . . . , 490
I 16. . . . . . . IX 10 . . . ——,
I 21 . . . . . VII 27 . . . . ,
I 27. . . . . . . VIII 46 . . . . ——,
I 32 . . . . XII 60 ,
I 37 II . . . . , 485
I 42. III 35 . . —— . . . . ,
I 48 . . . V 11 . VII 58 . . . . . ,
I 53 . . . V 41 . . . . ,
I 58 . . . . ——,
I3 . . IV 47 V 57 . . VIII 38 . . . , 480
I 9 . . . . ,
I 14 . . IV 26 . . . . , 478

SECTION II.

THE DATES IN THE TSO CHUEN.

1. The chronology of the Ch'un Ts'ëw period, as it appears in the Tso Chuen, is the same as that which appears in the text; but the dates of many events mentioned in both differ by one or two months; and where those dates are at the end or beginning of a year, the years to which they are assigned will also differ. This circumstance has wonderfully exercised the ingenuity of the Chinese critics; but a sufficient solution of the want of correspondence is found, in much the greater number of cases, in the fact that the feudal States were by no means agreed in using the commencement of the year prescribed by the dynasty of Chow. I have shown, in par. 4 of last section, that the Shang and Chow dynasties adopted each a different month for the beginning of the year from that employed by the dynasty of Hëa, not by arbitrary exercise of sovereignty to signalize their possession of the kingdom, but in consequence of the disorder into which the months of the year had fallen through the neglect or irregularity of intercalation. The peculiarity now under notice further shows the feebleness of the sway exercised by the kings of Chow over the feudal States, for several of those ruled by chiefs of the Chow surname yet continued to hold to the Hëa beginning of the year.

The dates of events in the Tso Chuen often differ from the dates in the text.

For example, in the narrative introduced by Tso after I. iii. 3, we are told that Ch'ing sent plundering expeditions into the royal

domain, which 'in the 4th month carried off the wheat of Wăn, and in the autumn the rice of Ch'ing-chow;' meaning evidently the 4th month and the autumn of the Hëa year.

Again, in V. v. 1, we are told that 'in spring, the marquis of Tsin put to death his heir-son Shin-săng,' whereas, according to the Chuen, the deed was done in the 12th month of the preceding year. In V. x. 3, Le K'ih of Tsin murders his ruler in the first month of the year, whereas, according to the Chuen, he did so in the 11th month of the previous year. In V. xv. 13, a battle was fought between Tsin and Ts'in in the 11th month, while in the Chuen it takes place in the 9th. Tsin evidently regulated its months after the Hëa calendar.

In Ts'e, whose princes were of the surname Këang, it would appear that the year continued to commence with the natural spring, for in VI. xiv. 9 the murder of Shay, marquis of Ts'e, appears as taking place in the 9th month, whereas the Chuen gives it in the 7th.

In Sung, where the descendants of the kings of Shang held sway, they naturally followed the calendar of Shang. Thus in I. vi. 4, an army of Sung appears as taking Ch'ang-koh in winter, while Tso says it did so in the autumn. And in the Shoo, V. viii., containing the charge to the viscount of Wei on his appointment to be the first duke of Sung, it would appear from par. 1 that authority is given to him to use all the institutions of his ancestors.

This varying commencement of the year among the feudal States of Chow may be substantiated from other sources besides the Ch'un Ts'ëw and the Tso Chuen.[1] It not only shows, as I have said, the feebleness of the dynasty of Chow; but it affords a strong confirmation of the genuineness of Tso's narratives. Had they been constructed to illustrate the text, or even been introduced as subsidiary to it without being occupied with events referred to in it, the compiler would have been careful to avoid such a discrepancy of dates. As Lëw Yuen-foo of the Sung dynasty observed, 'The months and days in Tso-she often differ from those in the text of the classic, because he copied indiscriminately from the tablets of the historiographers of the different States, which used the three different commencements of the year without any fixed rule.'[2]

1 See in the Work of Chaou Yih, Bk. II., his appendix to the section headed 春不書王.

2 劉原父謂左氏月日,多與經不同,蓋左氏雜取當時諸侯史策之文,其用三正,參差不一,故與經多岐.

2. What I have said in the above paragraph goes strongly to support the genuineness of Tso's narratives. There are some other dates, however, in his commentary to which my attention has been called by Mr. Chalmers, and which would seem to show that they were introduced at a later period; some of them perhaps in the Han dynasty. Tso gives the day of the winter solstice in two years;—the 5th of duke He, and the 20th of duke Ch'aou. In the former case, B.C. 654, he says that the day Sin-hae (the 48th cyclical number) was the day of the winter solstice, and the first day of the first month; but this is an error of one day in regard to the new moon, and of three days in regard to the solstice, which fell that year on Këah-yin (the 51st cyclical number). In the latter case, B.C. 521, he says that the solstice fell on the day Ke-ch'ow (the 26th cyclical number), whereas it fell on Sin-maou, two days later, and the day of new moon was also one day later. 'Here,' says Mr. Chalmers, 'the farther back the greater the error, so that the date and the method could not have been handed down from any previous time. If a year had been sought in duke He's time, when the new moon and solstice coincided, 646 would have been right; and 665 (646+19) or 627 (646–19) would also have been the proper commencement of a cycle of 19 years, which might have been repeated down to the end of the Ch'un Ts'ëw period without much error. The error accumulates in reckoning onwards of course as well as in reckoning back, so that by the time of the Han dynasty the cycle would have to be shifted on to another set of years. But the text of the Chuen, and the commentary which you give under the 20th year of duke Ch'aou, were evidently written from a Han point of view. Twenty-two cycles of 19 years are reckoned back from the time of the emperor Woo,—say B.C. 103 ($103+19\times22=521$), and it is affirmed that in 521 the solstice coincided with the new moon because it did so in 103. But it did not do so, nor did the new moon then fall on the day assigned to it. That a writer near the time of Confucius should give wrong dates is very likely; but that they should be *systematically* wrong, so as to agree with an imperfect method of calculation adopted some centuries later, and founded on observations then made—about B.C. 103—of the actual position of the sun and moon, is so improbable that I cannot believe it. The Metonic cycle cannot be repeated twenty-two times without incurring an error of two or three days.'

Again, on IX. xxviii. 1, and in some other passages, Tso mentions the place of the year-star or Jupiter, and Mr. Chalmers contends

that they were all interpolated at a subsequent date. On the case in IX. xxviii. 1, he observes:—'The position of the planet Jupiter was observed in the year B.C. 103, and recorded correctly by Sze-ma Ts'ëen, in *Sing-ke* (Sagittarius-Capricorn); and he thought, as the writer of the notices in the Tso Chuen evidently did likewise, that Jupiter's period was exactly 12 years. But if this had been the case, Jupiter should not have been in *Sing-ke* in the 28th year of duke Sëang, B.C. 544, because the intervening time of 441 years is not divisible by 12. Moreover, Jupiter was not really in *Sing-ke* in B.C. 544, but he would be there in 542, two years later. How then did the writer of the Chuen say that Jupiter was in *Sing-ke*, or ought to have been there, but "had licentiously advanced into *Heuen-hëaou* (Capricorn-Aquarius)?" Probably because such was the course of the planet, and such the Chinese manner of viewing it 240 (12×20) years later,—say in B.C. 304. It might be 12 years before or after. And the writer, knowing this, ventured to count back two centuries and a half in cycles of 12, and then to affirm that the same phænomenon had been observed B.C. 544, and to found a story thereon. He could not have lived earlier than the time of Mencius. He might have been later. Jupiter in fact gains a sign every 86 years, or he completes seven circuits of the starry heavens in about 83 years instead of 84, and hence the discrepancy of 3 years, or 3 signs, between the observations of Sze-ma Ts'ëen and those on which Tso based his calculations. If he, or any authorities he had to quote from, had observed the planet in B.C. 544, they would have said it was in *Ta-ho* (Libra-Scorpio), not in *Sing-ke*, and much less in *Heuen-hëaou.* There would then have been a discrepancy of 5 signs between him and Sze-ma instead of 3. In the matter of the "year-star," as in that of the winter solstice, Tso-she is *systematically* wrong.'

I am not prepared to question the conclusions to which Mr. Chalmers thus comes regarding the dates of the winter solstice, and the positions of the planet Jupiter, given in Tso's commentary. But instead of saying, as he does, that Tso could not have lived earlier than the time of Mencius, and may have lived later, I would say that the narratives in which the Year-star is mentioned were made about that time, and interpolated into his Work during the Ts'in dynasty or in the first Han. They will come under the second class of passages for the interpolation of which I have made provision on p. 35 of the first Chapter. But after all that Mr. Chalmers has said, my faith remains firm in the genuineness of the mass of Tso's

narratives as composed by him from veritable documents contemporaneous with the events to which they relate.

3. Before passing on from the chronology of the text and of the Tso Chuen, it deserves to be pointed out that neither in the Classic nor the Commentary have we any indication of the dating of events with reference to the age of the dynasty of Chow or to the reigns of its kings. In each State they spoke of events with reference to the years of their own rulers. The Classic, divided into twelve Books according to the years of the twelve marquises of Loo, is one example of this. Another is found in the Chuen on VI. xvii. 4, where a minister of Ch'ing, defending his ruler against the suspicions of Tsin, runs over various events, giving them all according to the years of the earl of Ch'ing, without reference to those of the king of Chow or of the marquis of Tsin. We have a third in the Chuen at the end of II. ii., where Tso gives a *resumé* of certain affairs of Tsin, prior to the Ch'un Ts'ëw period, specifying them by the years of duke Hwuy of Loo.

Events not dated with reference to the years of the kings of Chow.

Frequently, in order to make definite the date of an event, some other well known event, contemporaneous with it, is referred to. Thus, in the Chuen after IX. ix. 5, when the marquis of Tsin asks the age of the young marquis of Loo, Ke Woo-tsze replies that he was born in 'the year of the meeting at Sha-suy.' Again, in X. vii., in the 4th narrative appended to par. 4, a panic in Ch'ing is referred to 'the year when the descriptions of punishments were cast;' and on par. 8 it is said that one of the sons of the marquis of Wei was born in 'the year when Han Seuen-tsze became chief minister of Tsin, and went among the other States, paying complimentary visits.'

I need not adduce more examples. In these two ways are the dates of events determined:—by referring them to the years of some ruler of a State, or to some event of general notoriety, contemporaneous with them. They are not in any single instance determined by reference to the era of the dynasty or to the reigns of the kings of Chow. This peculiarity seems again to indicate that the sway which Chow exercised over the States was feeble and imperfect. Chaou Yih calls attention to the fact that the princes or nobles in the early part of the Han dynasty continued to exercise the prerogative of dating events from the year of their appointment or succession, and that the practice was stopped when the emperors of Han began to feel secure in their possession of the empire. It was in truth but a nominal supremacy which was yielded to the kings of Chow.

SECTION III.

LISTS OF THE KINGS OF CHOW, AND OF THE PRINCES OF THE PRINCIPAL FIEFS, FROM THE BEGINNING TO THE CLOSE OF THE DYNASTY.

I. Kings of Chow. Surname Ke (姬). Given, as are the princes of the States, with their sacrificial titles.

1.	Woo	(武)	Reign began B.C. 1,121.
2.	Ch'ing	(成),	„ 1,114.
3,	K'ang	(康),	„ 1,077.
4.	Ch'aou	(昭),	„ 1,051.
5.	Muh	(穆),	„ 1,000.
6.	Kung	(共),	„ 945.
7.	E	(懿),	„ 933.
8.	Hëaou	(孝),	„ 908.
9.	E	(夷),	„ 893.
10.	Le	(厲),	„ 877.
11.	Seuen	(宣),	„ 826.
12.	Yëw	(幽),	„ 780.
13.	P'ing	(平),	„ 769.
14.	Hwan	(桓),	„ 718.
15.	Chwang	(莊),	„ 695.
16.	He	(僖),	„ 680.
17.	Hwuy	(惠),	„ 675.
18.	Sëang	(襄),	B.C. 650.
19.	K'ing	(頃),	„ 617.
20.	K'wang	(匡),	„ 611.
21.	Ting	(定),	„ 605.
22.	Këen	(簡),	„ 584.
23.	Ling	(靈),	„ 570.
24.	King	(景),	„ 543.
25.	King	(敬),	„ 518.
26.	Yuen	(元),	„ 474.
27.	Ching-ting	(貞定),	„ 467.
28.	K'aou	(考),	„ 439.
29.	Wei-lëeh	(威烈),	„ 424.
30.	Gan	(安),	„ 400.
31.	Lëeh	(烈),	„ 374.
32.	Hëen	(顯),	„ 367.
33.	Shin-tsing	(愼靚),	„ 319.
34.	Nan	(赧),	„ 313.
	Reign ended		„ 255.

II. Princes of Loo. Surname Ke. Marquises.

1.	The duke of Chow	(周公),	B.C. 1,121.
2.	Pih-k'in	(伯禽),	„ 1,114.
3.	K'aou	(考),	„ 1,061.
4.	Yang	(煬),	„ 1,057.
5.	Yëw	(幽),	„ 1,051.
6.	Wei	(魏),	
7.	Le	(厲),	
8.	Hëen	(獻).	
9.	Chin	(眞).	
10.	Woo	(武).	
11.	E	(懿).	
12.	Pih-yu	(伯御).	
13.	Hëaou	(孝).	
14.	Hwuy	(惠).	

I have not given the date of the accession of the preceding nine marquises, it being difficult to make it out in several cases. Hwuy brings us to the Ch'un Ts'ëw period.

15.	Yin	(隱),	B.C. 721.
16.	Hwan	(桓),	„ 710.
17.	Chwang	(莊),	B.C. 692.
18.	Min	(閔),	„ 660.

19. He ....(僖), B.C. 658.
20. Wăn ....(文), „ 625.
21. Seuen ....(宣), „ 607.
22. Ch'ing ....(成), „ 589.
23. Sëang ....(襄), „ 571.
24. Ch'aou ....(昭), B.C. 540.
25. Ting ....(定), „ 508.
26. Gae ....(哀), „ 493.
27. Taou ....(悼), „ 466.
28. Yuen ....(元), „ 429.

29 Muh (穆), 408. Under Muh Loo entirely lost its independence. After him we have:—30, Kung (共), 375; 31, K'ăng (康); 32, King (景), 342; 33, P'ing (平); 34, Wăn (文); 35, K'ing (頃), who was reduced to the condition of a private man by king K'aou-lëeh of Ts'oo in B.C. 248.

III. Princes of Wei (衞). Surname Ke. Marquises; but for some time they had the title of Pih (伯), as presiding over several other States.

1. K'angShuh(康叔; see the Shoo, [V. ix.)
2. K'ang Pih (康伯), B.C. 1,077.
3. K'aou Pih (考伯), „ 1,051.
4. Tsze Pih...(嗣伯), „ 1,015.
5. Tsëeh Pih (疌伯), „ 933.
6. Tsing Pih (靖伯), „ 908.
7. Ching Pih (貞伯), „ 893.
8. K'ing ......(頃; simply marquis), „ 865.
9. Le (釐), or He (僖), „ 853.
10. Kung Pih (共伯), „ 811.
11. Woo........(武), „ 811.
12. Chwang....(莊), „ 756.
13. Hwan.......(桓), „ 733.
14. Seuen ......(宣), „ 717.
15. Hwuy ......(惠), „ 698.
16. K'ëen-mow(黔牟) intermedi- [ate, „ 695.
17. E...........(懿), „ 667.
18. Tae.........(戴), B.C. 659.
19. Wăn........(文), „ 658.
20. Ch'ing.....(成), „ 633.
21. Muh........(穆), „ 598.
22. Ting........(定), „ 587.
23. Hëen.......(獻), „ 575.
24. Shang......(殤), 557; intermedi- [ate till 546.
25. Sëang......(襄), „ 542.
26. Ling........(靈), „ 533.
27. Ch'uh ......(出), „ 491.
28. Chwang ...(莊), 478; intermedi- [ate for one year.
29. Pan-sze.....(班師), 477, inter- [mediate.
30. Keun-k'e...(君起), 477, inter- [mediate for two years.
31. Taou........(悼), „ 467.
32. King........(敬), „ 449.
33. Ch'aou .....(昭), „ 430.
34. Hwae.......(懷), „ 424.

35. Shin (愼), 413. Under Shin Wei lost its independence, and became attached to Wei (魏). We have after him:—36, Shing (聲), 371; 37, Ch'ing (成; he was reduced in rank); 38, P'ing (平), 331; 39, Tsze Keun (嗣君; still farther reduced); 40, Hwae Keun (懷君), 281; 41, Yuen Keun (元君), 250; 42, Keun Këoh (君角), who was reduced to the condition of a private man by the second emperor of Ts'in.

IV. Princes of Ts'ae (蔡). Surname Ke. Marquises.

1. Ts'ae Shuh-too (蔡叔度), a brother of king Woo. Was subsequently banished. B.C. 1,121.
2. Ts'ae Chung-hoo (蔡仲胡), Too's son. Was restored to Ts'ae, in B.C. 1,106. (See the Shoo, V. xvii.)

3. Ts'ae Pih-hwang......... (蔡伯荒). B.C. 1,052.
4. Ts'ae Kung-how......... (蔡宫侯), „ 946.
5. Le ....(釐), „ 892.
6. Woo ....(武), „ 862.
7. E ....(夷), „ 836.
8. He ....(僖), „ 808.
9. Kung ....(共), „ 760.
10. Tae ....(戴), „ 758.
11. Seuen ....(宣), „ 748.
12. Hwan ....(桓), „ 713.
13. Gae ....(哀), „ 693.
Died a captive in Ts'oo, in.............. „ 674.
14. Muh ....(繆), B.C. 673.
15. Chwang ....(莊), „ 644.
16. Wăn ....(文), „ 610.
17. King ....(景), „ 590.
18. Ling..............(靈), „ 541.
Killed in Ts'oo, in 530.
19. P'ing .... (平).
Restored by Ts'oo in „ 527.
20. Taou ....(悼), „ 520.
21. Ch'aou ....(昭), „ 517.
22. Ch'ing ....(成), „ 489.
23. Shing ....(聲), „ 470.
24. Yuen .... (元), „ 455.
25. Ts'e ....(齊), „ 449.
Ts'ae was extinguished by [Ts'oo in .... „ 446.

V. Princes of Tsin (晉). Surname Ke. Marquises.

1. T'ang Shuh-yu (唐叔虞) was invested with T'ang in................B.C. 1,106.
2. His son Sëeh (爕) removed to Tsin, and was the first marquis of that State. Then we have:—
3. Woo ....(武).
4. Ch'ing ....(成);
5. Le ....(厲); whose years cannot be determined. Then come:—
6. Tsing ....(靖), „ 857.
7. Le... ....(釐), B.C. 839.
8. Hëen ....(獻), „ 821.
9. Muh ....(穆), „ 810.
10. Shang-shuh..(殤叔), „ 783.
11. Wăn ....(文), „ 779.
12. Ch'aou...........(昭), „ 744.
13. Hëaou ....(孝), „ 737.
14. Goh...............(鄂), „ 722.
15. Gae ....(哀), „ 716.
16. Sëaou-tsze...(小子), „ 707.
17. Min ....(緡), „ 702.

For several rules Tsin had been maintaining a failing struggle against that branch of the ruling House which had been established with the title of earl in K'euh-yuh (曲沃); and Hwan Shuh (桓叔) and Chwang (莊伯), chiefs of K'euh-yuh, enter in some lists into the line of the princes of Tsin. At last Ch'ing, the successor of Chwang Pih, put Min to death, in 678, and was acknowledged by the king as ruler of Tsin. He is:—

18. Woo.......(武), B.C. 677.
19. Hëen......(獻), „ 675.
20. He-ts'e....(奚齊), „ 650.
21. Ch'oh-tsze(卓子), „ 650.
22. Hwuy.....(惠), „ 649.
23. Hwae......(懷), „ 635.
24. Wăn..... .(文), „ 634.
25. Sëang.....(襄), B.C. 626.
26. Ling.......(靈), „ 619.
27. Ch'ing ....(成), „ 605.
28. King......(景), „ 598.
29. Le.........(厲), „ 579.
30. Taou ...(悼), „ 571.
31. P'ing... (平), „ 556.

32. Ch'aou ....(昭), B.C. 530.
33. K'ing......(頃), „ 524.
34. Ting.......(定), „ 510.
35. Ch'uh......(出), „ 473.
36. Gae........(哀), „ 455.
37. Yëw ....(幽), B.C. 437.
38. Lëeh.......(烈), „ 418.
39. Hëaou.....(孝), „ 391.
40. Tsing......(靖), „ 376.

In his second year Tsing was deprived of his State and title. It had, indeed, been only a nominal position which the representatives of T'ang Shuh-yu had for some time enjoyed, for they were merely puppets in the hands of the marquis of Wei (魏). The great State of Tsin was broken up into three great marquisates, which subsequently claimed to be kingdoms;—those of Wei (魏), Chaou (趙), and Han (韓), the independent existence of which dates from 402, and which continued till they were absorbed by Ts'in.

VI. The princes of Ts'aou (曹). Surname Ke. Earls.

1. Chin-toh....(振鐸), a brother of [king Woo.
2. T'ae Pih.....(太伯), B.C. 1,051.
3. Chung Keun(仲君), „ 1,000.
4. Kung Pih...(宮伯), „ 933.
5. Hëaou Pih..(孝伯), „ 893.
6. E Pih........(夷伯), „ 863.
7. Yëw Pih ....(幽伯), „ 833.
8. Tae Pih .....(戴伯), „ 824.
9. Hwuy Pih..(惠伯), „ 794.
10. Shih-foo.....(石甫), „ 759.
11. Duke Muh.(穆公), „ 758.
12. Hwan ....(桓), „ 755.
13. Chwang.....(莊), „ 700.
14. Le or He ...(釐 or 僖), B.C. 669.
15. Ch'aou.......(昭), „ 660.
16. Kung........(共), „ 651.
17. Wăn.........(文), „ 616.
18. Seuen........(宣), „ 594.
19. Ch'ing.......(成), „ 576.
20. Woo ....(武), „ 553.
21. P'ing.........(平), „ 526.
22. Taou.........(悼), „ 522.
23. Shing........(聲), „ 513.
24. Yin...........(隱), „ 508.
25. Tsing........(靖), „ 503.
26. Pih-yang....(伯陽), „ 500.

Pih-yang was made captive by Sung in 486, and Ts'aou was then extinguished.

VII. Princes of Ch'ing (鄭). Surname Ke. Earls.

1. Yëw (友), a brother of king Seuen, received investiture in B.C. 805. He is known as duke Hwan (桓公).
2. Woo.......(武), B.C. 769.
3. Chwang...(莊), „ 742.
4. Ch'aou ....(昭), „ 700.
5. Le ....(厲), 699. He fled from the State in 696, and Ch'aou returned, but was murdered in 694.
6. Tsze-mei..(子亹), „ 694.
7. Tsze-ying (子嬰), or Tsze-e (子儀), 693. He was killed in 679, and Le restored.
8. Wăn.......(文), „ 671.
9. Muh.......(穆), B.C. 626.
10. Ling ....(靈), „ 604.
11. Sëang.....(襄), „ 603.
12. Taou......(悼), „ 585.
13. Ch'ing....(成), „ 583.
14. Le..(釐), or He (僖), „ 569.
15. Këen ......(簡), „ 564.
16. Ting.......(定), „ 528.
17. Hëen......(獻), „ 512.
18. Shing......(聲), „ 499.
19. Gae........(哀), „ 461.
20. Kung.... ..(共), „ 453.
21. Yëw ....(幽), „ 423.
22. Seu........(繻), „ 421.

Seu was murdered in 395; but before that Ch'ing had become entirely dependent on the new State of Han. This allowed one other marquis known as Keun Yih (君乙), or duke K'ang (康), to be named; but extinguished the State in 374.

VIII. The princes of Woo (吳). Surname Ke. First, earls; then viscounts. After a time usurped the title of king.

The State of Woo, under a branch of the House of Chow, began before the rise of the Chow dynasty, under T'ae-pih (太伯; the eldest son of the lord of Chow afterwards kinged as king T'ae by his great-grandson the duke of Chow), who fled from Chow, along with his next brother, under the circumstances referred to in Ana. VIII. i. He was the first ruler of Woo. We have:—

1. T'ae-pih ......(太伯).
2. Chung-yung .(仲雍).
3. Ke-këen ......(季簡).
4. Shuh-tah.....(叔達).
5. Chow-chang .(周章).

In Chow-chang's time king Woo overthrew the dynasty of Shang, and confirmed him in the possession of Woo as a fief of the dynasty of Chow, with the title of earl. The point about the title is not clear; and we do not know when earl was exchanged for viscount. After Chow-chang we have:—

6. Hëung-suy ....(熊遂).
7. Ko-sëang ....(柯相).
8. K'ëang-këw-e......(彊鳩夷).
9. Yu-k'ëaou-e-woo (餘橋疑吾).
10. Ko-loo..................(柯廬).
11. Chow-yaou ....(周繇).
12. K'euh-yu ....(屈羽).
13. E-woo ....(夷吾).
14. K'in-choo ....(禽諸).
15. Chuen ....(轉).
16. P'o-kaou................(頗高).
17. Kow-pe..................(句卑).
18. K'eu-ts'e ....(去齊).
19. Show-mung ...(壽夢), B.C. 584.

In his time Woo first began to have communication with the northern States which constituted the kingdom of Chow proper. Most of the names of its princes do not sound like Chinese names.

20. Choo-fan.....(諸樊). B.C. 559.
21. Yu-chae......(餘祭), „ 546.
22. Yu-moh ......(餘眛), „ 542.
23. Lëaou ....(僚), B.C. 525.
24. Hoh-leu ......(闔廬), „ '513.
25. Foo-ch'ae ... (夫差), „ 494.

In 472 the king of Yueh extinguished Woo, when Foo-ch'ae killed himself.

IX. The princes of Yen (燕). Surname Ke. Sometimes called marquises, sometimes only earls. In the end assumed the title of king.

Descended from Shih, duke of Shaou (召公奭), often mentioned in the Shoo (See V. xvi., *et al.*). He was the first ruler of Yen. Eight of his descendants, whose names and years cannot be ascertained are said to have ruled in it, and we come to:—

10. Hwuy ... ...(惠侯) B.C. 863.
11. He (僖侯) or Le (釐侯), „ 825.
12. K'ing ... ... (頃侯), „ 789.
13. Gae ....(哀侯), „ 765.
14. Ch'ing ... ...(鄭侯), „ 763.
15. Muh ....(穆侯), B.C. 727.
16. Seuen ... ...(宣侯), „ 709.
17. Hwan ... ...(桓侯), „ 696.
18. Duke Chwang (莊公), „ 689.
19. Sëang ... ...(襄), „ 656.

20.	Seuen ... ...(宣),	B.C.	616.	32.	Ch'ing. ...(成),	B.C.	448.
21.	Ch'aou ... ...(昭),	„	600.	33.	Min ....(閔),	„	432.
22.	Woo ... ...(武),	„	585.	34.	Le or He ..(釐 or 僖),	„	401.
23.	Wăn ... ...(文),	„	572.	35.	Hwan ... ..(桓),	„	371.
24.	E ... ...(懿),	„	547.	36.	Wăn ... ...(文),	„	360.
25.	Hwuy... ... ...(惠),	„	543.	37.	King Yih (易 王),	„	331.
26.	Taou ... ...(悼),	„	534.	28.	Yih's son K'wae(子噲),	„	319.
27.	Kung ... ...(共),	„	527.	39.	Ch'aou... .(昭 王),	„	310.
28.	P'ing... ... ...(平),	„	522.	40.	Hwuy ... .(惠 王),	„	277.
29.	Këen ... ...(簡),	„	503.	41.	Woo-ch'ing(武成王),	„	270.
30	Hëen ... ...(獻),	„	491.	42.	Heaou ... (孝 王),	„	256.
31.	Hëaou ... ...(孝),	„	463.	43.	The king He(王 喜),	„	253.

He was made captive, and the State extinguished, by Ts'in in 2?1.

X. The princes of Ch'in (陳). Surname Kwei (嬀), as being descended from Shun. Marquises.

King Woo, it is said, gave his eldest daughter in marriage to a Kwei Mwan (嬀滿), the son of his chief potter, and invested him with Ch'in. He was the first marquis, and is known as duke Hoo (胡公). After him come:—

2.	Shin... ...(申).			12.	Hwan ... ..(桓),	„	743.
3.	Sëang.... .(相).			13.	Le ... . (厲),	„	705.
4.	Hëaou ... .(孝).			14.	Le ... .(利),	„	699.
5.	Shin ... ...(慎).			15.	Chwang (莊),	„	698.
6.	Yëw ... ... (幽),	B.C.	853.	16.	Seuen .... (宣),	„	691.
7.	Le (釐) or He (僖),	„	830.	17.	Muh ... .(穆),	„	646.
8.	Woo ... ... (武),	„	795.	18.	Kung... ...(共),	„	630.
9.	E... ... .(夷),	„	780.	19.	Ling ... ...(靈),	„	612.
10.	P'ing ... ...(平),	„	777.	20.	Ch'ing ... (成),	„	597.
11.	Wăn ... ...(文),	„	754.	21.	Gae ... .(哀),	„	567.

Gae strangled himself in 533, and the State was held by a prince of Ts'oo till 528, when the Kwei line was restored. We have:—

22.	Hwuy ... (惠),	B.C.	527	24.	Min... ... .(閔),	B.C.	500.
23.	Hwae. ... (懷),	„	504.				

Min was killed, and the State extinguished by Ts'oo, in 478,—the year in which Confucius died.

XI. The princes of Sung (宋). Surname Tsze (子), as being the descendants of the sovereigns of Yin or Shang, the representatives of T'ang the Successful.

1.	K'e, viscount of Wei (微子啟), was made duke of Sung,—say in B.C. 1,111 (See the Shoo, V.viii.)	3.	K'e, duke of Sung(宋公稽).		B.C. 1,052.
2.	Wei Chung (微 仲), B.C. 1,077.	4.	Duke Ting (丁 公),	„	999.
		5.	Min ... . (湣),	„	934.

6.	Yang ....(煬),	B.C. 907.	20.	Ch‘ing ...... (成),	B.C. 635.
7.	Le ....(厲),	„ 892.	21.	Ch‘aou ...... (昭),	„ 618.
8.	Le ....(釐),	„ 857.	22.	Wăn ....(文),	„ 609.
9.	Hwuy... ......(惠),	„ 829.	23.	Kung.........(共),	„ 587.
10.	Gae...... .....(哀),	„ 799.	24.	P‘ing ....(平),	„ 574.
11.	Tae...... .....(戴),	„ 798.	25.	Yuen ....(元),	„ 530.
12.	Woo .... (武),	„ 764.	26.	King. ....(景),	„ 515.
13.	Seuen ....(宣),	„ 746.	27.	Ch‘aou ... ...(昭),	„ 451.
14.	Muh ... . (穆),	„ 727.	28.	Taou ....(悼),	„ 403.
15.	Shang ....(殤),	„ 718.	29.	Hëw .... (休),	„ 394.
16.	Chwang ... ...(莊),	„ 708.	30.	Peih .... (辟),	„ 371.
17.	Min ...(閔 or 湣),	„ 690.	31.	T‘eih-ch‘ing..(剔成)	„ 368.
18.	Hwan ....(桓)	„ 580.	32.	Yen .... (偃),	„ 327.
19.	Sëang ....(襄),	„ 649.			

Yen took the title of king in 317, but Sung was extinguished by Ts‘e in 285, and Yen fled to Wăn and there died. Indeed from the time of duke Taou, Sung had become dependent on Ts‘e. There is much difficulty in fixing the number of years that dukes King and the second Ch‘aou ruled.

XII. The princes of Ts‘e (齊). Surname Këang (姜), as being descended from Yaou's chief minister. Marquises.

1. Shang-foo (尚父), who appears to have been one of the principal advisers of Wăn and Woo both in peace and war, was invested by Woo with Ts‘e, and is known as T‘ae Kung (太公). Then we have:—

2.	Duke Ting(丁公),	B.C. 1,076.	16.	Hëaou.....(孝),	B.C. 641.
3.	Yih ... ... (乙),	„ 1,050.	17.	Ch‘aou ....(昭),	„ 631.
4.	Kwei ......(癸),	„ 999.	18.	E.......... (懿),	„ 611.
5.	Gae ... ... (哀),	„ 933.	19.	Hwuy.....(惠),	„ 607.
6.	Hoo ... ... (胡),	„ 892.	20.	K‘ing......(頃),	„ 597.
7.	Hëen ......(獻),	„ 858.	21.	Ling.......(靈),	„ 580.
8.	Woo ......(武),	„ 849.	22.	Chwang . .(莊),	„ 552.
9.	Le ....(厲),	„ 823.	23.	King ......(景),	„ 546.
10.	Wăn ......(文),	„ 814.	24.	Gan Yu-tsze(晏孺子),	„ 488.
11.	Ch‘ing. ...(成),	„ 802.	25.	Taou ......(悼),	„ 487.
12.	Chwang. .(莊),	„ 793.	26.	Këen ......(簡),	„ 483.
13.	Le or He (釐 or 僖),	„ 729.	27.	P‘ing ......(平),	„ 479.
14.	Sëang.... .(襄),	„ 696.	28.	Seuen.... .(宣),	„ 454.
15.	Hwan ... .(桓),	„ 683.	29.	K‘ang.... .(康),	„ 403.

For a considerable time the princes of Ts‘e had been at the mercy of the Heads of the Ch‘in (陳) family, the most powerful in the State. A prince of Ch‘in took refuge in Ts‘e in B.C. 671 (See the Chuen on III. xxii. 3), and his descendants ere long grew into a powerful clan, and conceived the idea of superseding the line of

Këang. They were known as Ch'ins (陳), but that surname they exchanged for T'ëen (田);—it is not known when or why. In 390 T'ëen Ho (田和) removed duke K'ang from his capital, and placed him in a city near the sea, where he might maintain the sacrifices to his ancestors; and there he led an inglorious life till 378, when the line of Këang came to a close. T'ëen Ho made application to the king of Chow and to the feudal princes to be acknowledged himself as marquis of Ts'e, which was acceded to, and his first year dates from 385.

Of the line of T'ëen in Ts'e we have:—

1. T'ae-kung Ho (太公,和) B.C. 385.
2. Hwan... ...(桓), „ 383.
3. King Wei. .(威 王), „ 377.
4. King Seuen(宣 王), „ 331.
5. Min ....(湣), B.C. 312.
6. Sëang ......(襄), „ 281.
7. Këen........(建), „ 263.

Këen continued till the first year of the dynasty of Ts'in, B.C. 220, when he made his submission to the new Power, and the independent existence of Ts'e ceased.

XIII. The princes of Ts'oo (楚). Surname Me (羋). Viscounts.

They claimed to be descended from the ancient emperor Chuen-heuh (顓頊); but the first who had the surname Me appears to have been a Ke-lëen (季連), about the dawn of historic times. A Yuh Heung (鬻熊) is mentioned with distinction in the time of king Wăn, and his great-grandson, Heung Yih (熊繹), was invested with Ts'oo by king Ch'ing, as a viscount. It was not very long till the title of viscount was discarded, and that of king usurped. The Hëung was a clan-name, derived from Yuh Heung.

1. Hëung Yih (熊繹).
2. Hëung E ... (艾), B.C. 1,077.
3. „ Tah (黮), „ 1,051.
4. „ Shing(勝), „ 1,000.
5. „ Yang (煬) „ 945.
6. „ K'eu (渠). He assumed the title of king about 886, but gave it up again through fear of king Le of Chow.
7. Hëung Che-hung(摯紅), B.C. 866.
8. „ Yen (延), „ 865.
9. „ Yung (勇), „ 845.
10. „ Yen (嚴), „ 836.
11. „ Sëang(霜), „ 826.
12. „ Seun (徇), „ 820.
13. „ Oh ...(咢), „ 798.
14. „ E, title Joh-gaou(儀,曰若敖), „ 789.
15. „ K'an, title Sëaou-gaou (坎,霄敖), „ 762.
16. „ Heuen, title Fun-maou (眴,蚡冒), „ 756.
17. King Woo ...(武 王), B.C. 739. The title of king was assumed in 703.
18. Wăn ....(文), „ 688.
19. Heung Këen, title Chwang-gaou (艱,莊敖), „ 675.
20. King Ch'ing (成 王, „ 670.
21. Muh ... ...(穆), „ 624.
22. Chwang......(莊), „ 612.
23. Kung ... ... (共), „ 589.
24. K'ang ... ... (康), „ 558.
25. Hëung Keun, title Këah-gaou (麏,曰郟敖), „ 543.
26. King Ling...(靈王), „ 539.
27. P'ing ....(平), „ 527.
28. Ch'aou ... ... (昭), „ 514.
29. Hwuy.........(惠), „ 487.
30. Këen ....(簡), „ 430.
31. Shing.........(聲), „ 406.
32. Taou ....(悼), „ 400.
33. Suh... ... ... (肅), „ 379.
34. Seuen.........(宣), „ 368.

35.	Wei .. ..(威),	B.C.	338.	39.	Yëw ....(幽),	B.C.	236.
36.	Hwae........(懷),	„	327.	40.	The King Hoo-ts'oo(王負芻)	„	226.
37.	K'ing-sëang (頃襄),	„	294.		Ts'in extinguished Ts'oo in 222.		
38.	K'aou-lëeh ..(考烈),	„	261.				

XIV. The princes of Ts'in (秦). Surname Ying (嬴). At first only earls.

They claimed to be descended from the ancient emperor Chuen-heuh, through Pih-e (伯翳) or Pih-yih (伯益), the forester of Shun (Shoo, II. i. 22), who is said to have given him the surname of Ying. Sze-ma Ts'ëen traces the family down through the Hëa and Shang dynasties, but there is much that is evidently fabulous in the statements which he makes. At last we arrive at the time of king Hëaou of Chow, who was so pleased with the ability displayed by Fei-tsze (非子), a scion of the family, in keeping cattle, that he employed him to look after his herds of horses, 'between the K'ëen and the Wei (汧渭之間),' and invested him with the small territory of Ts'in, as chief of an attached State, there to maintain the sacrifices to the Ying. Fei-tsze occupies the first place in the list of the princes of Ts'in.

1.	Fei-tsze.....(非子),	B.C.	908.	4.	Ts'in Chung...(秦仲),	B.C.	843.
2.	Ts'in How.(秦侯),	„	856.	5.	Duke Chwang(莊公),	„	820.
3.	Kung-pih..(公伯),	„	846.	6.	Sëang.........(襄),	„	776.

Sëang gave important assistance to the House of Chow in the troubles connected with the death of king Yëw, and the removal of the capital by king P'ing to the east, and his rank was raised in 769 to that of earl, and Ts'in had now an independent existence among the other fiefs of Chow. Its territory was also greatly increased, and Sëang received, what Chinese writers think wss of evil omen, the old domain of the princes of Chow from mount K'e westwards.

7.	Duke Wăn ..(文公),	B.C.	764.	23.	Tsaou .. ..(躁),	B.C.	441.
8.	Ning ....(寧),	„	714.	24.	Hwae.........(懷),	„	427.
9.	Ch'uh-tsze ...(出子),	„	702.	25.	Ling ....(靈)	„	423.
10.	Woo... ... ...(武),	„	696.	26.	Këen ....(簡),	„	413.
11.	Tih............(德),	„	676.	27.	Hwuy ... ... (惠),	„	398.
12.	Seuen.........(宣),	„	674.	28.	Ch'uh-tsze...(出子),	„	385.
13.	Ch'ing ... .(成),	„	662.	29.	Hëen ....(獻),	„	383.
14.	Muh ... ...(穆),	„	658.	30.	Hëaou ... ... (孝),	„	360.
15.	K'ang ... ... (康),	„	619.	31.	King Hwuy-wăn(惠文王),	„	336.
16.	Kung ....(共),	„	607.		It was in B.C. 324 that the title of king was first assumed.		
17.	Hwan.........(桓),	„	603.				
18.	King ....(景),	„	575.	32.	King Woo...(武王)	„	309.
19.	Gae ... ...(哀),	„	535.	33.	Ch'aou-sëang(昭襄),	„	305.
20.	Hwuy.........(惠),	„	499.	34.	Hëaou-wăn..(孝文),	„	249.
21.	Taou ....(悼),	„	490.	35.	Chwang-sëang(莊襄),	„	248.
22.	Le-kung .....(厲共),	„	475.	36.	Ching.........(政),	„	245.

Became king in 245, and succeeded in establishing his sway over all the other States in 220, from which year dates the commencement of the Ts'in dynasty. He reigned under the style of 始皇帝, emperor the First, till 209. In 208 he was succeeded by his son, emperor the Second (二世皇帝), and with his death in 204 the short-lived dynasty may be said to have ended.

IT SEEMS DESIRABLE AT THE CLOSE OF THIS CHAPTER TO APPEND A TABLE OF THE CYCLE OF SIXTY.

1	甲 子	16	己 夘	31	甲 午	46	己 酉
2	乙 丑	17	庚 辰	32	乙 未	47	庚 戌
3	丙 寅	18	辛 巳	33	丙 申	48	辛 亥
4	丁 夘	19	壬 午	34	丁 酉	49	壬 子
5	戊 辰	20	癸 未	35	戊 戌	50	癸 丑
6	己 巳	21	甲 申	36	己 亥	51	甲 寅
7	庚 午	22	乙 酉	37	庚 子	52	乙 夘
8	辛 未	23	丙 戌	38	辛 丑	53	丙 辰
9	壬 申	24	丁 亥	39	壬 寅	54	丁 巳
10	癸 酉	25	戊 子	40	癸 夘	55	戊 午
11	甲 戌	26	己 丑	41	甲 辰	56	己 未
12	乙 亥	27	庚 寅	42	乙 巳	57	庚 申
13	丙 子	28	辛 夘	43	丙 午	58	辛 酉
14	丁 丑	29	壬 辰	44	丁 未	59	壬 戌
15	戊 寅	30	癸 巳	45	戊 申	60	癸 亥

CHAPTER III.

THE CHINA OF THE CH'UN TS'EW PERIOD:—CONSIDERED IN RELATION TO ITS TERRITORIAL EXTENT; THE DISORDER WHICH PREVAILED; THE GROWTH AND ENCROACHMENTS OF THE LARGER STATES; AND THE BARBAROUS TRIBES WHICH SURROUNDED IT.


Territorial extent and component States.

1. On the territorial extent of the kingdom of Chow, and the names of the feudal States composing it, during the Ch'un Ts'ëw period, I have nothing to add to what I have said on the same subjects for the period embraced in the Book of Poetry, on pp. 127–131 of the prolegomena to volume IV. A study of the large map accompanying this Chapter, in its two-fold form, with the names on the one in English and on the other in Chinese, will give the reader a more correct idea of these points than many pages of description could do. The period of the Book of Poetry overlapped that of the Ch'un Ts'ëw by more than a hundred years. No new State arose during the latter, though several came into greater prominence than had formerly belonged to them; and the enlargement of territory which took place arose chiefly from the greater development which the position of Tsin, Ts'oo, and Ts'in enabled them to give themselves.

Disorder of the Ch'un Ts'ëw period;—referred to its causes.

2. It is often said that the period embraced in the Ch'un Ts'ëw was one of disorder,—a social and political disorganization to be compared with the physical disorder caused by the inundating waters which called forth the labours of the great Yu so many ages before.[1] Mencius tells us that the Classic does not contain a single instance of a righteous war, a war, according to him, being righteous only when the supreme authority had marshalled its forces to punish some disobedient vassal, whereas, during the period chronicled by Confucius, we have nothing but the strifes and collisions of the various feudal States among themselves.[2] This is not absolutely correct, but it is an approximation to the truth. The disorder of the period, however, was only the sequel of the disorder that preceded it. Not long before it commenced, king P'ing had transferred the capital to the east in 769, in consequence of the death of his father king Yëw at the hands of some of the wild tribes of the Jung. This movement was an open acknowledgment of the weakness of the sovereign

1 See Mencius, III. Pt. ii. IX. 11. 2 Mencius, VII. Pt. ii. II.


CHINA
IN THE AGE OF THE
CH'UN TS'EW.
BY JOHN CHALMERS, A. M.
Large States are marked by colours.
Small States thus:—SEEH
Capital Cities thus:—LOH.
PEKING
YEN
TSIN
TSE
LOO
WEI
CHING
TS'AOU
CHOO
KE
KEU
SUNG
CHIN
TS'AE
SEU
ROYAL DOMAIN
TSIN
TS'OO
WOO
YUEH
Meridian of Peking

power, which had been brought very low towards the end of the first half of the 9th century, B.C., and had only partially revived during the long reign of king Seuen. I doubt, indeed, whether it had been very strong in what is regarded as its golden age, after the duke of Chow had consolidated the dynasty, and introduced his code of ceremonial and political regulations. The theory was then good, but the practice was very indifferent.

The process of degeneracy and disintegration, however, was very marked from the beginning of the 9th century. It is an acknowledged fact that about B.C. 880 the chief of the powerful southern State of Ts'oo usurped for a time the title of king, and wished to declare himself independent of the kings of Chow. When the Ch'un Ts'ëw period opens upon us, we find existing an all but anarchal condition of things. There was virtually no king in China in those days, and the lord of each feudal State did what was right in his own eyes. In 706, the earl of Ch'ing the most recently established of all the States, if perhaps we should except Ts'in, engaged in hostilities with the king himself, who was wounded in the battle between them.

King Woo and the duke of Chow had parcelled out their conquest —the kingdom of Shang—among the scions of their own family and their adherents of other surnames, with the representatives of T'ang the Successful and other great Names in the previous history of the country. How many the feudal States, great and small, were at the most, I will not venture to say even approximately. The theory of the constitution left them very considerable liberty in the administration of their internal affairs, and in their relations with one another. They were to be content with their allotments of territory and not infringe on those of their neighbours, maintaining a good mutual understanding by means of court visits[3] and visits of friendship or compliment,[4] and by interchanging communications on all important events occurring within their borders. Any breaking of the peace or unjust attack of one State by another was to be represented to the royal court, and the king would then call into the field the unwieldy forces at his disposal, and deal justice on the offender.

But this beautiful theory of government presupposed a wonderful freedom from jealousy and ambition on the part of the feudal lords, and an overwhelming superiority of force on the part of the king; and, neither of these things existing, the constitution of the kingdom was torn into shreds. Instead of the harmony which the

3 朝. 4 聘.

principles of benevolence and righteousness, carried out with courtesy and in accordance with the rules of propriety, should have produced, we find the States biting and devouring one another, while the large and strong oppressed and absorbed the small and weak. In the Chuen on IX. xxix. 7, during a dispute at the court of Tsin on some encroachments which Loo had made on the territory of K'e, an officer reminds the marquis of what Tsin itself had done in the same way. 'The princes,' said he, 'of Yu, Kwoh, Tsëaou, Hwah, Hoh, Yang, Han, and Wei were Kes, and Tsin's greatness is owing to its absorbing of their territories. If it had not encroached on the small States, where would it have found territory to take? Since the times of Woo and Hëen, we have annexed many of them, and who can call us to account for what we have done?' The fact was that Might had come to take the place of Right; and while statesmen were ever ready to talk of the fundamental principles of justice, benevolence, and loyalty, the process of spoliation went on.[5] The number of States was continually becoming less, the smaller melting away into the larger. 'The good old rule' came more and more into vogue,

'the simple plan,
That they should take who have the power,
And they should keep who can.'

3. To ameliorate the evils arising from this state of disorder and anarchy, and to keep it moreover in check, there arose during the Ch'un Ts'ëw period the singular device of presiding chiefs,—the

The system of presiding chiefs.

system of one State taking the lead and direction of all the others, and exercising really royal functions throughout the kingdom, while yet there was a profession of loyal attachment to the House of Chow. The seeds of this contrivance were sown, perhaps, at the very commencement of the dynasty, when the dukes of Chow and Shaou were appointed viceroys over the eastern and western portions of the kingdom respectively, and other princes were made, on their first investiture, 'chiefs of regions,[1] embracing their own States and others adjacent to them. These arrangements were disused as the kings of Chow felt secure in their supremacy over all the States, and the nominees in the first instance had been sincerely loyal and devoted to the establishment of the dynasty; but now in the Ch'un Ts'ëw period the kings were not

5 See the discourse of Ke Wăn-tsze in the Chuen on VI. xviii. 9 as a specimen of the admirable sentiments which men, themselves of questionable character and course, could express.

1 方伯.

sufficiently sure of any of their vassals to delegate them to such an office. When one raised himself to the position, they were obliged unwillingly to confirm him in it.

Five of these presiding chiefs are named during the time under our review[2]:—Hwan of Ts'e (683–642); Wăn of Tsin (634–627); Sëang of Sung (649–636); Muh of Ts'in (658–620); and Chwang of Ts'oo (612–590). The first two, however, are the best, and I think the only representatives of the system. Hwan was endowed with an extraordinary amount of magnanimity, and Wăn had been disciplined by a long experience of misfortune, and was subtile and scheming. Both of then were fully acknowledged as directors and controllers of the States generally by the court of Chow; and it seems to me not unlikely that if Wăn had been a younger man when he came to the marquisate of Tsin, and his rule had been protracted to as great a length as that of Hwan, he would have gone on to supersede the dynasty of Chow altogether, and we should have had a dynasty of Tsin nearly nine hundred years earlier than it occurs in Chinese chronology. As it was, his successors, till nearly the end of the Ch'un Ts'ëw period, claimed for their State the leading place in the kingdom; and it was generally conceded to them. Though the system of which I am speaking be connected with the names of the five princes which I have mentioned, it yet continued to subsist after them. They were simply the first to vindicate, or to endeavour to vindicate, a commanding influence for the States to which they belonged throughout the kingdom; and though neither Hwan nor Wăn had any one among their successors fully equal to them, they had many who tried to assert a supremacy, and Tsin, as I have said, was long acknowledged to be 'lord of covenants.'

Sëang of Sung was not entitled to a place among the five chiefs, either from his own character, or from the strength and resources of his State. He appears rather as a madman than a man of steady purpose; and many scholars exclude his name from the category, and introduce instead Hoh-leu of Woo or Kow-ts'ëen of Yueh. Nor is Muh of Ts'in much better entitled to the place assigned to him, for though he was a prince of very superior character to Sëang, his influence was felt only in the west of the kingdom, and not by the States generally. Chwang of Ts'oo, moreover, did certainly exercise the influence of a chief over several of the States, but he was not acknowledged as such by the king of Chow, and the

2 See Mencius, VI. Pt. ii. VII.

title of king which he claimed for himself sufficiently showed his feeling and purpose towards the existing dynasty. Still he and other kings of Ts'oo called the States frequently together, and many responded to their summons, knowing that a refusal would incur their resentment, and be visited with direst punishment.

I am inclined to believe that the system of presiding chiefs, or rather of leading States, did in a degree mitigate the evils of the prevailing disorder. Ts'e and Tsin certainly kept in check the encroachments of Ts'oo, which, barbarous as it was, would otherwise have speedily advanced to the overthrow of the House of Chow. Yet the system increased the misery that abounded, and if it retarded, perhaps, the downfall of the descendants of king Woo, it served to show that that was unavoidable in the end. It was most anomalous,—an *imperium in imperio*,—and weakened the bond of loyal attachment to the throne. Of what use were the kings of Chow, if they could not do their proper work of government, but must be continually devolving it on one or other of their vassals? No line of rulers can continue to keep possession of the supreme authority in a nation, if their incompetency be demonstrated for centuries together. The sentimental loyalty of Confucius had lost its attractions by the time of Mencius, who was ever on the outlook for 'a minister of Heaven,' who should make an end of Chow and of the contentions among the warring States together.

But the system also increased the expenditure of the smaller States. There still remained their dues to the kings of Chow, even though they paid them so irregularly that we have instances of messengers being sent from court to Loo, and doubtless they were sent to other States as well, to beg for money and other supplies. But they had also to meet the requisitions of the ruling State, and sometimes of more than one at the same time. There are many allusions in the narratives of Tso to the arbitrariness and severity of those requisitions. On X. xiii. 5, 6, for instance, we find Tszech'an of Ch'ing disputing on this point with the ministers of Tsin. 'Formerly,' said he, 'the sons of Heaven regulated the amount of contribution according to the rank of the State. Ch'ing ranks as the territory of an earl or a baron, and yet its contribution is now on the scale of a duke or a marquis. There is no regular rule for what we have to pay; and when our small State fails in rendering what is required, it is held to be an offender. When our contributions and offerings have no limit set to them, we have only to wait for our ruin.' It is evident, as we study the history of this system

of a leading State, that there was no help to come from it to the House of Chow, and no permanent alleviation of the evils under which the nation was suffering.

4. At the close of the Ch'un Ts'ëw period the kingdom was in a worse and more hopeless condition than at its commencement; and it seems strange to us that it did not enter into the mind of Confucius to forecast that the feudal system which had so long prevailed in China was 'waxen old and ready to vanish away.' But what State was to come out victorious from its conflicts with all the others, and take the lead in settling a new order of things? Only the event could reveal this, but it could be known that the struggle for supremacy would lie between two or three powers; and the study of their growth supplies one of the most important lessons which the Work of the sage and the Commentary of Tso are calculated to teach us.

The growth of some of the States an important subject of study. The causes of it.

A glance at the map shows us that the China proper of Chow was confined at first within narrow limits. Even at the beginning of the Ch'un Ts'ëw period it consisted of merely a few States of no great size, lying on either side of the Yellow River, from the point where its channel makes a sudden bend to the east onwards to its mouth.

North of the Royal Domain was Tsin, but, though a fief dating from the commencement of the kingdom, its growth had been so slow, that it is not till the second year of duke He, B.C. 657, that it appears in Confucius' text, on the eve of its subjugation of the small States of Yu and Kwoh. This was the first step which Tsin took in the career of enlargement by which it ere long attained to so great a size.

South of the Domain was Ts'oo; and, though it had been founded in the time of king Ch'ing, it does not appear in the text of our Classic till the tenth year of duke Chwang, B.C. 683. It is then called King, and we do not meet with it under the name of Ts'oo till the first year of duke He, B.C. 658.

West from the Domain was Ts'in, the first lord of which was given a local habitation and name only in B.C. 908; and it did not become an independent fief of the kingdom till the year 769. Its first appearance in our text is in the fifteenth year of duke He, B.C. 644.

A long way east from Ts'oo, and bordering on the sea, was the State of Woo, which, though claiming an earlier origin than the kingdom of Chow itself, is not mentioned in the classic till the seventh year of duke Ch'ing, B.C. 583.

But it will be observed that these four States had from their situation grand opportunities for increasing their territory and their population; and the consequence was that before the end of the Ch'un Ts'ëw period each of them occupied an extent of country many times larger than the Royal Domain, while Ts'oo was nearly as large as all the Middle States, as those of Chow proper were called, together. The way in which it and Tsin proceeded was by extinguishing and absorbing the smaller States adjacent to them, and by a constant process of subjugating the barbarous tribes, which lay on the south and west of Ts'oo, and on the north and east of Tsin. Ts'in lay farther off from the settled parts of the country, and its princes had not so much to do in absorbing smaller States, but they early established their sway over all the Jung, or the wild hordes of the west. The leadership, which I have said in the preceding paragraph is improperly ascribed to duke Muh of Ts'in as being over the feudal States belonged to him in his relation to the Jung. The sea forbade any extension of the border of Woo on the east, but it found much land to be occupied on the north and south, and its armies, going up the Këang or Yang-tsze, met those of Ts'oo, and fought with them for the possession of the country between that great river and the Hwae.

The States of Chow proper had little room for any similar expansion. They were closely massed together. From the first immigration of the ancestors of the Chinese tribe, their course had been eastwards and mainly along the course of the Yellow River, and most of the older occupants of the country had been pushed before them to the borders of the sea. Ts'e extended right to the sea, and so did Ke which the other absorbed. Then came the small States of K'e and Keu, the latter of which had a sea border, while they do not seem to have ever thought of pushing their way into what is now called the promontory of Shan-tung. The people of both K'e and Keu were often taunted by the other States with belonging themselves to the E barbarians. South from Keu there was a tract extending inland a considerable way, occupied by E tribes and the half-civilized people of Seu, and reaching down to the hordes of the Hwae, which Loo pleased itself with the idea of reducing,[1] but which it was never able to reduce. Altogether there was, as I have said, hardly any room for the growth of these middle States. Ts'e was the strongest of them, and longest maintained its independence, ultimately absorbing Sung, which had itself previously absorbed Ts'aou. Of the others, Heu, Ts'ae, Ch'in, the two Choo, Loo, and in the end

1 See the She, Part, IV., Bk. II., ode III.

Ch'ing fell to Ts'oo, and Wei became dependent on one of the marquisates or kingdoms into which Tsin was divided.

Woo for a time made rapid progress, and seemed as if it would at least wrest the sovereignty of the south from Ts'oo; but its downfall was more rapid than its rise had been. It was extinguished by Yueh a very few years after the close of the Ch'un Ts'ëw period, and Yueh itself had ere long to succumb to Ts'oo.

Thus, as time went on, it became increasingly clear that the final struggle for the supreme power would be between Ts'in and Ts'oo. If Tsin had remained entire, it would probably have been more than a match for them both; but the elements of disorganization had long been at work in it, and it was divided, about the year B.C. 400, into three marquisates. The lords of these soon claimed, all of them, the title of king, and the way in which they maintained for a century and a half the struggle with Ts'in and Ts'oo shows how great the power of Tsin unbroken would have been. Ts'e and Yen also assumed the royal style, and made a gallant defence against the powers of the west and the south; but they would not have held out so long as they did but for the distance which intervened between them and the centres of both their adversaries. Ts'in at last bore down all opposition, and though of all the great States that developed during the Ch'un Ts'ëw period it was the latest to make its appearance, it remained master of the field. From the kings of Chow it cannot be said to have met with any resistance. Their history for three hundred years before the extinction of the dynasty is almost a blank. They continued to hold a nominal occupancy of the throne so long only because there were so many other princes contending for it.

The above review of the closing centuries of the dynasty of Chow, and of its overthrow by the king of Ts'in, seems to prove, brief as it has been, that, given a number of warring States or nations, victory will in the long run declare itself in favour of that one which has the most extensive territory and the largest population. Ts'in and Ts'oo, when they first came into contact with the States of Chow proper, were, no doubt, inferior to them in the arts of civilization generally, and among these of the art of war; but they had vast resources and a rude energy, which compensated in the first place for want of skill, and they soon learned from their adversaries whatever was required for their effective application. A fixedness of purpose and recklessness in the expenditure of human life characterized their measures, and the struggle came at last to be mainly

between themselves. It ended more from the exhaustion of the combatants than from any real superiority on the part of Ts'in.

While the downfall of Chow has led me thus to speak of the success which must inevitably attend the efforts of the combatant whose resources are the greatest, if the contents of my volume led me to trace the history of China downwards for a few more years, it would be as evident that, while material strength is sure, when not deficient in warlike skill, to gain a conquest, it cannot consolidate it. The brief existence of the Ts'in dynasty seemed but to afford a breathing time to the warring States, and then China became once more horrid with the din of arms. Most of the States which had contended over the throne of Chow again took the field, and others with them, until, after sixteen years more of strife and misery, the contest was decided in favour of the House of Han, which joined to force of arms respect for the traditions of the country, and a profession at least of reverence for the virtues of justice and benevolence.

6. An incident occurred during the time of duke Sëang which deserves to have attention called to it, as illustrating the saying that 'there is nothing new under the sun,' where we should not expect its illustration. The strife between Ts'oo and Tsin was then at its height; and the States generally were groaning under the miseries which it occasioned. It occurred to Hëang Seuh, a minister of

An endeavour made to put an end to war by covenant.

Sung, that he would be deserving well of the country if he could put an end to the constant wars. The idea of a Peace Society took possession of his mind. He was by no means without ability himself, and had a faculty for negotiation and intrigue. He was, no doubt, sincerely desirous to abate the evils which abounded, but we are sorry to find that he was ambitious also 'to get a name' for himself by his measure, and had an eye to more substantial advantages as well. How his scheme worked itself out in his own mind we do not know; but after long brooding over it, he succeeded in giving it a practical shape, which may have been modified by the force of circumstances.

Being on friendly terms with the chief ministers of Tsin and Ts'oo, he first submitted his plan to them, and procured their assent to it. In Tsin they said, 'War is destructive to the people and eats up our resources; and it is the greatest calamity of the small States. Seuh's plan will perhaps turn out impracticable, but we must give it our sanction; for if we do not, Ts'oo will do it, and so improve its position with the States to our disadvantage.' Similarly they

reasoned and agreed in Ts'oo, Ts'e, and Ts'in, The great powers appeared all to be willing.

Having succeeded thus far, Seuh proceeded to call a meeting of the States generally, and in the summer of 535 the representatives of not fewer than fourteen of them met in the capital of Sung. Various jealousies were displayed in making the arrangements preliminary to a covenant. Ts'e and Ts'in were exempted from taking the oath, so that the agreement was narrowed to a compact between Ts'oo and Tsin, and the States which adhered to them respectively; and though this would secure a temporary peace to the kingdom, yet the two other great States, being left unbound, might take advantage of it, to prosecute their own ambitious designs. Ts'oo, moreover, displayed a fierce and unconciliating spirit which promised ill for the permanence of the arrangement. However, the covenant was accepted with these drawbacks. There should be war no more! And to assure so desirable an end, the princes who had been in the habit of acknowledging the superiority of Ts'oo should show their respect for Tsin by appearing at its court, and those who had been adherents of Tsin should similarly appear at the court of Ts'oo. Thus these two Powers would receive the homage of all the States; and it was implied, perhaps, that they would unite their forces to punish any State which should break the general peace. Nothing was said of the loyal service which was due from them all to the kings of Chow; and Ts'in and Ts'e were left, as I have said, unfettered, to take their own course. I apprehend that the princes and ministers who were at the meeting separated without much hope of the pacification being permanent;—as indeed it did not prove to be. Hëang Seuh alone thought that he had accomplished a great work; and without being satisfied, as we wish that he had been, with the consciousness that he had done so, he proceeded to ask a grant of lands and towns from the duke of Sung as a reward for 'arresting the occasion of death.' His application was acceded to, but it did not take effect. Seuh showed the charter of the grant which he had obtained to Tsze-han the chief minister of the State, who said to him, 'It is by their arms that Tsin and Ts'oo keep the small States in awe. Standing in awe, the high and low in them are loving and harmonious, and thus the States are kept quiet, and do service to the great powers, securing their own preservation and escaping ruin. Who can do away with the instruments of war? They have been long in requisition. By them the lawless are kept in awe, and accomplished virtue is displayed. On them

depends the preservation or the ruin of a country;—and you have been seeking to do away with them. Your scheme is a delusion, and there could be no greater offence than to lead the States astray by it. And not content with having escaped punishment, you have sought for reward!" With this he cut the document in pieces and cast it away, while Seuh submitted, and made no further claim to the grant which had been assigned to him.

So ended the first attempt which was made in the world to put an end to war on principles of expediency and by political arrangements. It was a delusion and proved a failure; but there must have been a deep and wide-spread feeling of the miseries which it was intended to remove, to secure for it its temporary acceptance. Though a delusion it was, it was a brilliant one. Though Seuh was a dreamer, I have thought that his name should have prominent mention given to it. More than two thousand years have elapsed since his time; Christianity, calling to universal 'peace on earth,' has come into the field; and under its auspices nations unheard of, it may be said unborn, in the era of the Ch'un Ts'ëw, have attained a wondrous growth, with appliances of science and a development commerce, which were then all-unknown:—and is it still a delusion to hope for arrangements which will obviate the necessity of a recurrence to 'the last resort,' the appeal to the force of arms?

6. Of the wild tribes which infested the territory of China proper during the Ch'un Ts'ëw period, and surrounded it on every side, it is impossible to give an entirely satisfactory account. After we have gathered up the information supplied by Confucius and the Commentary of Tso, there occur questions connected with them to which we do not find any reply.

The rude tribes in China and around it.

In the Shoo V. ii., at the final struggle of king Woo with the last king of Shang, we find 'the Yung, the Shuh, the Këang, the Maou, the Wei, the Loo, the P'ăng, and the Puh,' eight tribes from the south-west, having their seats mostly in the present provinces of Sze-ch'uen and Hoo-pih, all assisting the former. As most of them appear during the Ch'un-Ts'ëw period, occupying the same locations, the probability is, that, when Shang was subdued, they received their share of the spoils, and returned to their fastnesses. Some honours and titles may have been conferred, besides, on their chiefs by Woo, but it does not appear that they acknowledged any allegiance to the House of Chow. If they did, we may be sure it was nothing more than nominal.

The wild tribes are generally divided into four classes, called by different names, according to their situation relative to the Middle

States. There were the Jung,[1] or hordes of the west; the Teih,[2] or hordes of the north; the E,[3] or hordes of the east; and the Man,[4] or hordes of the south. These designations are in the main correct, yet we find Jung tribes widely diffused, and not confined to the west only. When we bring together the hints and statements of the Text and the Commentary, the knowledge obtained concerning the four classes may be brought within small compass.

First, of the Jung. Seven divisions of these are indicated.

[i.] At the beginning of the period, we find tribes in the neighbourhood of Loo, which are simply called Jung, and whose seat was in the present district of Ts'aou, department Ts'aou-chow. Yin is introduced twice in his 2d year covenanting with them. In his 7th year, we find them making captive an earl of Fan, on his return from Loo to the royal court, and carrying him off with them to their own settlements. Duke Hwan covenants with them in his 2d year. Duke Chwang in his 18th year pursues them across the Tse river; and in his 20th year they are invaded by a force from Ts'e. In his 24th year they make an inroad into the State of Ts'aou, and compel a Ke, who may have been the earl of it, to flee to Ch'in. The duke appears in his 26th year conducting an expedition against them; and after that we hear nothing more about them. We may suppose that they were then finally subdued, and lost their individuality among the population of Loo.

[ii.] There were the 'Northern Jung,'[5] the 'Hill Jung,'[6] and the 'Woo-chungs,'[7] who are referred to the present Tsun-hwa Chow[8] in Chih-le. Tso mentions an incursion which they made in the 9th year of duke Yin into Ch'ing, when they sustained a great defeat, chiefly because they fought on foot, and had no chariots like the States of Chow. According to him, moreover, they invaded Ts'e in the 6th year of Hwan, and were again defeated through the assistance of Ch'ing. In the 30th year of Chwang, they reduced the State of Yen to great distress, and Ts'e directed an expedition against them, which brought away great spoil. In the 10th year of He, the marquis of Ts'e and the baron of Heu appear engaged in an invasion of them; and we hear no more of them till the 4th year of Sëang, when Këa-foo, viscount of Woo-chung (according to Too, the capital of the Hill Jung), presents a number of tiger and leopard skins to Tsin, begging that that State would be in harmony with the

1 戎. 2 狄. 3 夷. 4 蠻. 5 北戎. 6 山戎. 7 無終.
8 遵化州.

Jung. In a discussion at the court of Tsin on the advances thus made, one of its ministers argued for a conciliatory policy on five grounds, the first of which was that these tribes were continually changing their residence, and were fond of selling their lands for goods, so that they might be acquired without the trouble and risks of war. Lastly, in the first year of duke Ch'aou, an officer of Tsin inflicts a great defeat on the Woo-chungs and the various tribes of the Teih; after which we have no further mention of the Hill Jung, the Northern Jung, or the Woo-chungs. They, no doubt, disappeared among the multitudes of Tsin.

[iii.] There were the 'Jung of Luh-hwăn,'[9] who had also the names of the 'Jung of the surname Yun,'[10] the 'Little Jung,'[11] the 'Këang Jung,'[12] the 'Yin Jung,'[13] and the 'Jung of Këw-chow.'[14] These had originally dwelt in the far west, in the territory which now forms Suh Chow[15] in Kan-suh, which they called Luh-hwăn; but in the 22d year of duke He, Tsin and Ts'in united in removing them to E-ch'uen, or the present district of Sung,[16] in the department of Ho-nan. In Chwang's 28th year they are called the Little Jung, and it appears that the mother of duke Hwuy of Tsin belonged to their tribe. In the 33d year of He, they give, as the Këang Jung, important help to Tsin in a great defeat which it inflicted on the troops of Ts'in in the valley of Hëaou. In the 3d year of Seuen, Ts'oo invaded them, and they seem to have coquetted subsequently both with Ts'oo and Tsin, which led to the final extinction of their independence by the latter power in the 17th year of Ch'aou. In his 7th year a body of them appears as the Yin Jung, under the command of an officer of Tsin, and mention is made of how they had troubled the Royal Domain, and the Ke States generally, since their removal from their original seat. In the Chuen on Ch'aou, xxii. 8, another body of them is called the Jung of Këw-chow, and the same branch of them is mentioned as late as the 4th year of Gae.

[iv.] There were the 'Jung of Yang-k'eu, Ts'euen-kaou, and about the E and the Loh,'[17] who had their seats about those two rivers, in the present district of Loh-yang, and perhaps other parts of the department of Ho-nan. Yang-k'eu and Ts'euen-kaou are taken to be the names of their principal settlements or towns. Thus these tribes infested the Royal Domain, and they were at one time

[9] 陸渾之戎. [10] 允姓之戎. [11] 小戎. [12] 姜戎. [13] 陰戎. [14] 九州之戎. [15] 肅州. [16] 嵩縣. [17] 楊拒,泉皋,伊雒之戎.

very troublesome to the capital itself. In the 11th year of duke He, on the invitation of the king's brother Tae, they attacked it with all their strength, entered the royal city, and burned one of its gates. Tsin and Ts'in came to the help of the king, and obliged the Jung to make peace with him; but in the following year the services of the marquis of Ts'e, who was then the presiding prince among the States, were required for the same purpose, and in He's 16th year he was obliged to call out the forces of all the States to occupy the Domain, and keep the Jung in check. In the 8th year of Wăn, an officer of Loo, having gone to the west to meet a minister of Tsin, took the opportunity to make a covenant with these Jung, who, it is supposed, were them meditating an attack on Loo. Only once again do we meet with them. In the 6th year of duke Ch'ing they are associated with other tribes, and with the forces of Tsin, Wei, and Ch'ing, in an incursion into Sung. By this time they had probably settled down in the Domain as subjects of Chow.

[v.] There were the 'Man,'[18] called also the 'Jung Man'[19] to distinguish them from the Man of the south, and the 'Maou Jung,'[20] whose seats were in the present Joo-chow,[21] Ho-nan. The Jung who are mentioned in the Chuen after VI. xvii. 5 as having been surprised by Kan Ch'uh of Chow, when they were drinking spirits, belonged to these; and in the first year of Ch'ing the royal army received a severe defeat from them. The Mans are enumerated among the other tribes in the expedition against Sung in the 6th year of Ch'ing, as mentioned above. In the 5th year of Sëang we find the king sending a member of the royal House to the court of Tsin with a complaint against them. In the 16th year of Ch'aou, Ts'oo appears in the field, inveigles Këa, viscount of the Man, into its power, and puts him to death; then establishes its superiority over all their territory, and appoints Këa's son as viscount in his room. Thenceforth this branch of the Jung appears to have been subject to Ts'oo. They rebelled against it in the 4th year of duke Gae; and when their viscount Ch'ih was driven to take refuge in Tsin, that State gave him up to Ts'oo;—a proceeding which is justly deemed to have been disgraceful to it.

[vi.] There were the 'Dog Jung,'[22] whose original seat was in the present department of Fung-ts'ëang, Shen-se. Many critics identify them with the Hëen-yun of the She in II. i. VII. and other odes, though Choo He says that these belonged to the Teih.

18 蠻氏. 19 戎蠻. 20 茅戎. 21 汝州. 22 犬戎.

In B.C. 770 they made common cause with the marquis of Shin, and joined him in his measures against king Yëw. Then, contrary to the wishes of the marquis, they gave the reins to their own greed of plunder, spoiled the capital,—the old capital of Fung, and put the king to death. Tsin and Ts'in came to the relief of the court, and drove the Jung away; but some branches of them appear to have maintained themselves in the more eastern regions which they had found so attractive. In the 2d year of Min, the duke of Kwoh defeated them near the junction of the Wei with the Ho, and again, in the second year of He, at a place in the present district of Wăn-hëang, Shen Chow,[23] Shan-se. This is the last we hear of them. Their original territory, no doubt, fell to the lot of Ts'in, but any portion of the tribe, which had settled on the east of the Ho, would be absorbed by Tsin.

[vii.] There were the 'Le Jung,'[24] who occupied in the present district of Lin-t'ung, department Se-gan. According to the Chuen on III. xxviii. 1, duke Hëen of Tsin invaded their territory, the chief of which, who had the title of baron, gave him his daughter in marriage. She was the Le Ke whose union with Heen was the occasion of so much confusion and misery in Tsin. That State, soon after, put an end to the independent existence of the tribe.

The above are all the tribes of the Jung mentioned in the Ch'un Tsëw and in Tso, excepting the Loo Jung, of whom I shall have to speak when we come to the Man of the South. Neither the sage nor his commentator had occasion to bring forward any others, for only these made their appearance in connexion with the States of China during the Ch'un-Ts'ëw period. There were, however, many more tribes, which constituted, properly speaking, the Jung of the west, by the absorption of which it was that Ts'in reached such an eminence of power.

Second, of the Teih. Sze-ma Ts'ëen and Too Yu, the latter led away probably by Sze-ma, place some tribes of these on the west of the Ho; but so far as the evidence of Confucius and Tso-she goes, they are all to be sought on the east of that river, and appear extending from it, along the north of the different States, as far as the present Shan-tung. Up to the time of duke Seuen, we read in the text only of the Teih, but subsequently there appear two great divisions of them,—the 'Red Teih,'[25] and the 'White Teih.'[26] Then the Red Teih are no more mentioned after the third year of duke

23 陝州閿鄉縣. 24 驪戎. 25 赤伯. 26 白伯.

Ch'ing, and the extinction of several tribes of them is recorded; but the White continued beyond the Ch'un-Ts'ëw period, and one tribe of them held its own till the time of the Warring States, when its chief took the title of king, and contended with the other combatants for the possession of all the dominions of Chow.

Of the Red Teih six tribes seem to be specified:—the 'Kaou-lohs of the eastern hills,'[27] whose seat was the present district of Yuen-k'euh, Këang Chow, Shan-se; the Tsëang-kaou-joo,[28] whose seat is unknown; the 'Loos,'[29] who have left their name in the district of Loo-shing, department Loo-gan, Shan-se; the 'Keahs,'[30] who occupied in the present district of Ke-tsih, department Kwang-p'ing, Chih-le; the 'Lëw-yu,'[31] in the present district of T'un-lëw, department Loo-gan above; and the 'Toh-shin,'[32] who were also somewhere in the same department.

Of the White Teih there were three tribes:—the 'Seen-yu,' or the 'Chung-shan,'[33] in the present district of Ching-ting, department Ching-ting, Chih-le; the 'Fei,'[34] in Kaou-shing district of the same department; and the 'Koo,'[35] in Tsin Chow, also in Ching-ting.

I will now give an outline of what is related about the Teih in the text and in Tso.

[i.] While there is no intimation of any general distinction among their tribes.

They appear first in the 32d year of Chwang, invading the small State of Hing, which was by no means able to cope with them. Ts'e went in the first place to its rescue, but in the first year of He Hing removed its principal city to a situation where it would be more out of the way of the Teih, and the forces of Ts'e, Sung, and Ts'aou are introduced as fortifying the new capital.

About the same time the Teih attacked the more considerable State of Wei, and nearly annihilated it. In the 2d year of Min, they took its chief city, the inhabitants of which fled across the Ho. There only 730 people, men and women, could be got together again, and when to them were added the inhabitants of the two other chief towns of the State, the whole did not amount to more than 5,000 souls. This gives us a correct, but not an exalted idea, of the resources of many of the States of Chow in those days. Ts'e went to the help of Wei, as it had done in the case of Hing, gathered up the ruins of the State, and called out the other States to prepare a new capital for it.

27 東山臯落氏. 28 廧咎如. 29 潞氏. 30 甲氏. 31 留吁. 32 鐸辰. 33 鮮虞, 亦曰中山. 34 肥. 35 鼓.

While the Teih were thus successful against Hing and Wei, they came into contact with the Power which was ultimately to destroy their independence. In the 2d year of Min, the marquis of Tsin sent his eldest son against the settlements of the Kaou-lohs. Other expeditions followed, and in the 7th year of He a general of that State inflicted a defeat on a portion of the Teih; but, when urged to follow up his victory, he said that he only wanted to frighten them, and would not accelerate a rising of all their tribes. The consequence was that in the following year we have the Teih retaliating by an invasion of Tsin.

In duke He's 10th year they penetrated into the Royal Domain, and overthrew the State of Wăn,[36] the viscount of which fled to Wei. From that time, for several years, we find Wei, Ch'ing, and Tsin, one after another, suffering from their incursions. In He's 18th year Ts'e was in confusion in consequence of the death of duke Hwan, and the Teih went to succour the partizans of his younger sons; and two years after, Ts'e and they made a covenant in the capital of Hing. In the 24th year they invaded Ch'ing, which the king, who was then in great distress from the machinations of his brother Tae, took for some reason as an acceptable service to himself. He married a daughter of one of their chiefs, and made her his queen;—a position of which she soon proved herself unworthy.

In He's 31st year we find them again actively engaged against Wei, which was compelled to make another change of its capital. It was able, however, the year after, to make in its turn an incursion into their settlements, when they entered into a covenant with it, and left it unmolested till the 13th year of duke Wăn. Meanwhile they continued their incursions into Ts'e, and went on to attack Loo and Sung, notwithstanding a check which they received from Tsin in the last year of duke He. Loo also defeated them in the 12th year of Wăn.

[ii.] In the time of duke Seuen and subsequently, we read no more in the same way of the Teih, but of the Red and the White Teih. Of the latter we have an earlier mention in the Chuen, in the account of the battle of Ke, when Tsin defeated the Teih, as I have mentioned above. It is then said that a viscount of the White Teih was taken prisoner. From some hints which are found in Tso it appears that about this time jealousies began to spring up among

[36] 溫.

the Teihs themselves. The Red tribes were trying to assert a superiority which the White would not allow, and so they were left, unsupported, to cope with Tsin for which they were by no means a match.

That great State had now consolidated its resources, and it made short work of the Red Teih. They invaded it in Seuen's 4th and 7th years, and met with little opposition; Tsin purposely retiring before them to increase their arrogance. But in his 15th year an army entirely reduced the tribe of the Loos, and carried off their viscount Ying-urh; and next year another army similarly reduced the Këahs and the Lëw-yu. In the 3d year of Ch'ing, Tsin and Wei joined in an invasion of the Tsëang-kaou-joo, with whom they dealt probably in the same way; for we have no further mention of the Red Teih. Wherever the Teih are mentioned after this, other circumstances show that the White Teih are meant.

[iii.] The White Teih made a bolder resistance, nor was Tsin ever able to destroy the independence of the tribe of the Sëen-yu.

In the 8th year of Seuen, we find the White Teih associated with Tsin in the invasion of Ts'in. They would seem to have broken off entirely from the Red Teih, and to have been willing to join with the State which was in deadly hostility with them. Three years after, the marquis of Tsin had a great meeting, at a place within their territories, with all their tribes.

The alliance thus formed between them and Tsin was not very lasting. In the 9th year of Ch'ing, they are confederate with Ts'in and Ts'oo in invading Tsin; but they took nothing by their fickleness, for Tsin inflicted a defeat upon them in Ch'ing's 12th year.

In Sëang's 18th year, an embassy from them visited the court of Loo,—for what purpose we cannot tell. Nor are they again mentioned in the sage's text, though the Chuen speaks frequently of them.

In Sëang's 28th year, they appear, with the States which acknowledged the presidency of Ts'oo, visiting at the court of Tsin,—in accordance with the treaty of Sung. It would thus appear that they had gone over finally to the side of Ts'oo. They soon suffered for their course. In Ch'aou's first year, an army of Tsin, under Seun Woo, defeated them at Ta-loo. In his 12th year, the same commander put an end to the independent existence of the Fei tribe, and carried away their viscount prisoner. So he dealt with the Koo tribe in Ch'aou's 15th year; but he subsequently restored its viscount, which seems to have encouraged them to revolt again, and in Ch'aou's 22d year, 'Seun Woo a second time extinguished Koo.'

The Sëen-yu were not so easily disposed of. Tsin attacked this tribe in Ch'aou's 12th year, and in his 13th and 15th, but without any decisive success. In the 3d year of Ting the army of Tsin was defeated by it, but returned to the attack in the following year, assisted by a force from Wei. Soon after this, the great families of Tsin began contending among themselves, and no effective action could be taken against the Sëen-yu. The tribe maintained its independence on into the period of the Warring States, and finally yielded to the kingdom of Chaou about the year B.C. 296.

Third, of the E. Confucius is reported, in the Analects, IX. xiii., as declaring that he would like to go and live among 'the nine E,' on which expression it is generally said that there were nine tribes of the E. There may have been so many originally, and Confucius may have used a phrase which had come down as descriptive of them from a former time. But we do not find nine tribes, nor even half that number, mentioned in the Ch'un Ts'ëw or in Tso's Commentary. I believe that the power of the E tribes had been broken, and that many of them had disappeared among the inhabitants of the eastern States, before the time under our notice. We have to do only with the 'E of the Hwae river,'[37] of 'Këae,'[38] of 'Lae,'[39] and of 'Kin-mow.'[40]

[i.] The tribes of the Hwae were the only E whose power and numbers were considerable in the Ch'un-Ts'ëw period. The Chuen on V. xiii. 3 mentions that they were at that time distressing the State of K'e, so that they must have penetrated a long way north from the river about which lay their proper seats. From that time, for more than a hundred years, we do not again meet with them; but in the 4th year of duke Ch'aou, at the first meeting of the States called by Ts'oo, we find that the chiefs of these tribes were also present, and that they went on, immediately after, under the leading of Ts'oo, to invade Woo. One other reference to them is all that occurs;—under the 27th year of Ch'aou. Then, in the meeting at Hoo, Fan Hëen-tsze of Tsin, when enumerating the difficulties in the way of restoring duke Ch'aou to Loo, says that the Head of the Ke family had succeeded in securing the adherence of the Hwae E. All these tribes fell in the end to the lot of Ts'oo.

[ii.] Këae was the name of a small tribe of the E,—in the present Këaou Chow, department of Lae-chow. In the 29th year of duke He, their chief comes twice to the court of Loo, when Tso tells a

[37] 淮夷. [38] 介. [39] 萊. [40] 根牟.

ridiculous story about his interpreting the lowing of a cow. His visit, no doubt, had reference to an incursion which his tribe made the year after into Sëaou, a dependency of Sung. Këae must have been absorbed either by Ts'e or by Loo.

[iii.] Lae was in the present district of Hwang, department Tăng-chow,—on the borders of Ts'e. Its original inhabitants appear to have been brought to comparative civilization, and been ruled by a viscount of the surname Këang, before the Ch'un-Ts'ëw period. We find Ts'e, however, in constant hostility with it from its first appearance in the 7th year of duke Seuen to its extinction in the 6th year of Sëang.

[iv.] Kin-mow was the principal town of a small tribe of E,—in the present district of E-shwuy, department E-chow. Its capture by Loo is mentioned in the 9th year of duke Seuen, and afterwards it appears, in the Chuen on X. viii. 6, as the most eastern city belonging to the State.

Fourth, of the Man. We have not much information in the Ch'un Ts'ëw or in Tso about the tribes of the south, and that for the same reason which I have mentioned as making our authorities almost silent about the Jung proper, or the hordes of the far west. Ts'oo kept the Man under its control, and lay between most of their tribes and the States of Chow, so that the two hardly came into contact or collision, and the historiographers of the States had little occasion to refer to what was taking place among the southern populations. What we find related about them will be given under the divisions of the 'Loo Jung,'[41] the 'various tribes of the Man,'[42] the 'many tribes of the Puh,'[43] and the tribes of 'Pa.'[44]

[i.] In the Chuen at the beginning of the 13th year of duke Hwan we have an account of a fruitless expedition from Ts'oo against the small State of Lo,[45] Lo being assisted by an army of the Loo Jung. One of the names in king Woo's 'Speech at Muh,' which I have referred to, thus comes here before us. These Jung occupied what is now the district of Nan-chang, in the department of Sëang-yang, Hoo-pih. Tso says that, though they were called Jung, they belonged to the Man of the south. Geographically, they must be classed with them. They must have been reduced to subjection by Ts'oo not long after the above expedition, and their chief settlement converted into the town of Leu;[46] for in the Chuen on VI. xvi. 6,

41 盧戎. 42 羣蠻. 43 百濮. 44 巴. 45 羅. 46 廬. Ying-tah says this was the same as 盧 It should, perhaps, be pronounced *Loo*.

we have an army of Ts'oo marching on from Leu, where the Loo Jung had dwelt, and throwing open its granaries to soldiers and officers alike.

[ii.] It is only in the Chuen just referred to, in the 16th year of duke Wăn, that mention is made of the 'many tribes of the Man.' There was then, we are told, a great famine in Ts'oo, and the people of Yung, who are also mentioned in the Speech at Muh, and who had by this time coalesced into a State of some order and civilization, took advantage of it to incite a general rising of all the tribes of the south against that Power. The Man came to join in the movement from their seats in what are now the departments of Shin-chow and Yuen-chow in Hoo-nan. It was a critical time in the history of Ts'oo, and it was proposed that the capital should be abandoned. But bolder counsels prevailed; an army took the field; assistance came from Ts'in and Pa; the Man were severed from the combination, and made a covenant on their own account; and Yung was extinguished, that is, the sacrifices of its chiefs were abolished, and it was reduced to be a city of Ts'oo. There is no further mention of the Man in the Ch'un-Ts'ëw period. It was not till the time of the Warring States that Ts'oo succeeded in depriving them of their independence.

[iii.] The Puh, it has been seen, were among the auxiliaries of king Woo in the conquest of Shang. The 'hundred' or many tribes of them took a principal part in the rising against Ts'oo, of which I have just spoken, and appear in it under the direction of the people of Keun,[47] a small State between Yung and Lo. Where their own settlements were is uncertain. Some say they were in the present department of K'euh-tsing, Yun-nan, which is too far off, though some tribes may have wandered there at a subsequent period; others, with more probability, place them in the departments of Ch'ang-tih and Shin-chow, Hoo-nan. On the occasion under our notice, Wei Këa, one of the generals of Ts'oo, said about them, 'They think that we are unable from the famine to take the field. If we send forth an army, they are sure to be afraid, and will return to their own country. The Puh dwell apart from one another; and when they are hurriedly going off, each tribe for its own towns, who among them will have leisure to think of anybody but themselves?' It happened as he said. In fifteen days from Ts'oo's appearing in force there was an end of the attempt of the Puh.

47 麇.

Only twice more are they mentioned in the Chuen. In Chaou's 9th year, on occasion of a dispute between Chow and Tsin, the representative of the royal court says boastfully that, when Woo subdued Shang, Pa, the Puh, Ts'oo, and Tăng were the territories of the kingdom in the south; and in his 19th year, we have Ts'oo preparing a naval expedition against the Puh. What became of them afterwards I have not been able to ascertain.

[iv.] Pa in the time of the Ch'un-Ts'ëw appears as a State ruled by viscounts of the surname Ke. It has left its name in the present district of Pa, department Chung-k'ing, Sze-ch'uen. In the Chuen on the 9th year of duke Hwan, we find it in good relations with Ts'oo, and co-operating with that State in the siege of Yëw, a city in the present department of Yun-yang, Hoo-pih. Under the 18th year of duke Chwang, Tso tells us that Pa then revolted from Ts'oo, and invaded it, its army advancing even to attack Ts'oo's capital. The only other mention of it is in the text of Wăn's 18th year, in connexion with the rising of the southern tribes against Ts'oo, when, as has been stated above, Pa and Ts'in came to the assistance of the latter. In the time of the Warring States, Pa fell to the share of Ts'in.


I have thus gathered up into as brief space as possible the information that we derive from the Ch'un Ts'ëw and Tso about the rude and uncivilized or semi-civilized tribes that infested the kingdom of Chow or surrounded it. The strongest impression which I receive from the review is one of grave doubt as to most of what we are told about the previous dynasties of Shang and Hëa. Is it possible that they could have held the territory occupied by the States of Chow for a thousand years before the rise of king Woo, and that we should find it, five and six centuries after his time, in the condition which is revealed to us by the sage and his commentator? I do not think so. We have seen that the China of Chow was a small affair; that of Shang and Hëa must have been much smaller;—extending not so far towards the sea on the east, and to a smaller distance north and south of the Yellow river. It was evidently, however, in the plan of Providence that by the Chinese race all the other tribes in the space now included in China proper should be first broken to pieces and stript of their individualities, and then welded as into one homogeneous nation. Its superior culture and capabilities fitted it for this task; and the process went on very gradually, and with many disturbances and interruptions, frequently with 'hideous ruin and combustion.'

Having first made good a settlement along the Yellow river, in the south-western parts of the present Shan-se, and perhaps also on the other side of the stream, the early immigrants sent forth their branches, scions of different families, east, west, north, and south, as so many suckers, among the ruder populations sparsely scattered about, which gradually gathered round them, till they lost their original peculiarities, and were prepared to be collected into larger communities, or into States. The first stage in the formation of the Chinese nation terminated with the ascendency of the State of Ts'in and the establishment of its short-lived dynasty.

We have seen that of the more considerable of the wild tribes during the Ch'un-Ts'ëw period their chiefs had titles like the princes of the States of Chow. We read of the viscounts of the Loos, of Fei, of Koo, and of the Këang Jung, and of the baron of the Le Jung; and it has been asked whence they derived those titles.[48] The Tso Chuen gives us no information on the point, and I am inclined to suppose that they assumed them themselves, to assert thereby their equality with the feudal nobles of Chow. Where they claimed to be the descendants of some great name in former ages of Chinese history, it would be easier to do so; and the title might be acknowledged by the kings of Chow. Or where intermarriages were formed with them by the royal House, or by the princes of the States, as we know was frequently done, the fathers of the brides might be ennobled for the occasion, and then the titles would be jealously retained. But the title was generally, I believe, the assumption of arrogance, as the Chinese would deem it.

There is one passage in the Chuen which shows that the tribes differed from the Chinese not only in their habits of life, but also in their languages. In the account of the meeting at Hëang in the 14th year of duke Sëang, which was attended by the representatives of more than a dozen States, and by the chief of at least one of the Jung tribes, who was a viscount (though the text does not say so), Fan Seun-tsze appears as wanting on behalf of Tsin to seize the viscount, who belonged to the Këang Jung or the Jung of Luh-hwăn, attributing the loss of Tsin's power and influence to unfavourable reports of its proceedings leaking out through them among the other States. The viscount makes a good defence, and says in con-

48 There is the saying of Confucius in the Analects, III. v.:—'The rude tribes of the east and north have their rulers, and are not like the States of our great land which are without them.' Without adopting the view of Ho An which I have given in my note upon the passage, I conclude that the sage is merely uttering a lament over the disorganization and disobedience to authority, which he saw going on in Loo and other States. The rude tribes obeyed the 'Powers that were' among them, titled or untitled; but very different was the state of things in China.



遠方湛約翰繪



clusion:—'Our food, our drink, and our clothes are all different from those of the Flowery States; we do not exchange silks or other articles of introduction with their courts; *their language and ours do not admit of intercourse between us and them:*—what evil is it possible for us to have done?' If it was so with those Jung, it was the same, doubtless, with other tribes as well; and they had, probably, different languages among themselves, or at least different dialects of the same language which would render communication between them difficult. Even where the outlying chiefs or princes claimed connexion with the House of Chow, or traced their first appointment to it, the languages spoken in their States may have been different from that of China proper. I have pointed out how the names of the lords of Woo, both in structure and sound, do not appear to be Chinese. And in the account of Tsze-wăn who had been chief minister of Ts'oo, given in the Chuen on VII. iv., his name of Now-woo-t'oo is explained by reference to the fact that he had been suckled by a tigress, when he was a child and cast away in a forest. The people of Ts'oo, we are told, called suckling *now*, and their name for a tiger was *woot'oo;* and hence when the child was grown up, he was known by the name of *Now-woot'oo*, or Tiger-suckled. It would so happen that the languages of the people, who were not of a Chinese origin, and of their chiefs, would differ for a time; but in the end, the culture and the force of the superior race prevailed to bring the language and other characteristics into conformity with it.

CHAPTER IV.

LIST OF THE PRINCIPAL WORKS WHICH HAVE BEEN EMPLOYED IN THE PREPARATION OF THIS VOLUME.

SECTION I.

CHINESE WORKS; WITH BRIEF NOTICES OF THEM.

1. In the 十三經註疏 (See proleg. to vol. I., p. 129):—

[i.] 春秋左傳註疏六十卷, 'The Ch'un Ts'ëw and the Chuen of Tso, with Commentary and Explanations; in 60 Books;'

[ii.] 春秋公羊傳註疏二十八卷, 'The Ch'un Ts'ëw and the Chuen of Kung-yang, with Commentary and Explanations; in 28 Books;'

[iii.] 春秋穀梁傳註疏二十卷, 'The Ch'un Ts'ëw and the Chuen of Kuh-lëang, with Commentary and Explanations; in 20 Books.'

The above three Works are of course K'ung Ying-tah's editions of the labours of Too Yu, Ho Hëw, and Fan Ning, on the text of the Ch'un Ts'ëw and the early Commentaries of Tso-she, Kung-yang, and Kuh-lëang;—of all of which I have spoken in the first chapter of these prolegomena. K'ung's own explanations are as learned and prolix as in the case of the other Classics. Very little is to be gleaned after him from the books that have come down to us of the dynasties from the Han to the T'ang. I have generally used the edition of the thirteen King by Yuen Yuen; and to the text of the She in it I have referred in the prolegomena to vol. IV., p. 172. The student should use no other, where this is procurable. The above Works all contain Yuen's examination of K'ung's texts (春秋左傳公羊傳穀梁傳註疏挍勘記).

4. 欽定春秋傳說彙纂, 'Compilation and Digest of Commentaries and Remarks on the Ch'un Ts'ëw. By imperial authority.' In 40 Books, the first two being occupied with introductory matter. The Work was ordered and its preparation entrusted to a committee of the principal scholars of the empire in 1,699, the 38th year of the period K'ang-he, and appeared in 1,721, the 60th year of the same. I have generally called it the K'ang-he Ch'un Ts'ëw. It deserves the praise which I have bestowed on the imperial editions, in the present dynasty, of the Shoo and the She, though I have been disposed to dissent more

frequently from the decisions of the editors themselves. They drew in preparing it from 134 writers:—3 of the Chow dynasty; 10 of the Han; 1 of the Tsin; 2 of the Suy; 13 of the T'ang; 57 of the Sung; 12 of the Yuen; and 36 of the Ming.

According to their plan, there are subjoined to the text occasionally brief notices of the different readings, the pronunciation of characters, and the matter. Then follow the Commentaries of Tso, Kung-yang, Kuh-lëang, and Hoo Gan-kwoh (胡安國, styled 康侯), for the most part in full; but the editors sometimes take it on them to curtail or even suppress them entirely where they think them to be in error.

Hoo Gan-kwoh was a scholar and officer of the Sung dynasty (born in 1,074; died in 1,138). His commentary on our classic, in 30 Books, is not intrinsically of much value, but it was received on its publication with great applause by Kaou Tsung, the first emperor of the southern Sung dynasty; and all through the Ming dynasty its authority was supreme. It formed the standard for competitors at the literary examinations. Having given those four Commentaries, the editors draw upon their host of Authorities (集說), and conclude, when they think it necessary, with their own decisions (案).

6. There was published in 1,677, at the district city of Keun-shan (崑山), department Soo-chow, Këang-soo, a large collection of Works on the Classics, under the title of 通志堂經解, taken from the name of the hall or library of the gentleman to whom the books belonged. The expense of publication seems to have been borne by a Manchoo, called Nah-lan Ch'ing-tih, with the style of Yung-joh (納蘭成德, 容若). The Collection contains 33 Works on the Ch'un Ts'ëw, all but the last by writers of the Sung and Yuen dynasties. I have had the opportunity of consulting:—

[i.] 春秋傳, 'Commentaries on the Ch'un Ts'ëw.' In 15 Books; by Lew Ch'ang (劉敞; styled 原父); born 1,019, died 1,077. The author had written an earlier Work on the Ch'un Ts'ëw, called 春秋權衡. The one under notice remained in manuscript, until the publication of the Collection in which we now find it, Still there seems no doubt of its genuineness. Lëw draws largely on the three early Commentaries, but decides between them according to his own judgment, having adopted, however, the praise-and-censure theory from Kung-yang and Kuh-lëang.

[ii.] 春秋傳, 'Commentaries on the Ch'un Ts'ëw.' In 20 Books, by Yeh Mung-tih (葉夢得; styled 少蘊, and also called 石林). These last two characters are generally prefixed to the title of

the Work, to distinguish it from the preceding and others. The author was born in 1,077, and died in 1,148. He shows on the one hand his dissent from Sun Fuh and others who wished to discard the three early Commentaries altogether, and not go beyond the text for its explanation, and on the other hand from Soo Cheh, who held to Tso-she and paid no regard to Kung and Kuh.

[iii.] 春秋通說, 'A general Exposition of the Ch'un Ts'ëw.' In 13 Books; by Hwang Chung-yen (黃仲炎; styled 若晦), a scholar of the Sung dynasty, who seems for some reason or other not to have advanced beyond his first degree. His Work was completed in 1,230. He entirely discards the praise-and-censure theory, and is more than necessarily independent in his treatment of the three early Commentaries.

[iv.] 春秋集註, 'Collected Comments on the Ch'un Ts'ëw.' In 11 Books; by Chang Hëah (張洽; styled 元德), a scholar of the first half of the 13th century. He had previously prepared a Work on the classic, which he called 春秋集傳; and, dissatisfied with the finish of it, he prepared the present one, in which he strove to imitate the style and manner of Choo He on the Analects and Mencius;—and hence its name of 集註. It is a useful Work, very perspicuous.

[v.] 春秋或問, 'The meaning of the Ch'un Ts'ëw Catechetically elicited.' In 20 Books; by Leu Ta-kwei (呂大圭; styled 圭叔, and also called 樸鄉), who took his 3d degree in 1,247. The catechetical form enables the author to bring out his views with force; but there is nothing which can be called peculiarly his own. As between the early commentators, he adheres to Tso for the facts, and to Kuh-lëang for the principles, having much to say against Kung-yang, and more against Ho Hëw.

[vi.] 讀春秋編, 'Digest to help in reading the Ch'un Ts'ëw.' In 12 Books; by Ch'in Shin (陳深; styled 子微), who lived both in the Sung and Yuen dynasties. He had given to his study the name of 淸全齋, which characters often enter into the title of his Work. He makes constant use of Tso's Commentary, but is an advocate of the views of Hoo Gan-kwoh.

[vii.] 春秋諸國統紀, 'The Records in the Ch'un Ts'ëw arranged under the States to which they severally belong.' In 22 Books; by Ts'e Le-k'ëen (齊履謙; styled 伯恆). His preface is dated in 1,319. The peculiar character of the Work is shown in the title. He has placed the notices belonging to Loo before those of Chow;—very naturally, it seems to me, but the critics profess to

be shocked by the arrangement. A good deal of freedom is shown in the handling of subjects.

[viii.] 春秋或問, 'The meaning of the Ch'un Ts'ëw Catechetically elicited.' In 10 Books; by Ch'ing Twan-hëoh (程端學; styled 時叔, called also 積齋), who took his third degree in 1,321. He was much employed in the office of historiography, and composed the Work next mentioned and another on the Ch'un Ts'ëw before he felt equal to this, which is reckoned his *chef d'œuvre*. It betrays a sceptical disposition in reference to the three early Commentaries, and is particularly rich in adducing the opinions of the Sung scholars.

[ix.] 春秋本義, 'The proper Meaning of the Ch'un Ts'ëw.' In 30 Books; by Ch'ing Twan-hëoh above. This was his earliest Work on our Classic, and shows the same tendencies which are fully developed in 'The Meaning Catechetically elicited.' He gives the names of 176 Works and Authors, which he had consulted in preparing for his task.

[x.] 春秋諸傳會通, 'All the Commentaries on the Ch'un Ts'ëw in one view.' In 24 Books; by Le Lëen (李廉; styled 行簡). The Author's preface bears date in 1,349, towards the end of the Yuen dynasty. The substance of the three early Commentaries, and of their editors, Too Yu, Ho Hëw, and Fan Ning, of K'ung Ying-tah, Hoo Gan-kwoh, Ch'ing E-ch'uen, Ch'in Foo-lëang (陳傅良), and Chang Hëah, is all to be found here, with the judgments on their different views of Le Lëen himself. It is a Work of great value.

[xi.] 春秋師說, 'My Master's Teachings on the Ch'un Ts'ëw.' In 3 Books; by Chaou Fang (趙汸; styled 子常). First published in 1,348. The author had studied under Hwang Tsih (黄澤), famous for his knowledge of the Yih King and the Ch'un Ts'ëw; and here he gives what he had learned from him on the true meaning of those Classics, and the successes and failures of previous commentators.

[xii.] 春秋屬辭, 'The Style and Expression in the Ch'un Ts'ëw on similar Subjects.' In 15 Books; by the same author as the above. This is an ingenious attempt to make out the principles by which Confucius was guided in his work of compiling the Ch'un Ts'ëw from the historiographers of Loo. His principal Authorities are Too Yu and his own master Hwang Tsih; but he often differs from them. He did his work well; but we have seen that all conclusions on the subject must be very uncertain.

[xiii.] 春秋左氏傳補註, 'Supplementary Comments on the Chuen of Tso-she.' In 10 Books, by the same Chaou Fang. A valuable Work. The writer has before him the three early Commentaries, and it is his object to correct errors and supply defects in Tso from Kung-yang and Kuh-lëang. He has also before him the labours of Too Yu on Tso and of Ch'in Foo-lëang on Kuh-lëang, and he endeavours 'to take what is long in the one to supplement what is short in the other.'

19. 春秋釋例, 'The Laws of the Ch'un Ts'ëw Explained.' By Too Yu; in 10 Books. This was a production of Too Yu, after he had completed his great Work on Tso's Chuen. It contains laws of style under 42 heads; then proceeds to the names of places, genealogies, and Too's scheme of the chronology of the Ch'un-Ts'ëw period. It seems to me that three different Works of Too have here got mixed together. Choo E-tsun mentions the Laws of Style as a Work by itself, published under the Sung dynasty in 15 Books; noting that he had not been able to see it. He also notices the Chronology as a Work by itself, saying that only Too's preface to it remains. Indeed the whole was long supposed to be lost, but it was reproduced, as we have it now, in 1,777, from a Collection made in the period Yung-loh (1,403–1,424) of the Ming dynasty.

20. The 皇清經解 contains several Works on the Ch'un Ts'ëw by the scholars of the present dynasty. I have used:—

[i.] 左傳杜解補正, 'Supplement, with Corrections, to Too's Explanations of the Tso Chuen.' In 3 Books; by Koo Yen-woo (See proleg. vol. IV., p. 101). Contains many useful hints for the translator of Tso. Koo makes much use of two scholars of the Ming dynasty,—Shaou Paou (邵寶) and Foo Sun (傅遜), who had made it their business to discover the mistakes of Too.

[ii.] 學春秋隨筆, 'Jottings in the study of the Ch'un Ts'ëw.' In 10 Books; by Wan Sze-ta (萬斯大; styled 充宗); born in 1,633, died in 1,783. Wan was well acquainted with the Le Ke, the official Book of Chow, and the E Le, and most of his remarks are based upon them. Chinese scholars praise him as having always good ground for what he says. I confess I have been inclined to call in question—now his Authorities, and now his interpretation of them.

[iii.] 春秋毛氏傳, 'Commentary on the Ch'un Ts'ëw by Maou.' This is the work of Maou K'e-ling of whom I have had much to say in my previous volumes. In 35 Books. It is everywhere referred to in my notes. Occasionally one has to differ from

the author, but his views have in general commanded my approval. I thought at one time of simply translating his Work instead of giving all the Tso Chuen; but I considered that to do the latter would be more useful for students. Agreeing for the most part with Tso, Maou seems glad when he finds reason to differ from him; and he makes How Gan-kwoh his butt.

[iv.] 春秋簡書刊誤, 'Errors in the Tablets of the Ch'un Ts'ëw.' In two Books; by Maou K'e-ling. This is a defence of the text of Tso against the different readings that are found in Kung and Kuh.

[v.] 春秋屬辭比事記, 'An Exhibition of the Style of the Ch'un Ts'ëw according to the analogies of the Subject-matter.' In two Books. Also by Maou K'e-ling. It contains a good demonstration of the baselessness of the praise-and-censure theory, and is intended to vindicate Maou's own four laws of interpretation, given in the introduction to his Commentary.

[vi.] 春秋說, 'Discourses on the Ch'un Ts'ëw.' In 15 Books; by Hwuy Sze-k'e (惠士奇; styled 仲儒). He was also called 半農; and these two characters are often prefixed to the titles of his Works. This one on the Ch'un Ts'ëw is of great value. The notices in the Classic are all classified; the views or illustrations of them afforded in the early Commentaries adduced; and the whole adjudicated on by the author.

[vii.] 春秋地理考實, 'The Geography of the Ch'un Ts'ëw Examined and Determined.' In 4 Books; by Këang Yung (See proleg. vol. IV., p. 98, n. 6). Displays much research; and is particularly valuable as bringing down the identifications of the ancient places to the geographical arrangements of the country at the present day. A foreigner is apt to err, as I have sometimes done in this matter, by accepting the geographical determinations in the K'ang-he edition of our classic, and then finding that the arrangement of departments and districts in a province has since been changed.

[viii.] 春秋左傳小疏, 'Short Glosses on the Ch'un Ts'ëw and Tso Chuen.' In one Book; by Shin T'ung (沈彤; styled 冠雲, and also 果堂), who lived from 1,688 to 1,752, and was employed by the government in various literary tasks. He published 'short glosses' on several of the other classics as well as the Ch'un Ts'ëw. I have found them useful.

[ix.] 春秋左傳補註, 'Supplementary Comments on the Ch'un Ts'ëw and Tso Chuen.' A Work similar to the above. In 8 Books;

by Hwuy Tung (惠棟; styled 定宇). It had been growing up in his family for three generations, until he revised the labours of his father, grandfather, and great-grandfather, added to them his own researches, and published it in 1,768. The reader of Too Yu will get considerable help from it.

[x.] 春秋正辭, 'The Language of the Ch'un Ts'ëw Determined and Regulated.' In 13 Books; by Chwang Ts'un-yu (莊存與), a scholar of the K'ëen-lung period. The Work is for the most part an examination of the Classic according to the views and nomenclature of Kung-yang and Ho Hëw.

[xi.] 春秋左傳補疏, 'Supplementary Explanations of the Ch'un Ts'ëw and Tso Chuen.' In 5 Books; by Tsëaou Seun (焦循; styled 理堂 and 里堂). The writer's principal object was to supplement K'ung Ying-tah's Explanations of Too Yu's comments on Tso.

[xii.] 春秋左傳補註, 'Supplementary Comments on the Ch'un Ts'ëw and Tso Chuen.' In 3 Books; by Ma Tsung-lëen (馬宗璉). Intended as a supplement to the Work with the same title by Hwuy Tung, noticed above.

[xiii.] 公羊何氏釋例, 'On the Laws of Ho Hëw in explaining the Commentary of Kung-yang.' In 10 Books; by Lëw Fung-luh (劉逢祿; styled 申甫), a scholar of the Këa-k'ing period. A Work similar in design to No.x.

[xiv.] 公羊何氏解詁箋, 'Glosses on Ho Hëw's Explanations of Kung-yang.' In 1 Book; also by Lëw Fung-luh.

[xv.—xviii.] 發墨守評; 穀梁癈疾申何; 左氏春秋考證; 箴膏肓評. These are four Works by the same author. I have not translated the titles because they refer to controversies in the Han dynasty between Ho Hëw and Ch'ing K'ang-shing. The writer's object is to maintain the authority of Kung-yang and even of Kuh-lëang against Tso-she.

[xix.] 春秋異文箋, 'Glosses on the different readings in the text of the Ch'un Ts'ëw.' In 13 Books; by Chaou T'an (趙坦), a scholar of the Këa-k'ing period.

[xx.] 公羊禮說, 'Remarks on the rules of ceremony insisted on by Kung-yang.' In 1 Book; by Ling Shoo (凌曙); of the same period. He was a believer in Kung-yang.

[xxi.] 經義述聞, 'Recollections of Lessons on the meaning of the Classics.' In 10 Books, three of which are occupied with the Ch'un Ts'ëw. By Wang Yin-che, whose 'Recollections of Lessons in the She' are noticed in the proleg. to vol. IV., p. 178.

41. 春秋地名考略, 'An Examination into the Names of places in the Ch'un Ts'ëw.' In 14 Books; by Kaou Sze-ke (高士奇; styled 澹人), a great scholar of the K'ang-he period. The writer sometimes defeats his end by the minuteness of his researches. The Work is valuable, but not so convenient for the student as that on the same subject by Këang Yung, which I have already noticed.

42. 春秋大事表, 'The principal things in the Ch'un Ts'ëw exhibited in a tabular form.' In 50 Books, with one Book of Plates, and an Appendix. By Koo Tung-kaou (顧棟高; styled 震滄), a scholar and officer of the K'ang-he and K'ëen-lung periods. I have met with no Work on the Ch'un Ts'ëw more exhaustive, and certainly with none from which I have myself derived more assistance. The author's tables and disquisitions supply the most abundant matter for study and research.

43. 春秋內傳古註輯存, 'The old Comments on the Ch'un Ts'ëw and Tso Chuen Collected and Preserved.' In 3 Books (三冊); by Yen Wei (嚴蔚; styled 豹人); published in 1,788. The Work is an attempt to gather and preserve the Comments of Fuh K'ëen and other Commentators of the Han dynasty, to which the writer thinks Too Yu was often under obligation without acknowledging it.

44. 左氏春秋集說, 'Collected Discourses on the Ch'un Ts'ëw of Tso-she.' In 10 Books; with two Books of Introduction and Appendix, chiefly on the Laws of the Ch'un Ts'ëw. By Choo Goh-ling (朱鶴齡; styled 長孺, and also called 愚菴), a graduate of the Ming dynasty who lived on into the present. The Work is useful, principally because the author is constantly quoting from Tan Tsoo and Chaou K'wang of the T'ang dynasty, though he does not himself agree with them.

45. 春秋占筮書, 'On the Articles on Divination in the Ch'un Ts'ëw.' In 3 Books. This is another Work bearing on the interpretation of the Tso Chuen by Maou K'e-ling, which has not been reprinted in the 皇清經解. The title is incorrect, because the references to divination in the text of the Ch'un Ts'ëw are the briefest possible, and the Work deals with articles in the Tso Chuen. It is said correctly in Maou's introductory notice that no satisfactory attempt to explain those articles had been made by Too Yu, K'ung Ying-tah, or any other of the critics. It was bold in Maou to try to do so; but I do not think he has succeeded. So far as I have attained hitherto in the study of the Yih King and the ancient divination of the Chinese, I have failed to understand their principles;—if there be any principles in them.

46. 春秋條貫篇, 'On the Connexion between the Notices in the text of the Ch'un Ts'ëw.' In 11 Books; also by Maou K'e-ling. The Work arose out of a dispute between Maou and the other Examiners at the competition for the third degree in 1,685, they contending that the connexion could only be discovered by means of the Chuen, and he that it could be ascertained from the text itself. The editors of the 'Catalogue of the Books in the Imperial Libraries (欽定四庫全書總目)' condemn it as inferior to Maou's other productions on the Ch'un Ts'ëw; but, like every other thing that he wrote, there is a great deal of force in many of his reasonings.

47. 春秋衷要, 'The most important Points in the Interpretation of the Ch'un Ts'ëw Determined.' In 6 Books; by Le Shinkuh (李式穀; styled 海匏). The writer adopts the K'ang-he Ch'un Ts'ëw as the standard for interpreting the Classic, but now and then introduces a view of his own. It is a useful Work.

48. 讀左漫筆, 'Occasional Jottings to help in reading the Tso Chuen.' In 16 Books; by Ch'ang Mow-lae (常茂徠; styled 秋厓). This is one of the most recent Works on our Classic, the author's preface being dated in 1,867. He tells us that the Tso Chuen had been the mental food of his whole life, and that he had published two Works on special subjects connected with it. But he was in the habit of reading his favourite author, and the long list of critics and commentators on him, with pencil in hand; and wherever their remarks seemed to require addition or correction, he made his own notes; and so the materials for the present Work grew up gradually under his hand. One may get a good many suggestions from it.

49. 春秋左傳平議, 'Quiet Discussions on Tso's Commentary on the Ch'un Ts'ëw.' In 3 Books; by Yu Yueh (俞樾; styled 陰甫); like the last, a very recent writer. These 3 Books are only a portion of a large Work on all the classics, published in 1,866. He is helpful in determining the punctuation of the original; in fixing the exact meaning of characters; and on the interchanging use of characters by the ancient writers.

50. 左繡, 'The Elegancies of Tso.' In 30 Books; by Fung Le-hwa (馮李驊; styled 天閑), and Luh Haou (陸浩; styled 大瀛). After various preliminary matter on the best way of reading the Tso Chuen, &c., the pages in the body of the Work are divided into two parts. In the lower part there are given the text and Tso's Commentary, with the comments of Too Yu at length, Luh Tih-ming's pronunciation of characters, and the glosses of Lin Yaou-sow (林

堯叟) of the Sung dynasty, these last often abbreviated, but of real value. There are occasionally quotations from K'ung Ying-tah, and from Koo Yen-woo's Work, the first of those mentioned above from the 皇淸經解. The upper part of the page is occupied with Fung and Luh's own remarks, mostly designed to show the force and beauty of Tso's style. These give the name to the Work.

51. 讀左補義, 'Aids to the reading of Tso.' In 50 Books; by Këang Ping-chang, whose Work on the She King I have noticed in the proleg. to vol. IV., p. 175. The present Work, first published in 1,768, deserves much of the praise which I gave to the former. He differs from Too Yu on the laws of style in the classic, and thinks that Confucius simply copied the historiographers of Loo without altering or abbreviating their text.

From the first chapter of these prolegomena it will be seen that I have very much adopted these views myself, though aware of the objections that can be urged against them. Keang appends short essays or disquisitions of his own on the events related to the narratives of Tso.

52. 春秋左氏傳集釋, 'Explanations of the Ch'un Ts'ëw and the Tso Chuen from all Sources.' In 60 Books. This Work is still in manuscript, having been prepared, with a special view to my own assistance, by my friend Wang T'aou. It is entitled to the praise which I have bestowed, in the proleg. to vol. IV., p. 176, on his Work on the She.

53. 春秋朔閏考辨, 'An Examination into the first days of the moon, and the intercalary months, during the Ch'un-Ts'ëw period.' In 3 Books; also by Wang T'aou, and in manuscript. He shows the unsatisfactory nature of the chronological schemes proposed by Too Yu, Koo Tung-kaou, and Ch'in How-yaou (陳厚耀), and then proceeds to his task, taking his data—now from the text, and now from the Chuen. His mind was first thoroughly stimulated on the subject by the Rev. Mr. Chalmers. There is certainly no Work in Chinese on the chronology of the Ch'un-Ts'ëw period at all equal to this. He has also prepared in Chinese a table of the days of new moon and of the winter solstice for the whole period (春秋至朔表).

54. 春秋日食圖說, 'The Eclipses mentioned in the Ch'un Ts'ëw, with Plates, and Disquisitions.' In 1 Book. Also by Wang T'aou, and in manuscript. For the matter in this treatise, as for that in the above, Wang is mainly indebted to Mr. Chalmers.

55. 春秋問答, 'Difficulties with regard to the Ch'un Ts'ëw, by way of Question and Answer.' In 1 Book; by Wang T'aou, and

in manuscript. This treatise may be considered as Wang's endeavour to reply to questions proposed by myself, while engaged in the preparation and printing of this volume. It embraces most of the subjects which I have discussed in the previous chapters of these prolegomena. His answers are more or less satisfactory, but show the conservative character of the Chinese mind in regard to the views on the classics which have been current since the Han dynasty.

56. 左傳經世鈔, 'Extracts from the Tso Chuen.' In 23 Books; by Wei He (魏禧; styled 氷叔), of the Ming dynasty. This Work contains the greater number of the narratives in Tso, those of them belonging to the same subject, which in his commentary are scattered over several years, being brought together. Explanatory glosses from Too Yu, Lin Yaou-sow, and Wei He himself are occasionally interspersed throughout Tso's text, and each paragraph is followed by reflections of a general or historical character from the compiler. It has been useful to me from the large characters, finely cut, in which the copy that I have is printed; and which is probably a reprint from an edition published in 1,748 by P'ăng Këa-ping (彭家屏; styled 樂君). The 經世 of the title is hardly translatable, and is taken from a remark by Chwang-tsze of the Chow dynasty about the Ch'un Ts'ëw (春秋, 經世先王之志).

57. 古文析義, 'Ancient Compositions, with Notes on their meaning.' In 16 Books; by Lin Yun-ming (林雲銘; styled 西仲), who took his third degree in 1,658. The Work is a little of the same nature as some volumes of "Elegant Extracts" from our English masters, which I have seen. A selection is made of the most celebrated pieces of composition from the Chow dynasty downwards, with explanations of the meaning and notes on the style interspersed, with a disquisition at the end on the subject-matter by the compiler. The first two Books are occupied with pieces from the Tso Chuen. Lin Yun-ming was called a bibliomaniac (書癡) by his neighbours; but scholars speak contemptuously of his Works. Wang T'aou calls the one before us 'a series of Lessons for a village school (鄉塾課蒙之本).' The foreign student, however, is glad to get hold of it, especially at the commencement of his studies in the Tso Chuen.

The class of Works represented by the preceding is numerous. I have consulted the 古文析義新編; the 古文快筆; the 古文分編集評; the 古文觀止; the 古文評註; the 古文翼; the 古文眉詮; and the 古文淵鑑. Unfortunately they all deal with nearly the same pieces in Tso's Work.

I have not felt it necessary to introduce in the above list the Dictionaries and Works of general reference, with many others on the classics in general, which were mentioned in the lists in my preceding volumes, and have again been referred to as occasion required.

SECTION II.

TRANSLATIONS AND OTHER FOREIGN WORKS.

I have not to add to the Works of this class mentioned in my former volumes.

Dr. Bretschneider of Peking having stated in the Chinese Recorder for December 1870, p. 173, that the Ch'un Ts'ëw had been translated into European languages, I made inquiry on the subject, to which that gentleman replied in the Recorder for July, 1871, pp. 51, 52. 'Some 40 years ago,' he says, 'Father Daniel, of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission at Peking, translated the Ch'un-ts'iu into Russian; but, so far as I know, this translation has never been published. The manuscript exists still. Besides this, parts of the Ch'un-ts'iu were translated into Russian, and published by other Russian Sinologues.' I have not seen these translations. Dr. Bretschneider refers also to a translation of the first book of the Ch'un Ts'ëw by Bayer, with a Latin translation, which appeared in the '*Commentaria Academiæ Petropolitanæ*,' vol. 7; but neither have I met with this.

THE CH'UN TS'EW;

WITH THE TSO CHUEN.

BOOK I. DUKE YIN.

First year.

春秋 附左傳

隱公

一章 元年春王正月。

二章 三月、公及邾儀父盟于蔑。

三章 夏、五月、鄭伯克段于鄢。

四章 秋、七月、天王使宰咺來歸惠公仲子之賵。

五章 九月、及宋人盟于宿。

六章 冬、十有二月、祭伯來。

七章 公子益師卒。

左傳曰、惠公元妃孟子。孟子卒、繼室以聲子、生隱公。宋武公生仲子。仲子生而有文在其手、曰爲魯夫人、故仲子歸于我、生桓公而惠公薨、是以隱公立而奉之。

元年春王周正月、不書卽位、攝也。

三月、公及邾儀父盟于蔑。邾子克也。未王命、故不書爵、曰儀父、貴之也。公攝位、而欲求好於邾、故爲蔑之盟。

㊁夏四月、費伯帥師城郎。不書、非公命也。

初、鄭武公娶于申、曰武姜、生莊公及共叔段。莊公寤生、驚姜氏、故名曰寤生、遂惡之、愛

共叔段、欲立之、亟請於武公、公弗許。及莊公卽位、爲之請制。公曰、制巖邑也、虢叔死焉、他邑唯命。請京、使居之、
謂之京城大叔。祭仲曰、都城過百雉、國之害也、先王之制、大都、不過參國之一、中五之一、小九之一、今京不度、
非制也、君將不堪。公曰、姜氏欲之、焉辟害。對曰、姜氏何厭之有、不如早爲之所、無使滋蔓、蔓難圖也、蔓草猶不
可除、況君之寵弟乎。公曰、多行不義、必自斃、子姑待之。旣而大叔命西鄙北鄙貳於己。公子呂曰、國不堪貳、君
將若之何、欲與大叔、臣請事之、若弗與、則請除之、無生民心。公曰、無庸將自及。大叔又收貳以爲己邑、至于廩
延。子封曰、可矣、厚將得衆。公曰、不義不暱、厚將崩。大叔完聚、繕甲兵、具卒乘、將襲鄭、夫人將啓之。公聞其期曰、
可矣。命子封帥車二百乘以伐京、京叛大叔段、段入于鄢、公伐諸鄢、五月辛丑、大叔出奔共。書曰、鄭伯克段于
鄢、段不弟、故不言弟。如二君、故曰克。稱鄭伯、譏失教也、謂之鄭志、不言出奔、難之也。遂寘姜氏于城潁、而誓之
曰、不及黃泉、無相見也。旣而悔之。潁考叔爲潁谷封人、聞之、有獻于公、公賜之食、食舍肉、公問之。對曰、小人有
母、皆嘗小人之食矣、未嘗君之羹、請以遺之。公曰、爾有母遺、繄我獨無。潁考叔曰、敢問何謂也、公語之故、且告
之悔。對曰、君何患焉、若闕地及泉、隧而相見、其誰曰不然。公從之、公入而賦、大隧之中、其樂也融融。姜出而賦、
大隧之外、其樂也洩洩。遂爲母子如初。君子曰、潁考叔純孝也、愛其母、施及莊公、詩曰、孝子不匱、永錫爾類、其
是之謂乎。

秋、七月、天王使宰咺來歸惠公仲子之賵、緩。且子氏未薨、故名。天子七月而葬、同軌畢至、諸侯五月、同盟至。大
夫三月、同位至、士踰月、外姻至、贈死不及尸、弔生不及哀、豫凶事、非禮也。

⊙八月、紀人伐夷、夷不告、故不書。⊙有蜚、不爲災、亦不書。

惠公之季年、敗宋師于黃、公立而求成焉、九月、及宋人盟于宿、始通也。

⊙冬、十月、庚申、改葬惠公、公弗臨、故不書。惠公之薨也、有宋師、太子少、葬故有闕、是以改葬。⊙衛侯來會葬、不

見公、亦不書。㊂鄭共叔之亂、公孫滑出奔衞、衞人爲之伐鄭、取廩延、鄭人以王師虢師伐衞南鄙、請師于邾、邾子使私于公子豫、豫請往、公弗許、遂行、及邾人、鄭人、盟于翼。不書、非公命也。㊂新作南門、不書、亦非公命也。十二月祭伯來、非王命也。衆父卒。公不與小斂、故不書日。

I. 1 [It was his] first year, the spring, the king's first month.

2 In the third month, the duke and E-foo of Choo made a covenant in Mëeh.

3 In summer, in the fifth month, the earl of Ch'ing overcame Twan in Yen.

4 In autumn, in the seventh month, the king [by] Heaven's [grace] sent the [sub-] administrator Heuen with a present of [two] carriages and their horses for the funerals of duke Hwuy and [his wife] Chung Tsze.

5 In the ninth month, [the duke] and an officer of Sung made a covenant in Suh.

6 In winter, in the twelfth month, the earl of Chae came [to Loo].

7 Kung-tsze Yih-sze died.

TITLE OF THE WORK.—春秋, 附左傳 'The Spring and Autumn; with the Tso Chuen.' 'Spring and Autumn' is equivalent to 'Annals, digested under the four seasons of every year,' only two seasons being given for the sake of brevity. The subject of the name is fully discussed in the Prolegomena, ch. I. I have printed all the text of Tso K'ëw-ming, immediately after the year of the Classic to which it belongs. Where his remarks are simply comments on the text, I have embodied them with my own notes. His narratives, however, are all translated entire, and the additional narratives which he gives, not belonging to events referred to in the text, and indicated by a ㊂, are included in the notes, within brackets.

TITLE OF THE BOOK.—隱公, 'Duke Yin.' Of the 12 dukes of Loo, whose years are chronicled in the Ch'un Ts'ëw, Yin is the first, his rule extending from B.C. 721—711. From the establishment of Pih-k'in, son of the famous duke of Chow, as marquis of Loo, in B.C. 1,114, there had been 13 chiefs. Yin's father and predecessor, duke Hwuy (惠公), married first a daughter of the House of Sung (孟子); and on her death he supplied her place with Shing Tsze (聲子), one of her relatives who had followed her from Sung to the harem of Loo. This lady was the mother of Yin; but duke Hwuy by and by took as a *second wife* the daughter of the duke Woo (武) of Sung, called 仲子. Acc. to Tso-she, she had been born with some remarkable lines on one of her hands, which were read as meaning that she would become marchioness of Loo. By her Hwuy had a son of higher dignity than Yin, in consequence of the superior position of his mother, and who afterwards made himself duke Hwan. This child being too young to take charge of the State on his father's death, was set aside in favour of Yin, who, however, only considered himself as occupying in room of his younger brother till the latter should come of age.

Yin's name was Seih-koo (息姑), Yin being the honorary or sacrificial title conferred after his death, and meaning,—'Sorrowfully swept away, unsuccessful (隱拂不成).'

Loo was only a marquisate. Its chiefs were not dukes. Throughout the Ch'un Ts'ëw, however, we find the chiefs even of the smaller States all dignified with the title of 'duke' after their death. Maou K'e-ling ingeniously explains this as an instance of the style of the 'historiographers,' referring to the commencing words in 'The Speech at Pe' (Shoo V. xxix.)—公曰, whereas, in the Preface to the Shoo, par. 66, instead of 公, we read 魯侯, 'the marquis of Loo.' The confusion which is caused, however, by the practice, in the narratives of Tso K'ëw-ming is very great, as he uses now the name with the title of rank, and now the honorary name and title of duke, with the most entire indifference.

Yin's 1st year synchronized with the 49th of king P'ing (平王); the 9th year of He of Ts'e (齊僖公); the 2d of Goh of Tsin (晉鄂侯); the 11th of Chwang of K'ëuh-yuh (曲沃莊伯); the 13th of Hwan of Wei

(衞桓公); the 28th of Seuen of Ts'ae (蔡宣公); the 22d of Chwang of Ch'ing (鄭莊公); the 35th of Hwan of Ts'aou (曹桓公); the 23d of Hwan of Ch'in (陳桓公); the 29th of Woo of Ke (杞武公); the 7th of Muh of Sung (宋穆公); the 44th of Wăn of Ts'in (秦文公); and the 19th of Woo of Ts'oo (楚武公).

Par. 1. This paragraph, it will be seen, is incomplete, the adjunct merely of a 公即位, which is found at the beginning of nearly every other book. The reason of the incompleteness will be considered below.

元年,—'the 1st year.' The Urh-ya explains 元 by 始 'the beginning,' 'first,' and Kung-yang makes the phrase simply = 君之始年, 'the prince's 1st year.' Too Yu tries to find a deeper meaning in the phrase, saying that the 1st year of a rule stands to all the following years in the relation of the original *chaos* to the subsequent *kosmos*, and is therefore called *yuen*, to intimate to rulers that from the first moment of their sway they are to advance in the path of order and right. This consideration explains also, he thinks, the use of 正月, 'the right month,' for 'the 1st month (凡人君即位,欲其體元以居正,故不言一年一月也).' The Urh-ya, however, gives 正 as = 長, 'the most elevated,' 'the senior.' But in the denomination of the 1st month as 'the right or correct month,' we must acknowledge a recognition of what are called 'the three *ching* (三正),'—the three different months, with which the dynasties of Hëa, Shang, and Chow commenced the year. Hëa began the year with the 1st month of spring; Shang, a month, and Chow, 2 months earlier. It became so much a rule for the beginning of the year to be changed by every new dynasty, that Ts'in made its first month commence a lunation before that of Chow. To a remark of Confucius, Ana. XV. x., we are indebted for the disuse of this foolish custom, so that all dynasties have since used 'the seasons of Hëa.'—After all, there remains the question why the first month of the year should be called *ching* (正).

王正月,—'the king's first month.' The 'king' here can hardly be any other than P'ing, the king of Chow for the time then being, as Too Yu says;—and in this style does the account of very many of the years of the Ch'un Ts'ëw begin, as if to do homage to the supremacy of the reigning House. Kung-yang makes the king to be Wăn; but though he was the founder of the Chow dynasty, the commencement of the year was not yet changed in his time.

The remaining character in this par. occasions the foreign student considerable perplexity. The commencement of the year was really in the 2d month of winter, and yet it is here said to have been in the spring.—春王正月. We have spring when it really was not spring. It must be kept in mind that the usual names for the seasons—春,夏,秋,冬, only denote in the Ch'un Ts'ëw the four quarters of the Chow year, beginning with the 2d month of winter. It was, no doubt, a perception of the inconvenience of such a calendar which made Confucius, loyal as he was to the dynasty of Chow, say that he preferred that of Hëa to it. Strange as it is to read of spring, when the time is really winter, and of winter when the season is still autumn, it will appear, as we go on, that such is really the style of the Ch'un Ts'ëw. Maou, fully admitting all this, yet contends for a strange interpretation of the text, in which he joins 春 and 王 together, making the phrase to stand for the kings of Chow,—'Spring kings,' who reigned by the virtue of wood, the first of the five elements (五行之首). He presses, in support of this view, the words of Tso-she on this paragraph,—元年春王周正月, which show, he says, that Tso-she joined 春 with 王, as he himself would do; but Tso-she's language need not be so construed, and 春 evidently stands by itself, just as the names of the other seasons do.

We come now to the incompleteness of the par., already pointed out. According to the analogy of the style in the first years of other dukes, it should be stated that in his 1st year and the 1st month of it, the duke took the place (即位) of his predecessor. According to the rule of Chow, on the death of a sovereign—and all the princes were little kings in their several States—his successor, acknowledged to be such as the chief mourner on the occasion and taking the direction of the proper ceremonies for the departed, 'ascended the throne by the bier.' There is an interesting account of such an accession in the Shoo, V. xxii. The thing was done so hurriedly because 'the State could not be a single day without a sovereign (國家不可一日無君),' or because, as we phrase it, 'the king never dies.' What remained of the year, however, was held to belong to the reign of the deceased king, and the new reign began with the beginning of the next year, when there was a more public 'taking of the place,' though I do not know that we have any account of the ceremonies which were then performed. The first 'place-taking' was equivalent to our 'accession;' the second, to our 'coronation.' The proper explanation, therefore, of the incompleteness of the paragraph is that Yin omitted the ordinary 'place-taking' ceremonies, and of course there could be no record of them. Perhaps he made the omission, having it in mind to resign ere long in favour of his younger brother (so, Tso-she); but to say that the usual 公即位 was

here omitted by Confucius, either to show his approval or disapproval of Yin, as Kuh-lëang does, followed by Hoo Gan-kwoh (胡安國, A.D. 1,074—1,138) and a hundred other commentators, is not to explain the text, but to perplex the reader with vain fancies.

Par. 2. There was nothing proper for record in the 1st and 2d months of the year, and we come here to the third month. Choo (we have Choo-low, 邾婁, in Kung-yang) was a small State, nearly all surrounded by Loo,—the pres. dis. of Tsow (鄒), dep. Yen-chow. At this time it was only a Foo-yung (附庸), attached to Loo (see Mencius, V. 下, ii. 4.); but in a few years after this its chief was raised to the dignity of viscount (子). The House had the surname of Ts'aou (曹), and had been invested with the territory by king Woo, as being descended from the ancient emperor Chuen-hëuh. The chief's name, as we learn afterwards from the Ch'un Ts'ëw, was K'ih (克); E-foo (父, read in the 2d tone, found appended to many designations, by way of honour) is his designation (字), given to him here, says Tso-she,' by way of honour,' for which remark there seems to be no ground. Mëeh (Kuh and Kung both have 眛, with the same sound) was a place belonging to Loo,—in the pres. dis. of Sze-shwuy (泗水), dep. Yen-chow. We know nothing of any special object sought by the 'covenanting' here. Tso-she merely says that the duke arranged for it to cultivate friendly relations with his neighbour, at the commencement of his temporary administration. 公 heads the record, here and in most other accounts of meetings and covenants on the part of the marquises of Loo with other princes;—an order proper in the historiographers of that State. I can think of no better word for 盟 than 'covenant,' 'to covenant.' On all occasions there was the death of a victim, over which the contracting parties appealed to superior Powers, wishing that, if they violated the terms of their covenant, they might meet with a fate like that of the slain animal. One definition of the term is 誓約, 'an agreement with an oath.' Compare the account of Jacob and Laban's covenant, Genesis, xxxi.

The 及 after 公 is to be taken as simply= 與, 'with;' 'and.' Kung, Kuh, and others find recondite meanings in it, which will not bear examination.

[Tso-she, after this paragraph, gives an incident of the 4th month, in summer, that 'the earl of Pe led a force, and walled Lang,' adding that no record of it was made, because it was not done with the duke's order. See the 1st note on 'The speech at Pe' in the Shoo. I have translated the notice according to the view of Ch'in Sze-k'ae given there; but Tso-she could not have intended 費伯 to be taken as meaning 'Earl of Pe,' but merely 'Pih (some scion of the House of Loo) of Pe.']

Par. 3. Ch'ing was an earldom which had not been of long duration. In B.C. 805, king Seuen had invested his brother Yëw (友) with the lands of Ch'ing, in the pres. Hwa Chow (華州), dep. T'ung-chow, Shen-se. Yëw's son, Keueh-tuh (掘突), known as duke Woo (武公), conquered a territory more to the east,—the country of Kwoh and Kwei (虢鄶之地)—and settled in it, calling it 'New Ch'ing;'—the name of which is still retained in the district of Sin-ch'ing (新鄭), dep. K'ae-fung, Ho-nan. Woo's son, Woo-shang (寤生), known as duke Chwang (莊) and born in B. C. 756, is the earl of this par. Twan was his younger brother. Yen has left its name in the dis. of Yen-ling (鄢陵). Tso-she's account of the event in the text is the following:—

'Duke Woo of Ch'ing had married a daughter of the House of Shin, called Woo Këang, who bore duke Chwang and his brother Twan of Kung. Duke Chwang was born as she was waking from sleep [the meaning of the text here is uncertain], which frightened the lady so that she named him Woo-shang (= born in waking), and hated him, while she loved Twan, and wished him to be declared his father's heir. Often did she ask this of duke Woo, but he refused it. When duke Chwang came to the earldom, she begged him to confer on Twan the city of Che. "It is *too* dangerous a place," was the reply. "The Younger of Kwoh died there; but in regard to any other place, you may command me." She then requested King; and there Twan took up his residence, and came to be styled T'ae-shuh (=the Great Younger) of King city. Chung of Chae said to the duke, "Any metropolitan city, whose wall is more than 3,000 cubits round, is dangerous to the State. According to the regulations of the former kings, such a city of the 1st order can have its wall only a third as long as that of the capital; one of the 2d order, only a fifth as long; and one of the least order, only a ninth. Now King is not in accordance with these measures and regulations. As ruler, you will not be able to endure *Twan in such a place.*" The duke replied, "It was our mother's wish;—how could I avoid the danger?" "The lady Këang," returned the officer, "is not to be satisfied. You had better take the necessary precautions, and not allow the danger to grow so great that it will be difficult to deal with it. Even grass, when it has grown and spread all about, cannot be removed;—how much less the brother of yourself, and the favoured brother as well!" The duke said, "By his many deeds of unrighteousness he will bring destruction on himself. Do you only wait a while."

'After this, T'ae-shuh ordered the places on the western and northern borders *of the State* to render to himself the same allegiance as they did to the earl. Then Kung-tsze Leu said to the duke, "A State cannot sustain the burden of two services;—what will you do now? If you wish

to give *Ch'ing* to T'ae-shuh, allow me to serve him as a subject. If you do not mean to give it to him, allow me to put him out of the way, that the minds of the people be not perplexed." "There is no need," the duke replied, "*for such a step. His calamity* will come of itself."

'T'ae-shuh went on to take as his own the places from which he had required their divided contributions, as far as Lin-yen. Tsze-fung [the designation of Kung-tsze Leu above] said, "Now is the time. With these enlarged resources, he will draw all the people to himself." The duke replied, "They will not cleave to him, so unrighteous as he is. Through his prosperity he will fall *the more*."

'T'ae-shuh wrought at his defences, gathered the people about him, put in order buff-coats and weapons, prepared footmen, and chariots, intending to surprise Ch'ing, while his mother was to open to him *from within*. The duke heard the time agreed on *between them*, and said, "Now we can act." So he ordered Tsze-fung, with two hundred chariots, to attack King. King revolted from T'ae-shuh, who then entered Yen, which the duke himself proceeded to attack; and in the 5th month, on the day Sin-ch'ow, T'ae-shuh fled from it to Kung.

'In the words of the text,—"The earl of Ch'ing overcame Twan in Yen," Twan is not called the *earl's* younger brother, because he did not show himself to be such. They were *as* two *hostile* princes, and therefore we have the word "overcame." The duke is styled the earl of Ch'ing *simply*, to condemn him for his failure to instruct *his brother properly. Twan's* flight is not mentioned, *in the text*, because it was difficult to do so, having in mind Ch'ing's wish *that Twan might be killed*.

'Immediately after these events, duke Chwang placed *his mother* Këang in Shing-ying, and swore an oath, saying, "I will not see you again, till I have reached the yellow spring [*i.e.*, till I am dead, and under the yellow earth]." But he repented of this. *By and by*, Ying K'aou-shuh, the border-warden of the vale of Ying, heard of it, and presented an offering to the duke, who caused food to be placed before him. K'aou-shuh put a piece of meat on one side; and when the duke asked the reason, he said, "I have a mother who always shares in what I eat. But she has not eaten of this meat which you, my ruler, have given, and I beg to be allowed to leave this piece for her." The duke said, "You have a mother to give it to. Alas! I alone have none." K'aou-shuh asked what the duke meant, who then told him all the circumstances, and how he repented of his oath. "Why should you be distressed about that?" said the officer. "If you dig into the earth to the yellow springs, and then make a subterranean passage, where you can meet each other, who can say that your oath is not fulfilled?' The duke followed this suggestion; and as he entered the passage sang,

> "This great tunnel, within,
> With joy doth run."

When his mother came out, she sang,

> "This great tunnel, without,
> The joy flies about."

[After this, they were mother and son as before.

'A superior man may say, "Ying K'aou-shuh was filial indeed. His love for his mother passed over to and affected duke Chwang. Was there not here an illustration of what is said in the Book of Poetry,

> "A filial son of piety unfailing,
> There shall for ever be conferred blessing on you?"'

Space would fail me were I to make any remarks on the criticisms interspersed by Tso-she in this and other narratives, or vindicate the translation of his narratives which I give. The reader will perceive that without the history in the Chuen, the Confucian text would give very little idea of the event which it professes to record; and there are numberless instances, more flagrant still, in the Book. The 君子, who moralizes, is understood to be Tso-she himself. We have no other instance in the Ch'un Ts'ëw of 克 used as in this paragraph.

Par. 4. 天王, 'Heaven's king,' or 'king by Heaven's grace,' is of course king P'ing. The sovereign of China, as Heaven's vice-gerent over the empire, is styled 天子, 'Heaven's son;' in his relation to the feudal princes as their ruler, he was called 天王, 'Heaven's king.' 仲子 is 'the second Tsze,' *i. e.*, the daughter of the duke of Sung, who became the 2d wife of duke Hwuy as mentioned in the note on the title of this book; not Hwuy's mother, as Kuh-lëang absurdly says. 賵 is explained in the dict. as 贈死者, 'presents to the dead,' and 所以助主人送葬者, 'aids to the presiding mourner to bury his dead.' But such presents were of various kinds, and 賵 denotes the gift specially of one or more carriages and their horses. So both Kung and Kuh. The king sent such presents on the death of any of the princes or their wives; and here we have an instance in point. But there is much contention among the critics as to who the messenger was;—whether the king's chief Minister 冢宰), or some inferior officer of his department. The former view is taken by Kuh-lëang, and affirmed by the editors of the K'ang-he Ch'un Ts'ëw;—but, as I must think, erroneously. Under the 冢宰 or 太宰, were two 小宰, and four 宰夫, called by Biot *Grand-administrateur general*,' '*Sous-adminstrateurs generaux*,' and *aides-administrateurs generaux*.' It belonged to the department of the last, on all occasions of condolence, to superintend the arrangements, with every thing that was supplied by way of presents or offerings,—the silks, the utensils, the money, &c. (see the Chow Le, I., iii. 56—73). The officer in the text was, no doubt, one of these aid-administrators; and this removes all difficulty which the critics find in the mention of an officer of higher rank by his name.

The rule was that princes should be buried five months after their death, and Tso-she says that the king's message and gift arrived too late, so far as duke Hwuy was concerned. This criticism may be correct; but he goes on to say

that Chung Tsze was not yet dead, and the message and gift were too early, so far as she was concerned. The king could never have been guilty of such an impropriety as to anticipate the lady's death in this way, and the view of Tso-she can only provoke a smile. He adds:—'The king's burial took place 7 months after his death, when all the feudal princes were expected to be present. The prince of a State was buried 5 months after his death, when all the princes, with whom he had covenanted, attended. The funeral of a great officer took place 3 months after his death, and was attended by all of the same rank; that of an officer, at the end of a month, and was attended by his relatives by affinity. Presents on account of a death were made before the burial, and visits of condolence were paid before the grief had assumed its greatest demonstrations. It was not proper to anticipate such occurrences.'

On first translating the Ch'un Ts'ëw, I construed the par. as if these were a 之 between 公 and 仲, and supposed that only one carriage and its horses were sent for the funeral of Chung Tsze, who had been the wife of Hwuy. I gave up the construction in deference to the prevailing opinion of the commentators; but it had been adopted by no less a scholar than Ch'ing E (程頤; A. D. 1033—1107).

[Tso-she has here two other entries under this season:—'In the 8th month an officer of Ke attacked E;' and 'There were locusts.' He adds that E sent no official announcement of the attack to Loo, and that therefore it was not recorded; and that no notice was entered of the locusts, because they did not amount to a plague.]

Par. 5. Sung was a dukedom,—having its chief city in the pres. dis. of Shang-k'ëw (商邱), dep. Kwei-tih, Ho-nan. The charge given to the viscount of Wei on his being appointed to the State is still preserved in the Shoo, V. viii. The dukes of Sung were descended from the kings of Yin or Shang; and of course their surname was Tsze (子). Suh was a small State, in the present Tung-p'ing (東平) Chow, dep. T'ae-gan, Shan-tung. It was thus near Loo, but a good way from Sung. Its chiefs were barons with the surname Fung (風).

Tso-she tells us that in the last year of duke Hwuy, he defeated an army of Sung in Hwang, but that now duke Yin sought for peace. It was with this object that the covenant in the text was made.

I translate as if 公 preceded 及, for so the want must generally be supplied throughout the classic. Kung and Kuh both understand some inferior officer of Loo (微者), but in other places they themselves supply 公. By 宋人, however, we must understand an officer of Sung. It is better to translate so than to say simply—'a man of Sung.'

[Between this par. and the next Tso-she has the three following narratives:—

'In winter, in the 10th month, on the day Kăng-shin, the body of duke Hwuy was removed and buried a second time.' As the duke was not present, the event was not recorded. When duke Hwuy died, there was war with Sung, and the heir-prince was young, so that there was some omission in the burial. He was therefore now buried again, and in another grave. The marquis of Wei came to be present at the burial. He did not have an interview with the duke, and so his visit was not recorded.'

'After the confusion occasioned by Kung-shuh of Ch'ing, Kung-sun Hwah [Twan or Kung-shuh's son] fled to Wei, and the people of Wei attacked Ch'ing in his behalf, and requested Lin-yen for him. Ch'ing then attacked the southern border of Wei, supported by a king's army and an army of Kwoh, and also requested the aid of troops from Choo. The viscount of Choo sent a private message to Kung-tsze Yu *of Loo*, who asked leave from the duke to go. It was refused; but he went and made a covenant with an officer of Choo and an officer of Ch'ing in Yih. No record was made of this, because *Yu's going* was against the duke's order.'

'The southern gate of the city was made new.' It was done without the duke's order, and so was not recorded.]

Par. 6. Chae [so 祭 is here read] was an earldom, in the present Ch'ing Chow (鄭州), dep. K'ae-fung, held by the descendants of one of the duke of Chow's sons. Acc. to Tso-she the earl here was a minister at court., and came to Loo, for what purpose we know not, without the orders of the king. Kung-yang, indeed, thinks he came as a refugee, and that 伯 is the designation of the individual merely (字), and not his title; while Kuh-lëang makes the coming to have been to do a sort of homage to duke Yin. But this is simply guess work.

Par. 7. Of Yih-sze we know nothing but what this brief par. tells. He was 'a duke's son,' but whether the son of Hwuy, or of Hwuy's father, we cannot tell. It is best in such a case to take 公子 as if it were the surname. So Ho Hëw (何休) says here, 公子者氏也. Kuh-lëang finds a condemnation of Yih-sze in the omission of the day of his death; but the old method of interpretation which found praise or blame in the mention of or silence as to days, in the use of the name, the designation, the title, and such matters, is now discarded. 卒 is the proper term to use for the death of an officer.

Tso-she gives the designation of Yih-sze as Chung-foo, and says that the day of his death is not recorded, because the duke did not attend at the ceremony of dressing the corpse, to it into the coffin.

Second year.

一章 二年、春、公會戎于潛。

二章 夏、五月、莒人入向。

三章 無駭帥師入極。

四章 秋、八月庚辰、公及戎盟于唐。

五章 九月、紀裂繻來逆女。

六章 冬、十月伯姬歸于紀。

七章 紀子帛莒子盟于密。

八章 十有二月、乙卯夫人子氏薨。

九章 鄭人伐衛。

左傳曰、二年、春、公會戎于潛、修惠公之好也、戎請盟、公辭。莒子娶于向、向姜不安莒而歸、夏、莒人入向、以姜氏還。司空無駭入極、費庈父勝之。戎請盟、秋、盟于唐、復修戎好也。九月、紀裂繻來逆女、卿爲君逆也。冬、紀子帛、莒子、盟于密、魯故也。鄭人伐衛、討公孫滑之亂也。

II. 1 In his second year, in spring, the duke had a meeting with the [chief of the] Jung at Ts'ëen.

2 In summer, in the fifth month, an army of Keu entered Hëang.

3 Woo-hëae led a force and entered Keih.

4 In autumn, in the eighth month, [on the day] Kăng-shin, the duke made a covenant with the Jung at T'ang.

5 In the ninth month, Le-seu of Ke came to meet the bride [for his prince].

6 In winter, in the tenth month, the duke's eldest daughter went to her home in Ke.

7 Tsze-pih of Ke and the count of Keu made a covenant at Meih.

8 In the twelfth month, on the day Yih-maou, the [duke's] wife, the lady Tsze, died.

9 An army of Ch'ing invaded Wei.

Par. 1. There is wanting here the character 王, 'king,' after 春, probably because no month is specified under whose regimen it should be. Jung is properly the name of the wild tribes on the west of 'the Middle State (西戎);' but in the time of Chow there were many of these tribes, and not those of the west only, settled in China along the seaboard and by the rivers,—remnants of the older inhabitants, not yet absorbed by the Chinese proper. We know, from the Shoo, V. xxix., that Loo was troubled even in the days of Pih-k'in by the E of the Hwae and the Jung of Seu. The Jung in the text may have been a remnant of the latter. Too Yu says their settlement was in what is now the the dis. of Ts'aou (曹), dep. Ts'aou-chow. He says also that Ts'ëen was a town of Loo, somewhere in the south-west of Ts'aou-chow dep. 會戎 is—'met with the Jung.' Kuh-leang says the term 會 implies that the meeting originated with the other party, and not with Loo, and that the duke went out of his own State to it. Ho Hëw on Kung-yang also advocates this view. But the meaning of 會 is not to be so determined; and, acc. to Too Yu, the place of meeting was in Loo. Tso-she says the duke's object was to cultivate the old friendship which his father had maintained with the Jung, but that he declined to enter into a covenant, which the Jung wished him to make.

Par. 2. Keu has left its name in Keu Chow, dep. E-chow (沂州). It extended east from Loo to the seaboard. Its chiefs were viscounts, and claimed to be descended from the old Shaou-haou, Hwang-te's successor. There is some difficulty about their surname, whether it was Ying (嬴) or Sze (巳). Hëang was a small State, within the boundaries of Keu. Too Yu, indeed, would place it in the pres. dis. of Hwae-yuen (懷遠), dep. Fung-yang (鳳陽), Gan-hwuy. There was a Hëang there, but it was too far from Keu to be that in the text. And there were two Hëang in the pres. Shantung, one of them 70 le from Keu Chow, which was, probably, that here. The chief of Hëang had the surname Këang (姜), as we learn from what Tso-she says on the par.:—'The viscount of Keu had married a daughter of Hëang, but she could not rest in Keu, and went back to Hëang. This summer, an army from Keu entered Hëang, and took the lady Këang back to Keu.' I translate 莒人 by 'the army of Keu,' after Maou (莒人者莒之師), who lays down the canon that, in the Ch'un Ts'ëw, wherever mention is made of troops under the command of any officer, high or low, who is not specified by name or designation, we find simply 人, 'the men' of such and such a State. Too Yu says, somewhat to the same effect, that we find 人 where the force is small, and the leader only of low rank. The term 入, 'entered,' occurs frequently of military expeditions; implying, says Kuh, that 'the entering is against the will of the invaded party (內弗受);' 'that the country or city is entered, but not retained,' says Kung. But there are instances in which the entering was followed by the entire subjugation and occupancy of the place or State; and this was probably the case in regard to Keu and Hëang, though the language of Tso-she translated above has been pleaded against this conclusion. 入 implies invasion and capture in the present; what was done subsequently cannot be learned from the term.

Par. 3. Woo-hëae (Kuh reads, here and subsequently, 侈), was an officer of Loo,—a scion of the ruling House, belonging to a branch which had not yet received a surname of its own. Tso-she says he was Loo's minister of Works, and adds that at this time he was defeated by K'in-foo of Pe,—the same who walled Lang in the previous year. Keih was a small attached State,—referred to the dis. of Yu-t'ae (魚臺), dep. Yen-chow. The incident given here is said to be the first in the Ch'un Ts'ëw of officers taking it upon themselves to institute warlike movements. It certainly shows how loosely the reins of government were held by the marquises of the State.

Par. 4. T'ang was a place belonging to Loo, —its site 12 *le* east from the pres. dis. city of Yu-t'ae. Tso-she says that the Jung at the meeting in spring had requested a covenant which the duke then refused, granting it now, however, on a second application. The text says this covenant was made on the day Kăng-shin, the 17th of the cycle; and Too Yu observes that in the 8th month of this year there was no Kăng-shin day, and concludes that there is an error in the text of the 8th month for the 7th, the 9th day of which *was* Kăng-shin. His calculation, however, proceeds on the supposition that the 1st year of Yin began with the day Sin-sze (辛巳). If we make it begin a month later, with the day Sin-hae (辛亥), according to another scheme, we get the day Kăng-shin in the 8th month of this 2d year. But the Sin-hae scheme fails in other instances. The chronologers of China have toiled admirably on the months and days of the Ch'un Ts'ëw; but thus far with only partial success. The dates in the classic and those in Tso-she's Chuen are often irreconcileable. Two data are necessary to a complete scheme,—that the day on which the 1st year of Yin began be known with certainty, and that the intercalary months in subsequent years be ascertained. Neither of these data can be got. See Mr. Chalmers' essay on the Astronomy of the ancient Chinese, in the prolegomena to the Shoo, pp. 90—102.

Par. 5. Ke was a small State, a marquisate, in the dis. of Show-kwang (壽光), dep. Ts'ing-chow. It lay between Ke (杞) on the south and Ts'e on the north; and we shall find, ere long, that it was absorbed by Ts'e. Le-seu (Tso-she has 裂繻) was the name of a minister

of Ke. We know that he comes here to meet *his prince's* bride from the phrase 逆女, for, when a minister is described as coming to Loo to meet a lady of the House for himself, he is said 逆某姬, 'to meet such and such a lady Ke.' He comes of course because he was sent, but it was not proper, according to the 'rules for marriage,' that that should be stated.

Par. 6. This is the sequel of the last par. As it is the first par. of a season, it seems proper that it should stand by itself, and not make one with the other as in the K'ang-he edition. 歸=嫁, 'to be married,' spoken of the lady. Her husband's house becomes her home.

Par. 7. Tsze-pih, (in Tso-she 子帛) is explained by Too Yu as the designation of Le-seu in par. 5. Kung says he had not heard who 子伯 was; and Kuh makes 伯 a verb and construes thus:—'The viscount of Ke, considering himself an earl, took precedence and covenanted with the viscount of Keu.' This is sufficiently absurd, and besides, the chiefs of Ke were marquises, which makes Woo Ch'ing (A. D. 1249 — 1333) suppose that 子伯 may have got, by some mistake, into the text instead of 侯. Too Yu's view may be accepted as most likely. He says also that Meih was a town belonging to Keu;—in dis. of Ch'ang yih (昌邑), dep Lae-chow. This places it a considerable way from Keu, though near to Ke. The identification of the site may be accepted, but one does not see how a place at such a distance from Keu should have belonged to it. My friend, the scholar Wang Taou, has suggested that the chiefs of Keu themselves occupied originally in the territory of Lae-chow, and might claim jurisdiction over places there after they moved to the south. There was another Meih which is mentioned in the Ch'un Ts'ëw;—in Honan. Tso-she says that the meeting was 'on Loo's account,' which Too-yu explains as meaning that the count of Ke, kindly disposed to Loo through his recent marriage, arranged for the meeting, to heal a long-standing alienation between Loo and Keu.

Par. 8. I have translated 夫人子氏 by 'the duke's wife;' meaning, of course, duke Yin. Too supposes the second wife of Hwuy to be the lady meant, in anticipation of whose death the king sent a funeral present in the previous year;—a view which confutes itself. Kung thinks the lady was Yin's mother. Kuh takes the view I have done. The term 薨 is appropriate to narrate the death of one of the princes. It is here applied to the death of a prince's wife;—'the honour due to the husband passing to her.'

Par. 9 Wei was a marquisate held by the descendants of K'ang-shuh, one of the sons of king Wăn, whose investiture with it is described in the Shoo, V.ix. It may be roundly said to have embraced the pres. dep. of Wei-hwuy (衞輝) Ho-nan,—lying, most of it, north of the Ho; but it extended eastwards, across part of Chih-le, into Shan-tung as well. Its capital—subsequently changed—was the old Chëaou-ko (朝歌) of Shang, in pres. dis. of K'e (淇). The reason of Ch'ing's invasion of Wei is sufficiently indicated in one of the supplementary notices by Tso-she of the occurrences in the 10th month of last year. 鄭人,—as 莒人 in par. 2.

Third year.

一章 三年、春、王二月、己巳、日有食之。
二章 三月、庚戌、天王崩。
三章 夏、四月、辛卯、尹氏卒。
四章 秋、武氏子來求賻。
五章 八月、庚辰、宋公和卒。
六章 冬、十有二月、齊侯鄭伯盟于石門。
七章 癸未、葬宋穆公。

左傳曰、三年春王三月、壬戌、平王崩。赴以庚戌、故書之。

夏、君氏卒、聲子也。不赴于諸侯、不反哭于寢、不祔于姑、故不曰薨。不稱夫人、故不言葬。不書姓。爲公故、曰君氏。

⊖鄭武公莊公爲平王卿士、王貳于虢、鄭伯怨王、王曰無之、故周鄭交質、王子狐爲質于鄭、鄭公子忽爲質于周。王崩、周人將畀虢公政、四月、鄭祭足帥師取溫之麥、秋、又取成周之禾、周鄭交惡。君子曰、信不由中、質無益也、明恕而行、要之以禮、雖無有質、誰能閒之、苟有明信、澗谿沼沚之毛、蘋蘩薀藻之菜、筐筥錡釜之器、潢汙行潦之水、可薦于鬼神、可羞于王公、而況君子結二國之信、行之以禮、又焉用質、風有采蘩采蘋、雅有行葦泂酌、昭忠信也。

武氏子來求賻、王未葬也。

宋穆公疾、召大司馬孔父而屬殤公焉、曰、先君舍與夷而立寡人、寡人弗敢忘、若以大夫之靈、得保首領以沒、先君若問與夷、其將何辭以對、請子奉之以主社稷、寡人雖死、亦無悔焉。對曰、羣臣願奉馮也。公曰、不可、先君以寡人爲賢、使主社稷、若棄德不讓、是廢先君之舉也、豈曰能賢、光昭先君之令德、可不務乎、吾子其無廢先君之功。使公子馮出居于鄭。八月、庚辰、宋穆公卒、殤公即位。君子曰、宋宣公可謂知人矣、立穆公、其子饗之、命以義夫、商頌曰、殷受命咸宜、百祿是荷、其是之謂乎。

冬、齊鄭盟于石門、尋盧之盟也。庚戌、鄭伯之車僨于濟。

⊖衞莊公娶于齊東宮得臣之妹、曰莊姜、美而無子、衞人所爲賦碩人也。又娶于陳、曰厲嬀、生孝伯、早死、其娣戴嬀、生桓公、莊姜以爲己子。公子州吁、嬖人之子也、有寵而好兵、公弗禁、莊姜惡之。石碏諫曰、臣聞愛子、教之以義方、弗納於邪、驕奢淫泆、所自邪也、四者之來、寵祿過也、將立州吁、乃定之矣、若猶未也、階之爲禍、夫寵而

不驕、驕而能降、降而不憾、憾而能眕者、鮮矣、且夫賤妨貴、少陵長、遠間親、新間舊、小加大、淫破義、所謂六逆也。君義、臣行、父慈、子孝、兄愛、弟敬、所謂六順也、去順效逆、所以速禍也、君人者、將禍是務去、而速之、無乃不可乎。弗聽、其子厚、與州吁游、禁之、不可、桓公立、乃老。

III. 1 In his third year, in spring, in the king's second month, on the day Ke-sze, the sun was eclipsed.

2 In the third month, on the day Kăng-seuh, the king [by] Heaven's [grace] died.

3 In summer, in the fourth month, on the day Sin-maou, [an officer of] the Yin family died.

4 In autumn, a son of the Woo family came [to Loo] to ask for the contribution of money towards the [king's] burial.

5 In the eighth month, on the day Kăng-shin, Ho, duke of Sung, died.

6 In winter, in the twelfth month, the marquis of Ts‘e and the earl of Ch‘ing made a covenant at Shih-mûn.

7 [On the day] Kwei-we, there was the burial of duke Muh of Sung.

Par. 1. This is the 1st of the 36 eclipses of the sun mentioned in the Ch‘un T‘sëw. From the table in the proleg. to the Shoo, pp. 103, 104, it will be seen that it occurred on the 14th February, B. C. 719, being the 6th cycle day, or Ke-sze, of the 3d month of the Chow year. There is an error therefore in the text of 2 for 3. The mathematicians of China were themselves aware of this, as early as the Suy dynasty (A. D. 589–617). Evidently this year commenced on January 16th, instead of a month earlier, by some previous error of intercalation. Generally, the character 朔, 'the 1st day of the moon,' follows the name of the day of the eclipse; and as it is wanting here, Kung and Kuh conclude that the eclipse was really on the last day of the previous month. But this involves much greater difficulty than to suppose that the 朔 was omitted through inadvertence of the historiographers, or has dropt somehow out of the text. 日有食之=日有所食之者, 'The sun had something which was devouring it.' The phenomenon had suggested this idea to the earliest Chinese, and the phrase became stereotyped in the language. On the ceremonies observed at an eclipse, 'to save the sun,' see the Shoo, III. iv. 4, and note. Kung-yang thinks eclipses were recorded as extraordinary events (異); but the K‘ang-he editors approve rather the view that it was as calamitous presages (災).

Par. 2. 崩, 'the fall of a mountain,' is the appropriate term for the death of a sovereign. Tso-she says that king P‘ing really died on the day Jin-seuh, *i. e.*, 12 days before Kăng-seuh, but that the official communication of the event gave the wrong date, which was therefore recorded; and Too Yu thinks the date was wrongly communicated to hurry the princes to the capital. But there must be some other way of explaining Tso-she's statement, if it be correct.—The death of the sovereign was communicated to all the princes of the States, whose duty it then was to send off to the capital a high minister to take part in the preliminary funeral rites, and present the various offerings of money, silk, &c., required on such an occasion. The princes themselves did not go to the capital till the time of burial was arrived.

Par. 3. Who is denoted by the 尹氏 here is all-undetermined. Tso-she reads 君 instead of 尹, and 君氏 is something like our 'royal lady,' meaning duke Yin's mother. Kung-yang and Kuh-lëang both have 尹 and suppose that by 尹氏 is intended some minister at the court of Chow of that surname, 氏 intimating that whatever office he held had become hereditary in his family. Many other explanations of the words have been attempted. The most probable appears to be that of Kin Le-ts‘ëang (A. D. 1,232—1,303), which is strongly advocated by Maou,—that the person intended was an officer of Ch‘ing, of whom we shall read in Tso-she's Chuen, on the duke's 11th year, where the text here will again be touched on. Tso-she says that the term 卒 is used here for the lady's death, instead of 薨 for three reasons: because 1st, no notice of her death was sent to other States in covenant with Loo; 2d, duke Yin, on

returning at mid-day from her burial, did not weep for her in his state apartment; 3d, he did not place her Spirit-tablet in the same shrine with that of Hwuy's grandmother. He adds that her burial is not recorded, because she is not styled 夫人, or [Hwuy's] wife; and that she is merely styled 君氏, without her surname, out of regard to the duke. [Much of this is needless trifling.]

[The Chuen has here the following narrative:—'The dukes Woo and Chwang of Ch'ing had been high ministers *at the court* of king P'ing, and the king wished to divide the authority of Chwang between him and *the duke* of Kwoh. The earl resented the idea, and the king disclaimed it; and in consequence of this Chow and Ch'ing exchanged hostages, the king's son Hoo going as one to Ch'ing, and the earl's eldest son Hwuh going to Chow. On the king's death, the other ministers at the court proposed giving Ch'ing's office to Kwoh; and in the 4th month Chae Tsuh [the same as Chung of Chae in the narrative under the 3d p. of 1st year] led a force and carried away the wheat of Wun, and in the autumn, also the rice about Ching-chow, from which ensued enmity between Chow and Ch'ing.—A superior man may say, "If there be not good faith in the heart, hostages are of no use. If parties act with intelligence and with mutual consideration, their actions under the rule of propriety, although there be no exchange of hostages, they cannot be alienated. When there are intelligence and sincerity, what is grown by streams in the valleys, by ponds, and in pools, the gatherings of duck-weed, white southernwood, and pond-weed, in baskets round and square, and cooked in pans and pots with the water from standing pools and road hollows, may be presented to the Spirits, and set before kings and dukes;—much more may we conclude that when two princes are contracting their States in good faith, and their proceedings are according to the proper rules, there is no good in hostages. In the 'Lessons from the States' we have the *Ts'ae fan* (She, I.ii. II.), and the *Ts'ae pin (ib.,* IV.), and in the Ya we have the *Hing Wei* (III. ii. II.), and the *Hëung choh (ib.,* VII.);—*pieces* which *all* show how truthfulness of heart and good faith may be manifested with slight things."']

Par. 4. We saw, in p. 4 of the 1st year, how the king sent funeral presents to Loo;—that was according to propriety. Now, on hearing of the king's death, Loo ought to have sent the proper presents to the court, and of money among them (錢財曰賻). The duke had not done so, failing in duty; and the court showed its weakness and want of self-respect in sending to ask for the contribution. The Woos must have been a family holding some hereditary office at court.

Par. 5. The death of the duke of Sung was communicated to Loo, and so the historiographers put it on record. The proper word for the death of the prince of a State is 薨, but here we have 卒; the reason being that, in the records of Loo, 薨 could be used only of its own princes.

Here the Chuen has:—"Duke Muh [Ho's sacrificial title] of Sung being ill, he called to him K'ung-foo, his minister of War, and charged him to secure the succession to duke Shang, saying, "My predecessor passed by *his son* Yu-e, and left the State to unworthy me. I dare not forget his deed; and if by your powerful influence I succeed in preserving my head till I die *in peace*, should my brother ask about Yu-e, what answer shall I be able to return? I beg you to secure him the appointment to be lord of the altars, and then I shall be able to die without regret." The other replied, "All the officers wish to support *your son* P'ing." "That must not be," said the duke. "My brother deemed me worthy, and made me lord of the altars. If I now throw away my virtue, and do not yield *the State to his son,* I shall be nullifying his promotion of me, and not worthy to be deemed honourable. Should it not be my chief object to illustrate brightly the excellent virtue of my brother? Do not you, my friend and minister, nullify his merit." On this duke *Muh's* son, P'ing, was sent away to reside in Ch'ing; and when Muh died on the day Kăng-shin, in the 8th month, duke Shang, succeeded him.—A superior man may say, "It may be pronounced of duke Seuen (who preceded Muh) of Sung that he knew men. He made Muh possess the State, and his own son came afterwards to the enjoyment of it;—the charge was according to righteousness. Are not the words in the sacrificial odes of Shang.'

"Right is it that Yin should have the appointment,
And sustain all the dignities (She, IV.iv.III.),"

descriptive of such a case?']

Par. 6. Ts'e was one of the most powerful States, a marquisate, whose capital was Ying-k'ëw (營邱), in pres. dis. of Lin-tsze (臨淄), dep. Ts'ing-chow; but it extended much beyond the boundaries of that department. Its princes had the surname of Këang (姜), and traced their lineage up to the chief minister of Yaou. Shih-mûn belonged to Ts'e;—in the south-west of Ch'ang-ts'ing (長清) dis., dept. Tse-nan. It probably took its name from some 'Stone-gate' or embankment of the river Tse. Tso-she says that in connection with this meeting, 'the carriage of the earl of Ch'ing was overturned in the Tse.'

Par. 7. The duke of Sung is mentioned here, with his honorary or sacrificial title of Muh (Kung and Kuh have 繆), the burial taking place, of course, in his own State. We might translate—'*We* buried,' it being the rule that friendly States should send a great officer to represent them on such occasions;—and this Loo had here done.

[The Chuen appends here the following narrative about Wei:—

'Duke Chwang of Wei had married the sister of Tih-shin, the heir-son of the marquis of Ts'e, known as Chwang Këang. She was beautiful but childless, and it was of her that the people of Wei made the song of "the Great Lady (She, I.v.III.)." The duke then married a daughter of the House of Ch'in, called Le Kwei, who had a son called

Hëaou-pih that died early. Tae Kwei, who had accompanied her to the harem, had a son, *who was afterwards* duke Hwan, and who was cherished by Chwang Këang as her own child. There was *also* Chow-yu, another son of the duke by a favourite concubine, a favoured child, and fond of his weapons, not restrained by the duke, but hated by Chwang Këang. Shih Tsëoh remonstrated with the duke, saying, "Your servant has heard that, when you love a son, you should teach him righteous ways, and not help him on in the course of depravity. There are pride, extravagance, lewdness, and dissipation, by which one depraves himself; but these four vices come from over-indulgence and allowances. If you are going to make Chow-yu your successor, settle him in that position; if you have not yet decided on such a step, you are paving the way for him to create disorder. Few there are who can be favoured without getting arrogant; few arrogant who can submit themselves to others; few who can submit themselves without being indignant at their position; and few who can keep patient under such a feeling of indignancy. And moreover, there are what are called the six instances of insubordination, —when the mean stand in the way of the noble; or the young presume against their elders; or distant relatives cut out those who are near; or new friends alienate from the old; or a small Power attacks a great one; or lewdness defeats righteousness. The ruler righteous and the minister acting accordingly; the father kind and the son dutiful; the elder brother loving and the younger respectful:—these are what are called the six instances of what should be. To put away what should be and follow what should not be, is the way to accelerate calamity; and when a ruler of men accelerates the calamity which it should be his object to keep off, is not the case a deplorable one?" The duke did not listen to this remonstrance; and Tsëoh's son, How, became a companion of Chow-yu. The father tried to restrain him, but in vain. When duke Hwan succeeded to his father, Tsëoh withdrew from public life on the plea of old age.']

Fourth year.

一章 四年、春、王二月、莒人伐杞、取牟婁。

二章 戊申、衞州吁弒其君完。

三章 夏、公及宋公遇于淸。

四章 宋公陳侯蔡人衞人伐鄭。

五章 秋、翬帥師會宋公陳侯蔡人衞人伐鄭。

六章 九月、衞人殺州吁于濮。

七章 冬、十有二月、衞人立晉。

四年、春、衞州吁弒桓公而立。公與宋公爲會、將尋宿之盟、未及期、衞人來告亂、夏、公及宋公遇于淸。

宋殤公之卽位也、公子馮出奔鄭、鄭人欲納之。及衞州吁立、將修先君之怨于鄭、而求寵于諸侯、以和其民、使告于宋、曰、君若伐鄭、以除君害、君爲主、敝邑以賦、與陳蔡從、則衞國之願也。宋人許之、于是陳蔡方睦于衞、故宋公、陳侯、蔡人、衞人、伐鄭、圍其東門、五日而還。公問

于衆仲曰、衞州吁其成乎。對曰、臣聞以德和民、不聞以亂、以亂、猶治絲而棼之也、夫州吁、阻兵而安忍、阻兵、無衆、安忍、無親、衆叛親離、難以濟矣、夫兵、猶火也、弗戢、將自焚也、夫州吁、弒其君而虐用其民、于是乎不務令德、而欲以亂成、必不免矣。

秋、諸侯復伐鄭、宋公使來乞師、公辭之、羽父請以師會之、公弗許、固請而行、故書曰翬帥師、疾之也。諸侯之師、敗鄭徒兵、取其禾而還。

州吁未能和其民、厚問定君于石子。石子曰、王覲爲可。曰、何以得覲。曰、陳桓公方有寵于王、陳衞方睦、若朝陳使請、必可得也。厚從州吁如陳、石碏使告于陳曰、衞國褊小、老夫耄矣、無能爲也、此二人者、實弒寡君、敢卽圖之。陳人執之、而請涖于衞。九月、衞人使右宰醜、涖殺州吁于濮、石碏使其宰獳羊肩、涖殺石厚于陳。君子曰、石碏純臣也、惡州吁、而厚與焉、大義滅親、其是之謂乎。

衞人逆公子晉于邢、冬、十二月、宣公卽位。書曰、衞人立晉、衆也。

IV. 1 In his fourth year, in spring, in the king's second month, an army of Keu invaded Ke, and took Mow-low.

2 [On the day] Mow-shin, Chow-yu of Wei murdered his ruler, Hwan.

3 In summer, the duke and the duke of Sung met at Ts'ing.

4 The duke of Sung, the marquis of Ch'in, an army of Ts'ae, and an army of Wei invaked Ch'ing.

5 In autumn, Hwuy led a force, and joined the duke of Sung, the marquis of Ch'in, the army of Ts'ae, and the army of Wei, in the invasion of Ch'ing.

6 In the ninth month, the people of Wei put Chow-yu to death in Puh.

7 In winter, in the twelfth month, the people of Wei raised Tsin [to be marquis of the State].

Par. 1. Ke was a marquisate (its chiefs are also called earls and sometimes viscounts) whose capital at this time was Yung-k'ew (雍邱) in dis. of Ke. dept. K'ae-fung. It lay between Keu on the south, and Ts'e and Ke (紀) on the north. Its chiefs were descendants of the great Yu, and of course had the surname Sze (姒);—see Ana. III.v. The capital was changed more than once in the period of the Ch'un Ts'ëw. Mow-low was on its southern border, near to Keu;—in dis. Choo-shing (諸城). 取, 'took,' is said to denote that the place was easily taken. Keu seems to have retained it. Kung and Kuh say that this capture, being altogether foreign to Loo, should not have been recorded; but that Confucius entered it, to show his hatred of such an outrage on the part of Keu, especially as this is the 1st instance of the capture by one State of a city of another, recorded in this classic. But, no doubt, the capture was announced by Keu to Loo, and the record of it was *en regle*.

Par. 2. 弒 is the term appropriate to the murder of a ruler by a minister, or of a father

by a son. To understand the record fully, refer to the last narrative under last year from the Chuen. Kuh-lëang, here and below, has 祝 for 州; and deep meanings are found in the omission of 公子. 'duke's son,' before the name;—about which we need not be particular. 完 was the name of the son of duke Chwang of Wei, mentioned as himself duke Hwan (桓) in the narrative referred to. It might appear that this par. belonged to the 2d month, but Too Yu remarks that in that month there was no Mow-shin day. The characters 三月 should be at the commencement of the par.

Par. 3. 遇 is simply 'to meet,' as if without previous agreement, and this is the meaning put on the term here; but such an interpretation would be meaningless. Why should a casual incident of that nature be recorded? In the Le Ke, I. Pt. II. ii. 12, we are told that 'interviews between the princes before the time agreed upon were called 遇.' So Tso-she interprets the word here, and Too Yu calls the interview 草次之期, 'a hurried arrangement.' Tso-she says:—'In spring Chow-yu of Wei had murdered duke Hwan, and taken his place. The duke and the duke of Sung had arranged for a meeting as a sequel to their covenant at Suh [in the 1st year]; but before the time came, they got the news of the confusion in Wei.' In consequence of this, it would follow, they had only a hurried meeting. Ts'ing was in Wei,—in dis. of Tung-o (東阿), dep. Yen-chow.

Par. 4. Ch'in was a marquisate, having its chief city in Yuen-k'ëw (宛邱),—in pres. dis. of Hwae-ning (淮寧), dep. Ch'in-chow (so called from the ancient State), Ho-nan. Its chiefs were Kweis (嬀), descended from Shun. Ch'in and Ts'ae were the most southern of the States of China proper in this period, and exposed consequently to danger from the barbarous Ts'oo, by which they were ultimately absorbed. Ts'ae also was a marquisate, with which king Woo invested his brother Shuh-too at the commencement of the dynasty;—in dep. Joo-ning (汝寧), Ho nan. Its capital at this time was in Shang-ts'ae (上蔡) dis. To understand the par., we must keep in mind the Chuen under par. 5, last year. Tso-she adds here:—'When Shang came to the dukedom of Sung, P'ing, the son of duke Muh, fled to Ch'ing, where there was a wish to vindicate his right to Sung. And now, when Chow-yu had made himself marquis of Wei, he thought at once of putting to rights his father's grudge against Ch'ing [see the 2d Chuen after p. 5, 1st year], and of getting for himself the favour of the princes, in order to make his people better affected. He sent a message, therefore, to the duke of Sung, saying, "If you will invade Ch'ing to remove the danger that is there to yourself [*i.e.* Muh's son P'ing], you shall be chief of the expedition; and all my levies, as well as Ch'in and Ts'ae, will follow you:—this is the desire of the State of Wei." They acceded in Sung to the request; and as Ch'in and Ts'ae were then friendly with Wei, the duke of Sung, the marquis of Ch'in, an army of Ts'ae, and an army of Wei, invaded Ch'ing, and laid siege for five days to the eastern gate of its capital;—when they returned.

'The duke *of Loo* asked Chung-chung whether Chow-yu of Wei would accomplish his ambition. "Your servant has heard," said the officer, 'that the people may be made well affected by virtue; I have not heard that they can be made so by violence. To use violence with that view is like trying to put silk in order and only ravelling it. Chow-yu relies on his military force, and can do cruel things. For his military likings the multitude will not cleave to him; and for his cruelty his relatives will not. With the multitude rebellious, and his friends leaving him, it will be difficult for him to be successful. Military weapons are like fire; if you don't lay the fire aside, it will burn yourself. Chow-yu murdered his prince, and he uses his people oppressively, thus not making excellent virtue his pursuit, but wishing to succeed by violence;—he will certainly not escape calamity."'

Par. 5. This Hwuy was an officer of Loo, a son, indeed, of the previous duke. He was afterwards concerned in the murder of duke Yin; and Kung and Kuh think that he is here mentioned simply by his name, denuded of the 'duke's son,' as the sage's punishment of him for his share in that deed. But this view is quite inadmissible. Tso-she thinks the omission shows Confucius' dislike of him in the incident here mentioned; but neither need we suppose that. The historiographers had merely entered his name The 會 is little more than the 及 of other paragraphs. The Chuen is:—'In the autumn, the princes again invaded Ch'ing, and the duke of Sung sent to ask *the assistance of* a force *from Loo*. Yu-foo [the designation of this Hwuy] asked leave to join them with a force. The duke refused, when he strongly urged his request, and went. Hence the brief record of the text, expressive of dislike to his conduct. The army of the princes defeated the footmen of Ch'ing, carried off the paddy from the fields, and returned.'

Par. 6. Here and in p. 7, 衞人 denotes 'the people of Wei,' as if the things recorded had the consent, and were, indeed, the doing of them all. Chow-yu might have been mentioned as 衞侯, being the ruler *de facto;* but he had had occupied his position only for a short time, and the marquis Hwan was not yet buried. Puh was in Ch'in, near a river so named. Tso-she gives the following account of Chow-yu's death:—

'Chow-yu finding himself unable to attach the people to himself, *Shih Tsëoh's son* How asked his father how to establish the prince *in the State*. Shih said, "It may be done by his going and having an audience of the king." "But how can this audience be obtained?" "Duke Hwan of Ch'in," replied the father, "is now in favour with the king, and Ch'in and Wei are on friendly terms. If the *marquis* go to the court of Ch'in, and get the duke to ask an

audience for him, it may be got." *On* this How went with Chow-yu to Ch'in; but Shih Tsëoh sent information to Ch'in, saying, "The State of Wei is narrow and small, and I am aged and can do nothing. These two men are the real murderers of my prince, and I venture *to ask* that you will instantly take the *proper* measures with them." The people of Ch'in made them prisoners, and requested Wei to send and manage the rest. In the 9th month, the people of Wei sent Ch'ow, the superintendent of the Right, who put Chow-yu to death, at Puh, and Shih Tsëoh sent his steward, Now Yang-këen, who put Shih How to death in *the capital* of Ch'in. A superior man may say, "Shih Tsëoh was a minister without blemish. He hated Chow-yu, with whom *his own son* How was art and part;—and did he not so afford an illustration of the saying that great righteousness is supreme over the affections?"'

Par. 7. Tsin was a brother of duke Hwan, and had fled to the State of Hing (邢). They now sent to Hing for him, and raised him to the marquisate.

Fifth year.

一章 五年、春、公觀魚于棠。

二章 夏、四月、葬衛桓公。

三章 秋、衛師入郕。

四章 九月、考仲子之宮、初獻六羽。

五章 邾人鄭人伐宋。

六章 螟。

七章 冬、十有二月、辛巳、公子彄卒。

八章 宋人伐鄭、圍長葛。

左傳曰、五年春、公將如棠觀魚者、臧僖伯諫曰、凡物不足以講大事、其材不足以備器用、則君不舉焉。君將納民于軌物者也、故講事以度軌量、謂之軌、取材以章物采、謂之物、不軌不物、謂之亂政、亂政亟行、所以敗也。故春蒐夏苗秋獮、冬狩、皆於農隙以講事也。三年而治兵、入而振旅、歸而飲至、以數軍實、昭文章、明貴賤、辨等列、順少長、習威儀也。鳥獸之肉、不登于俎、皮革齒牙骨角毛羽、不登于器、則公不射、古之制也。若夫山林川澤之實、器用之資、皁隸之事、官司之守、非君所及也。公曰、吾將略地焉。遂往、陳魚而觀之。僖伯稱疾不從。書曰、公矢魚于棠、非禮也、且言遠地也。

(二)曲沃莊伯以鄭人邢人伐翼、王使尹氏武氏助之、翼侯奔隨。

(三)夏葬衛桓公。衛亂、是以緩。

(四)四月、鄭人侵衛牧、以報東門之役、衛人以燕師伐鄭、鄭祭足原繁洩駕、以三軍軍其前、

使曼伯與子元、潛軍軍其後、燕人畏鄭三軍、而不虞制人。六月、鄭二公子以制人敗燕師于北制。君子曰、不備不虞、不可以師。

㈢曲沃叛王。秋、王命虢公伐曲沃、而立哀侯于翼。

衞之亂也、郕人侵衞、故衞師入郕。

九月、考仲子之宮、將萬焉、公問羽數于衆仲、對曰、天子用八、諸侯用六、大夫四、士二、夫舞、所以節八音而行八風、故自八以下。公從之、于是初獻六羽、始用六佾也。

宋人取邾田、邾人告于鄭、曰、請君釋憾于宋、敝邑爲道。鄭人以王師會之、伐宋、入其郛、以報東門之役。宋人使來告命。公聞其入郛也、將救之、問于使者曰、師何及。對曰、未及國。公怒、乃止、辭使者、曰、君命寡人同恤社稷之難、今問諸使者、曰師未及國、非寡人之所敢知也。

冬十二月、辛巳、臧僖伯卒。公曰、叔父有憾于寡人、寡人弗敢忘。葬之加一等。

宋人伐鄭、圍長葛。以報入郛之役也。

V. 1 In his fifth year, in spring, the duke [went] to see the fishermen at T'ang.

2 In summer, in the fourth month, there was the burial of duke Hwan of Wei.

3 In autumn, an army of Wei entered Shing.

4 In the ninth month, [the duke] completed the shrine-palace of Chung Tsze. For the first time he exhibited [only] six rows of pantomimes.

5 An army of Choo and an army of Ch'ing invaded Sung.

6 There were the *ming*-insects.

7 In winter, in the twelfth month, duke [Hëaou's] son K'ow died.

8 An army of Sung invaded Ch'ing, and besieged Ch'ang-koh.

Par. 1. Instead of 觀 Tso-she has 矢, with the meaning of 陳, 'to set in order,' 'to arrange.' Then 魚 is taken as=漁者, 'fishermen.' T'ang was in the dis. of Yu-t'ae, a long way from K'ëuh-fow where the court of Loo was. The name Yu-t'ae, (魚臺), 'fishermen's tower,' remains, indeed, since A. D. 762, when the district was so called, a monument of the incident in this par. Tso-she's view of it then is, that the duke, neglecting the business of govt., went off for his own pleasure to T'ang, and there had the fishermen drawn up with all their equipments, and watched them as they proceeded to catch their prey. A great scholar, Yeh Mung-tih (A. D. 1077—1138), and others, take 矢 as = 射, 'to shoot;' and think that duke Yin, really seeking his own pleasure, went off to T'ang on the pretence that he was going to shoot fish for use in sacrifice!

The Chuen says:—'The duke being about to go to T'ang, to see the fishermen, Tsang He-pih remonstrated with him, saying. " All *pursuit* of creatures in which the great affairs *of the State* are not illustrated, and when they do not supply materials available for use in its various requirements, the ruler does not engage in. Into the idea of a ruler it enters that he lead and help the people on to what should be observed, and all the ramifications thereof. Hence the practice of exercises in admeasurement of the degrees of what should be observed is called fixing the rule, and the obtaining the materials

supplied thereby for the ornament of the various requirements *of the State*, is *the guiding principle* to show what creatures should be pursued. Where there are no such admeasurement and no such materials, the government is one of disorder; and the frequent indulgence in a government of disorder is the way to ruin. In accordance with this there are the spring hunting, the summer hunting, the autumn hunting, and the winter hunting:—all in the intervals of husbandry, for the illustration of *one great* business *of States*. Then every three years, there is the *grand* military review; when it is over, the troops are all led back; and their return is announced by the cup of spirits in the temple:—all to take reckoning of the accoutrements and spoils; to display the various blazonry; to exhibit the noble and the mean; to distinguish the observance of order and ranks; to show the proper difference between the young and the old; to practise the various observances of discipline. Now when the birds and beasts are such that their flesh is not presented in the sacrificial vessels, and their skins, hides, teeth, bones, horns, feathers, and hair are not used in the furniture of the State, it was the ancient rule that our dukes should not shoot them. With the creatures found in the mountains, forests, streams and marshes; with the materials for ordinary articles of use; with the business of underlings; and with the charges of inferior officers:—with all these the ruler has nothing to do." The duke said, "I will walk over the country;" and so he went, had the fishermen drawn up in order, and looked at their operations. He-pih gave out that he was ill, and did not accompany him. The text, "The duke reviewed a display of the fishermen at T'ang," intimates the impropriety of the affair, and tells moreover how far off the place was.'

[The Chuen adds here a note about Tsin (晉):—

'Earl Chwang of K'ëuh-yuh, with an army of Ch'ing and an army of Hing, invaded Yih. The king sent *his officers*, the Heads of the Yin and Woo families, to assist him. The marquis of Yih fled to Suy.']

Par. 2. This burial was very late, more than double the regular 5 months after the prince's death;—owing to the confusion in which the State had been.

[The Chuen adds here —

'In the 4th month, an army of Ch'ing fell suddenly on *the city* Muh of Wei, to revenge the siege of its eastern gate [see the Chuen on p. 4 of last year]. An army of Wei, aided by one of [the southern] Yen invaded Ch'ing *in return*. The *officers of Ch'ing*,—Chae Tsuh, Yuen Fan, and Seeh Këa, with three bodies of men, withstood them in front, and made the earl's two sons,—Man-pih and Tsze-yuen, with another body, get stealthily behind them. The men of Yen were afraid of the three armies in their front, but had no anxiety about danger from the men of Che [a town of Ch'ing in their rear]; so that in the 6th month, the two princes, with the men of Che, defeated the army of Yen near the city. A superior man may say that without preparation and anxiety an army cannot be properly conducted.']

Part. 3. Shing (Kung has 盛) was a small State, an earldom, held by the descendants of Shuh-woo (叔 武), one of king Wăn's sons;—in dis. of Wăn-shang (汶 上), dep. Yen-chow. Acc. to Tso-she, during the troubles of Wei, Shing had made an incursion into it; hence this retributive expedition.

Par. 4. 考 is explained in the Urh-ya by 成, 'to complete;'—see the Shoo, V.xiii. 24. Fuh K'ëen (服虔; towards the end of the Han dyn.) contends that '考 is the name of the sacrifice offered immediately after the completion of the shrine-house (宫廟初成,祭之名考);' which seems to be the view also of Too Yu. But the sacrifice was the sequence of the finishing of the temple; and we need not extend the meaning of 考 beyond that of the erection of the building. Chung Tsze was the mother of duke Hwan, who was now heir to the State; but she was only the second wife of duke Hwuy. The tablet of the 1st and proper wife had already received its proper place; and the erection of a separate house for that of Chung Tsze was a device to please the young prince, but not according to rule. A feeling of this seems to have prompted the exhibition of six rows of pantomimes, as recorded in the last part of the par. 羽, 'feathers,' is here='feather-wavers,' *i. e.*, the pantomimes, who waved the feathers of pheasants in harmony with the music which was played. Of such performers the kings used 8 rows, each consisting of 8 men, at their sacrifices, while the princes of States could only use 6 rows, each of 6 men. But it had been granted to the princes of Loo to use the kingly number in sacrifice to the duke of Chow, their great ancestor, and they had usurped the privilege so as to use it in sacrificing to his descendants;—and on the occasion in the text duke Yin employed only the ordinary number used in sacrificing to the prince of a State. The Chuen says:—'In the ninth month, having completed the shrine-palace for Chung Tsze, the pantomimes were about to be exhibited. *The duke* asked Chung-chung about their number, who replied, "The emperor uses 8 rows; princes of States, 6; great officers, 4; and scholars, 2. Now the dancing is employed in harmony with the instruments of music, and the motion of the 8 winds *of the year;* the number of them therefore descends in gradation from 8 rows." On this *the duke* for the 1st time exhibited only 6 feather-wavers, and used 6 rows.'

Par 5. The Chuen on this has:—

'The people of Sung had taken some fields from Choo; and the people of Choo informed the earl of Ch'ing, saying, "If you will now vent your indignation on Sung, our poor town will lead the way for you." An officer of Ch'ing, aided by a king's army, joined the forces of Choo, and attacked Sung, penetrating to the suburbs of its capital;—in revenge *again* for the siege of the eastern gate of Ch'ing. They sent off an account of their circumstances from Sung to Loo; and when the duke heard that the enemy was in the suburbs of its capital, he was about to proceed to the relief of Sung. Asking the messenger, however, how far the enemies'

army had got, the man replied, "They have not yet reached our city." The duke was angry, and stopped his measures, dismissing the messenger with the words, "Your prince in his message requested me to have compassion on the peril in which his altars were, and now you tell me that the enemy has not reached your city;—I dare not take any notice of the case."'

Par. 6. This is the record of a plague (災);—'some evil caused by the misconduct of men (災,人之害也).' The *ming* is described as a grub that eats the heart of the growing grain (蟲食苗心曰螟);'—it developes into the locust (卽蝗也). It is named from the place of its injurious action, lying *hid* in the heart of the plant (冥冥難知).

Par. 7. This Kung-tsze K'ow is the same as the Tsang He-pih in the Chuen on p. 1. K'ow was his name, and his designation was Tsze-tsang (子臧). His grandchildren would first receive the clan-name of Tsang, from his designation; and he is so surnamed in the Chuen as the ancestor of the Tsang family. He (僖) is the honorary title given after his death. On this par. the Chuen says:—'On the death of Tsang He-pih, the duke said, "My uncle was angry with me [*i. e.*, for not listening to his remonstrance]; but I dare not forget *his faithfulness*." He caused him to be buried with the honours of one rank above what was his due.'

Par. 8. Ch'ang-koh was a town of Ch'ing;—its name remains in the dis. of Ch'ang-koh, in Heu (許) Chow, Ho-nan. This expedition, Tso-she observes, was in return for Ch'ing's attack of Sung mentioned in par. 5.

Sixth year.

一章 六年、春、鄭人來渝平。

二章 夏、五月、辛酉、公會齊侯盟于艾。

三章 秋、七月。

四章 冬、宋人取長葛。

左傳曰、六年、春、鄭人來渝平、更成也、

⊖翼九宗五正頃父之子嘉父、逆晉侯于隨、納諸鄂、晉人謂之鄂侯。

夏、盟于艾、始平于齊也。

⊖五月、庚申、鄭伯侵陳、大獲。往歲、鄭伯請成于陳、陳侯不許。五父諫曰、親仁善鄰、國之寶也、君其許鄭。陳侯曰、宋衛實難、鄭何能爲。遂不許。君子曰、善不可失、惡不可長、其陳桓公之謂乎。長惡不悛、從自及也、雖欲救之、其將能乎。商書曰、惡之易也、如火之燎于原、不可鄉邇、其猶可撲滅。周任有言曰、爲國家者、見惡、如農夫之務去草焉、芟夷蘊崇之、絶其本根、勿使能殖、則善者信矣。

秋、宋人取長葛。

⊖冬、京師來告饑、公爲之請糴于宋衛齊鄭。禮也。

⊖鄭伯如周、始朝桓王也、王不禮焉、周桓公言于王曰、我周之東遷、晉鄭焉依、善鄭以勸來者、猶懼不蔇、況不禮焉、鄭不來矣。

VI. 1 In [the duke's] sixth year, in spring, an officer of Ch'ing came [to Loo] with overtures of peace.

2 In summer, in the fifth month, on [the day] Sin-yëw, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Ts'e, when they made a covenant at Gae.

3 [It was] autumn, the seventh month.

4 In winter, an army of Sung took Ch'ang-koh.

Par. 1. The text here has 輸平, with Kung and Kuh, while Tso-she reads 渝平. But both the former commentators explain their phrase by 墮成, 'to the ruin of peace.' Tso-she explains his by 更成, = 'which changed *their relations of enmity*, and there was peace,' 渝 meaning 變, 'to change.' Later critics have taken 輸 in the sense of 納, 'to present,' 'to offer;' and thus a meaning is got out of the more likely reading, which comes to the same as the view of Tso-she. There was reason for the overture of peace on the part of Ch'ing. Before Yin succeeded his father. he had been taken prisoner in an expedition against Ch'ing, and detained there. He made his escape, but might be supposed to be ill-affected towards it. When, however, he rejected the application from Sung the year before for assistance against Ch'ing, that State thought the time a favourable one for initiating proposals that Loo and it should be at amity.

[The Chuen has here another note about the affairs of Tsin:—

The nine original clan-branches of Yih [*i. e.*, Tsin], with the *representatives* of the five ministers *of the time of Yin*, and Këa-foo, son of K'ing-foo, went to meet the marquis of Tsin in Suy [see the Chuen after 1st par of last year], and escorted him back to Goh. The people of Tsin called him the marquis of Goh].

Par. 2. Gae was a hill in Loo;—in the north-west of the dis. of Mung-yin (蒙陰), dep. Ts'ing-chow. Loo and Ts'e had been at feud before the time at which the Ch'un Ts'ëw opens. This meeting and covenant were the commencement of peace between them.

[The Chuen here adds:—'In the 5th month, on the day Kăng-shin, the earl of Ch'ing made a sudden raid into Ch'in, and got great spoil. The year before, the earl had requested peace from Ch'in, when his proposals were rejected. Woo-foo remonstrated with the marquis of Ch'in, saying, "Intimacy with the virtuous and friendship with its neighbours are the jewels of a State. Do you grant Ch'ing's request." The marquis replied, "My difficulties are with Sung and Wei; what can Ch'ing do?" And so he repulsed Ch'ing.

'A superior man may say, Good relations should not be lost, and evil relations should not be prolonged;—does not this seem to be illustrated in the case of duke Hwan of Ch'in? When a man goes on to prolong enmity, the consequences naturally come upon himself; and though he may wish deliverance from them, he will not obtain it. The Shang Shoo says, "The evil issues of enmity develope easily, as when there is a fire blazing on a plain. It cannot be approached, and still less can it be beaten out (Shoo, IV. vii. Pt. i. 12)." Chow Jin [see Ana. XVI.i.6.] has said, "The Head of a State or of a clan looks upon evil relations as a husbandman looks upon weeds or grass, which must be removed. He cuts down, kills them, collects them, and heaps them up, extirpating their roots that they may not be able to grow; and then the good grain stretches itself out."']

Par. 3. There was nothing to record in all the autumn of this year; but still it was necessary, according to the scheme of these annals, to indicate the season and the 1st month of it.

Par. 4. See the siege of this place in the last par. of last year. Too Yu says that the siege had then been unsuccessful, but that Sung returned this year, and took the place by surprise. He says also, after Tso-she, that the capture was made in autumn, but was only communicated in winter to Loo, so that the historiographers entered it under that season. But as Sung was held by the representatives of the House of Shang, its months would be those of that dynasty, and part of its autumn would be Chow's winter.

[Tso-she appends here the following two Chuen:—

'In winter, an announcement came from the capital of famine there, to meet which the duke asked *the courts of* Sung, Ts'e, Wei, and Ch'ing, to be allowed to purchase grain in their States. This was proper.'

'The earl of Ch'ing went to Chow, and for the first time sought an audience of king Hwan. The king did not receive him courteously, when the duke Hwan of Chow said to him, "Our Chow's removal to the east was all through the help of Tsin and Ch'ing. You should treat Ch'ing well, to encourage other princes to come to court;—and still there is fear that they will not come. Now when he receives discourtesy, Ch'ing will not come again."']

Seventh year.

一章 七年、春、王三月、叔姬歸于紀。

二章 滕侯卒。

三章 夏、城中丘。

四章 齊侯使其弟年來聘。

五章 秋、公伐邾。

六章 冬、天王使凡伯來聘。

七章 戎伐凡伯于楚丘以歸。

左傳曰、七年、春、滕侯卒。不書名、未同盟也。凡諸侯同盟、于是稱名、故薨則赴以名、告終稱嗣也、以繼好息民、謂之禮經。

夏、城中丘。書不時也。

齊侯使夷仲年來聘。結艾之盟也。

秋、宋及鄭平、七月、庚申、盟于宿、公伐邾、爲宋討也。

初戎朝于周、發幣于公卿、凡伯弗賓、冬、王使凡伯來聘、還、戎伐之于楚丘、以歸。

⊖陳及鄭平、十二月、陳五父如鄭、涖盟、壬申、及鄭伯盟。歃如忘。洩伯曰、五父必不免、不賴盟矣。鄭良佐如陳涖盟、辛巳、及陳侯盟、亦知陳之將亂也。

⊖鄭公子忽在王所、故陳侯請妻之、鄭伯許之、乃成昏。

VII. 1 In his seventh year, in spring, in the king's third month, the duke's third daughter went to the harem of Ke.

2 The marquis of T'ăng died.

3 In summer, we walled Chung-k'ëw.

4 The marquis of Ts'e sent his younger brother Nëen [to Loo] with friendly inquiries.

5 In autumn, the duke invaded Choo.

6 In winter, the king [by] Heaven's [grace] sent the earl of Fan to Loo with friendly inquiries.

7 The Jung attacked the earl of Fan at Ts'oo-k'ëw, and carried him back with them.

Par. 1. The marriage of the duke's eldest daughter to the marquis of Ke is entered in the 2d year, pp. 5,6. There the 歸 = 'went to be married to,' 'went as the wife;' here the 歸 has only the significance which appears in the translation. When the daughter of a State was married, the rule was that she should be accompanied by a half-sister and a cousin (一娣, 一姪). Then two other States sent each a princess to attend her (二國來媵), each of whom was similarly accompanied by two relatives. Thus altogether a prince's marriage brought nine ladies to his harem (諸侯一娶九女). In the case in the text, the girl had been too young to accompany her sister in the 2d year, and had waited five years, till she reached the statutory age of 15, and could proceed to Ke. She appears twice again in the classic; and it is contended that such prominence was given to her, humble though her rank, to mark the sage's sense of her worthiness.

Par. 2. T'ăng was a small State:—in dis. of T'ăng, dept. Yen-chow, held by the descendants of Shuh-sëw (叔繡), one of king Woo's brothers. Its chief is here styled marquis, but afterwards he appears only as viscount, his rank having been reduced. According to the general practice of the Ch'un Ts'ëw, the name as well as the title should be given in the notice of the death. The want of the name here is probably an omission of the historiographer; but Tso-she says that it is in rule, because duke Yin and the marquis had never covenanted together.

He adds, 'At covenants between the princes, they were mentioned by name; and therefore on the death of one of them, his name was given when the event was communicated to other States. At the same time his successor was also mentioned.—for the continuance of friendship, and the assurance of the people. This was one of the standing regulations *of the kingdom*.'

Par. 3. Chung-k'ëw was in dis. of Lan-shan (蘭山), dep. E-chow. No doubt there was some exigency requiring it to be fortified. Tso-she, however, says the record is made, because of the unseasonableness of the undertaking, calling the people off from their field labours.

Par. 4. Tso-she tells us that this Nëen's designation was E-chung (夷仲), and that the visit in the text was to cement the covenant made the year before (p. 2) by Loo and Ts'e. These *p'ing* or missions of friendly inquiries were regular institutions, by which the princes maintained a good understanding with one another;—see the Le Ke, I., Pt. II. ii. 12, 諸侯使大夫問於諸侯曰聘. The employment by Ts'e of the prince's brother, instead of the officer usually charged with such a mission, was a special honour done to Loo. From the Chow Le, Bk. XXXVIII., p. 24, we learn that among States in the same quarter of the empire, there ought to have been every year 'the interchange of inquiries (相問),' and every two years 'the interchange of *p'ing* (殷相聘).' Conciliatory offerings of silk and pieces of jade were made at such times.

Par. 5. Acc. to the Chuen, this attack of Choo was a cowardly proceeding on the part of Loo; and a covenant of peace had been made between the two States, not long before;—see the 1st year, p. 2.—'This autumn, Sung and Ch'ing made peace, and in the 7th month, on the day Kăng-shin, covenanted at Suh. The duke proceeded to attack Choo,—so punishing it to gratify Sung.'

Par. 6. This earl of Fan was a high minister and noble at the court. Fan was in the pres. dis. of Hwuy (輝), dep. Wei-hwuy, Ho-nan. Not only was there an interchange of friendly missions among the princes themselves, but also between them and the king. Indeed, the king was supposed to send annually to every one of them to inquire about his welfare (王之所以撫邦國諸侯者, 歲徧存; Chow Le, XXXVIII. 17); but as Ch'ing E observes, for the king to send such a mission to Yin, who had never sent one to court, was derogatory to his dignity (非王體).

Par. 7. These Jung are probably the same as those mentioned in the 2d year, pp. 1, 3. Ts'oo-k'ëw was in the east of the pres. dis. of Ts'aou, dept. Ts'aou-chow. The incident shows how lawless the time was. The Chuen relates that, some time before, the Jung had presented themselves at Chow in homage, and distributed presents among the high ministers, but that the earl of Fan had not received them courteously. They took advantage therefore of the opportunity presented by his return from Loo, attacked him, and carried him off. 以歸, according to Kung-yang means that the Jung made the earl prisoner (執之); but Too Yu says that they did not seize him (非執也), influenced, probably, by a remark of Kuh-lëang that the phrase denotes something lighter than seizure (愈於執). And the K'ang-he editors say this interpretation is much the better of the two. They are also stumbled at the use of the word 'attacked' in p. 6, as too weighty for the occasion. There, however, 伐 is; and I apprehend 以歸 also is only a gentle way of telling that the earl was captured and carried off.

[The Chuen has here:—

'Ch'in and Ch'ing made peace. In the 12th month, Woo-foo of Ch'in went to Ch'ing, and on the day Jin-shin made a covenant with the earl,

and smeared his mouth with the blood of the victim, as if he were forgetting what he was doing. Sëeh Pih said, "Woo-foo will not escape a violent death. *This* covenant will be of no use to him." Lëang Tso of Ch'ing went to Ch'in, and on the day Sin-sze made a covenant with the marquis, when he also perceived the disorders which were imminent in Ch'in.'

'Hwuh, son of the earl of Ch'ing, had lived at the king's [as a hostage; see the Chuen, after p. 3 of the 3d year]; and on this account [*i.e.*, according to Too Yu, thinking it likely he would be a favourite with the king] the marquis of Ch'in proposed to give him his daughter to wife. The earl acceded to the proposal, and the marriage was determined on.']

Eighth year.

一章 八年、春、宋公衞侯遇于垂。

二章 三月、鄭伯使宛來歸祊。

三章 庚寅、我入祊。

四章 夏、六月、己亥、蔡侯考父卒。

五章 辛亥、宿男卒。

六章 秋、七月、庚午、宋公齊侯衞侯盟于瓦屋。

七章 八月、葬蔡宣公。

八章 九月、辛卯、公及莒人盟于浮來。

九章 螟。

十章 冬、十有二月、無駭卒。

左傳曰、八年、春、齊侯將平宋衞、有會期、宋公以幣請于衞、請先相見、衞侯許之、故遇于犬丘。鄭伯請釋泰山之祀、而祀周公、以泰山之祊、易許田。三月、鄭伯使宛來歸祊、不祀泰山也

(二)夏虢公忌父始作卿士于周。

(三)四月、甲辰、鄭公子忽如陳逆婦嬀、辛亥、以嬀氏歸。甲寅、入于

鄭、陳鍼子送女。先配而後祖。鍼子曰、是不爲夫婦、誣其祖矣、非禮也、何以能育。

齊人卒平宋衞于鄭、秋、會于溫、盟于瓦屋、以釋東門之役。禮也。

⊜八月丙戌、鄭伯以齊人朝王、禮也。

公及莒人盟于浮來。以成紀好也。

⊜冬、齊侯使來告成三國。公使衆仲對曰、君釋三國之圖、以鳩其民、君之惠也、寡君聞命矣、敢不承受君之明德。

無駭卒。羽父請謚與族。公問族于衆仲。衆仲對曰、天子建德、因生以賜姓、胙之土、而命之氏、諸侯以字、爲謚、因以爲族、官有世功、則有官族、邑亦如之。公命以字爲展氏。

VIII. 1 In [the duke's] eighth year, in spring, the duke of Sung and the marquis of Wei met at Chuy.

2 In the third month, the earl of Ch'ing sent Yuen [to Loo] to give up Păng.

3 On [the day] Kăng-yin we entered Păng.

4 In summer, in the sixth month, on [the day] Ke-hae, K'aou-foo, marquis of Ts'ae, died.

5 On [the day] Sin-hae, the baron of Suh died.

6 In autumn, in the seventh month, on [the day] Kăng-woo, the duke of Sung, the marquis of Ts'e, and the marquis of Wei made a covenant at Ya-uh.

7 In the eighth month, there was the burial of duke Seuen of Ts'ae.

8 In the ninth month, on [the day] Sin-maou, the duke and an officer of Keu made a covenant at Fow-lae.

9 There were the *ming*-insects.

10 In winter, in the twelfth month, Woo-hëae died.

Par. 1. On this paragraph Tso-she says:—'The marquis of Ts'e wanted to bring about peace between Sung and Wei *on the one hand and Ch'ing on the other*, and had fixed a time for a meeting *with the princes of the two former States*. The duke of Sung, however, sent presents to Wei, and begged that the marquis and himself might have a previous meeting *between themselves*. The marquis agreed, and they met accordingly at K'euen-k'ëw.' Regulated by this account, the meaning of 遇 differs slightly from that laid down on par. 3 of the 4th year. The idea, however, of a 'hurried' meeting remains. The meeting proposed by Ts'e was held in the 7th month; this was a preliminary meeting of Sung and Wei to consider how they should receive Ts'e's proposals. K'euen-k'ëw in the Chuen, and Chuy in the text, are two names of the same place;—Too-yu says it was in Wei, on the north of the dep. city of Ts'aou-chow; but see on II. i. 2.

Par. 2. Tso-she says here:—'The earl of Ch'ing intimated his wish to give up the sacrifice at mount T'ae, and to sacrifice to the duke of Chow, and to exchange therefore Păng near mount T'ae for the fields of Heu. In the 3d month, accordingly, he sent Yuen to give up Păng to Loo, and no *more* used the mount T'ae sacrifice.' But to understand this, an explanation is necessary, which is supplied by Too Yu.—When king Ching built the city of Loh, and was meditating the removal of his capital to it, he granted to the duke of Chow the lands of Heu (in the south-west of the present Heu Chow, dep. K'ae-fung), where the princes of Loo might reside when they visited Loh on state occasions; and subsequently a temple was built there to the duke of Chow. But the first earl of Ch'ing, as a brother of king Seuen, had the town of Păng, near mount T'ae, where he and his successors might rest, when called there on occasion of the king's eastern progresses, and having then to assist at the sacrifices on or to the mountain.

Owing to the decay of the royal House, there was now an end of the kingly progresses. The earl concluded that Ch'ing had no farther occasion for Păng, and therefore offered it to Loo, to which it was near, in exchange for Heu, which was near to Ch'ing, volunteering to maintain there Loo's sacrifice to the duke of Chow.—If all this be correct, yet we know that Loo's part of the arrangement did not take effect for some time;—see the 1st year of duke Hwan, p. 2. Yuen, of course, was an officer of Ch'ing.

Par. 3. Kung and Kuh lay great stress on the mention of the day here;—but without reason. The use of 入, however, seems strange, as that character should denote a hostile entry.

[The Chuen appends here:—

'In summer, Ke-foo, duke of Kwoh, for the first time became a high minister and noble at *the court of* Chow.'

'In the 4th month, on the day Këah-shin, Hwuh, son of the earl of Ch'ing, went to Ch'in, and met his Kwei bride, On the day Sin-hae, he commenced his return with her. On the day Këah-yin, they entered *the capital of* Ch'ing, the officer Këen of Ch'in acting as escort to the lady. *The prince* was first mated, and then announced the thing in the ancestral temple. The officer Këen said, "Those are not husband and wife;—he is imposing on his fathers. The proceeding is improper. How can they expect to have children?"']

Par. 5. Suh;—see on p. 5 of 1st year. The name of the baron should follow the title, but is wanting;—through an omission of the historiographer.

Par. 6. The meeting here is that spoken of in the Chuen on par 1, as called by Ts'e. Attention is called to it by critics as the first meeting in the Ch'un-Ts'ew when more than two princes came together to consult and covenant on the affairs of the time. As it was called by the marquis of Ts'e, he should appear 1st on the list; but, says Too Yu, he did honour to the duke of Sung, ceding the presidency of the meeting to him. Tso-she says they first met at Wăn, and then covenanted together at Ya-uh. A reconciliation was effected between Sung and Wêi and Ch'ing, and the siege of Ch'ing's eastern gate was condoned Ya-uh was in the king's domain,—20 *le* south of the dis. city of Wei-ch'uen (洧川), dep. K'ae-fung.

Par. 7. [To this the Chuen appends:—

"In the 8th month, on theday Ping-seuh, the earl of Ch'ing, through the marquis of Ts'e, appeared at court. This was proper.']

Par. 8. Fow (Kung and Kuh read 包)-lae was in Keu;—20 *le* west of the pres. city of Keu Chow. In the 2d year, p. 7, we have a meeting between the count of Keu and an officer to bring about a good understanding between Keu and Loo. This was the sequel of that,—'to carry out the good wishes of Ke.'

Par. 9. See on paragraph 5, 5th year.

[The Chuen adds here:—'In winter, the marquis of Ts'e sent a messenger to inform the duke that he had effected the pacification of the three States [Sung, Wei, and Ch'ing]. The duke sent Chung-chung to reply to him, "That you have reconciled the *conflicting* schemes of the three States, and given rest and settlement to their people, is your kindness, O prince. I have heard your message, and dare not but accept and acknowledge your bright virtue."']

Par. 10. Woo-hëae;—see paragraph 3 of the 2d year. The Chuen has here:—'On the death of Woo-hëae, Yu-foo [the designation of Hwuy, IV., 5] requested for him an honorary title and a clan-name. The duke asked Chung-chung about the clan-name, who replied, "When the Son of Heaven [would ennoble the virtuous, he gives them surnames from their birth-places (or the birth-places of their ancestors]; he rewards them with territory, and the name of it becomes their clan-name. The princes *again* confer the clan-name from the designation *of the grandfather*, or from his honorary title [the text is here difficult to construe]. Or when merit has been displayed in one office by members of the same family for generations, the name of that office may become the clan-name, or the name of the city held by the family may become so." The duke determined that *Woo-heae's* clan-name should be Chen, from the designation of his grandfather (公子展).'

Too Yu illustrates what the Chuen says about the procedure of the king by the case of the chiefs of Ch'in. They were descended from Shun, who was born near the river Kwei; hence they got the surname of Kwei. When they were invested with Ch'in, that became their clan-name, to distinguish them from other branches of Shun's descendants. He says further, that the princes of States could not confer surnames (姓), but only clan-names (氏), which they did in the way described.

But while the theory of surnames and clan-names in ancient China may have been as here described, they were often assumed and acknowledged without any conferring on the part of the king or the princes. See Maou K'e-ling *in loc.* He says:—'When a ruler of Loo died, the event was recorded; when the ruler of another State died, that also was recorded, when the announcement of it arrived. The deaths of great officers, scions of the ruling family, were sometimes recorded and sometimes not; with the accompaniment of their clan-names or without; and with the mention of the month and day of the death or without it:—all this proceeded from the historiographers of Loo, and the Master simply transcribed their record without making any change in it himself. We have here the mention of Woo-hëae's death, without his clan-name, just as we have similar records of other officer's in IV. 5.; IX. 3; &c.

'Now according to the ordinary view of the matter, the clan-name was only conferred on men who had been distinguished for their virtue. But on this principle few officers mentioned in the Ch'un Ts'ëw could have received it, whereas we find it given to many of the worst characters, and to be abhorred for their flagrant wickedness. It is impossible to suppose that the clan-names of the officers of Loo were all given by the marquises. The general rule was that the son of a deceased ruler was styled 公子, or "duke's son;" his son again, 公孫, or "duke's grandson." But in the next descent, the son took as a matter of course the designation of his grandfather, or his honorary title, or the name of his office, or of his city, and

made it his own clan-name. One surname branched out into many clan-names, and one clan-name branched out again into many family names (姓分而爲氏, 氏又分而爲族). Tso-she would make it appear here that Woo-hëae had no clan-name till after his death;—which is not to be believed. His record of events is very much to be relied on; but as to every ten of his devices to explain the style of the classic, he is sure to be mistaken in five or six of them.'

Ninth year.

一章 九年、春、天王使南季來聘。

二章 三月、癸酉、大雨震電、庚辰、大雨雪。

三章 挾卒。

四章 夏、城郎。

五章 秋、七月。

六章 冬、公會齊侯于防。

左傳曰、九年、春、王三月、癸酉、大雨霖、以震、書始也。庚辰、大雨雪、亦如之。書時失也。凡雨、自三日以往爲霖、平地尺爲大雪。夏、城郎。書不時也。

㊁宋公不王、鄭伯爲王左卿士、以王命討之、伐宋。宋以入郛之役怨公、不告命、公怒、絕宋使。

㊂秋、鄭人以王命來告伐宋。冬、公會齊侯于防、謀伐宋也。

㊃北戎侵鄭、鄭伯禦之、患戎師、曰、彼徒我車、懼其侵軼我也。公子突曰、使勇而無剛者、嘗寇而速去之、君爲三覆以待之、戎輕而不整、貪而無親、勝不相讓、敗不相救、先者見獲、必務進、進而遇覆、必速奔、後者不救、則無繼矣、乃可以逞。從之。戎人之前遇覆者奔、祝聃逐之、衷戎師、前後擊之、盡殪、戎師大奔。十一月、甲寅、鄭人大敗戎師。

IX. 1 In [the duke's] ninth year, in spring, the king [by] Heaven's [grace] sent Nan Ke to Loo with friendly inquiries.

2 In the third month, on the day Kwei-yëw, there was great rain, with thunder and lightning. On [the day] Kăng-shin there was a great fall of snow.

3 Hëeh died.

4 In summer, we walled Lang.

5 It was autumn, the seventh month.

6 In winter, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Ts'e in Fang.

Par. 1. See on p. 6 of 7th year. Nan is the clan-name, and Ke the designation of the officer, the king's messenger.

Par. 2. The Chuen says on this:—'In spring, in the king's 3d month, on the day Kwei-yëw, there was great rain without ceasing, accompanied with thunder;—this describes the beginning *of the* storm. On the day Kăng-shin, there was a great fall of snow;—this also in the same way describes its unseasonableness. When rain continues for more than three days, it is called a great rain (霖). When it lies a foot deep on the ground, there has been a great fall of snow.' The 3d month of Chow's spring was only the 1st month of spring, when thunder and much snow were certainly unseasonable phænomena.

Par. 3. Hëeh (Kung and Kuh have 俠) was an officer of Loo, a scion of the ruling House, belonging, Tso-she would say, to a branch which had not yet received a clan-name.

Par. 4. See the Chuen after p. 2, 1st year. Lang was in the north-east of pres. dis. city of Yu-t'ae (魚臺). The walling Lang at this time, Tso-she says, was unseasonable.

Par. 5. See on VI. 3.

Par. 6. Fang (Kung and Kuh have 邴) was in Loo;—in dis. of Pe, dep. E-chow. As preliminary to the meeting here, the Chuen has:—'The duke of Sung had not been discharging his duty to the king [by appearing at court], and the earl of Ch'ing, as the king's minister of the Left, assumed a king's order to punish him, and invaded Sung, the duke of which, resenting *our* duke's conduct when his suburbs were entered, [see Chuen on V. 5], sent no information *of his present difficulties*. Our duke was angry, and broke off all communication with Sung. In autumn, an officer of Ch'ing came announcing the king's command to attack Sung; and in winter the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Ts'e in Fang, to arrange for doing so.'

[The Chuen appends here the following narrative:—'The northern Jung [their seat was in pres. dep. of Yung-p'ing, Chih-le] made a sudden raid into Ch'ing. The earl withstood them, but was troubled by the nature of their troops, and said, "They are footmen, while we have chariots. The fear is lest they fall suddenly upon us." His son Tuh said, 'Let a body of bold men, but not persistent, feign an attack upon the thieves, and then quickly draw off from them; and at the same time place three bodies in ambuscade to be ready for them. The Jung are light and nimble, but have no order; they are greedy and have no love for one another; when they conquer, no one will yield place to his fellow; and when they are defeated, no one tries to save another. When their front men see their success [in the retreat of our skirmishers], they will think of nothing, but to push forward. When they are thus advancing, and fall into the ambush, they will be sure to hurry away in flight. Those behind will not go to their rescue, so there will be no support to them; and thus your anxiety may be relieved." The earl followed this plan. As soon as the front men of the Jung met with those who were in ambuscade, they fled, pursued by Chuh Tan. Their detachment was surrounded; and smitten both in front and in rear, till they were all cut to pieces. The rest of the Jung made a grand flight. It was in the 12th month, on the day Këah-yin that the army of Ch'ing inflicted this great defeat on the Jung.']

Tenth year.

一章 十年、春、王二月、公會齊侯鄭伯于中丘。

二章 夏、翬帥師、會齊人鄭人伐宋。

三章 六月、壬戌、公敗宋師于菅。

四章 辛未、取郜。辛巳、取防。

五章 秋、宋人衛人入鄭、

六章 宋人蔡人衛人伐戴、鄭伯伐取之。

七章 冬、十月、壬午、齊人鄭人入郕。

左傳曰、十年、春、王正月、公會齊侯鄭
伯于中丘。癸丑、盟于鄧、爲師期。夏、五
月、羽父先會齊侯鄭伯伐宋。
六月、戊申、公會齊侯鄭伯于老桃。壬
戌、公敗宋師于菅。庚午、鄭師入郜、辛
未、歸于我。庚辰、鄭師入防、辛巳、歸于
我。君子謂鄭莊公于是乎可謂正矣、
以王命討不庭、不貪其土、以勞王爵、
正之體也。
⨸蔡人衛人郕人不會王命。
秋、七月、庚寅、鄭師入郊、猶在郊、宋人
衛人入鄭、蔡人從之伐戴。八月、壬戌、
鄭伯圍戴、癸亥、克之、取三師焉。宋衛
既入鄭、而以伐戴召蔡人、蔡人怒、故
不和而敗。
⨸九月、戊寅、鄭伯入宋。
冬、齊人鄭人入郕。討違王命也。

X. 1 In his tenth year, in spring, in the king's second month, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Ts'e and the earl of Ch'ing in Chung-k'ëw.

2 In summer, Hwuy led a force, and joined an officer of Ts'e and an officer of Ch'ing in an invasion of Sung.

3 In the sixth month, on [the day] Jin-seuh, the duke defeated an army of Sung at Kwan.

4 On the day Sin-we, we took Kaou; on the day Sin-sze, we took Fang.

5 In autumn, an army of Sung and an army of Wei entered Ch'ing.

6 The army of Sung, the army of Ts'ae, and the army of Wei attacked Tae. The earl of Ch'ing attacked and took them [all.]

7 In winter, in the tenth month, on the day Jin-woo, an army of Ts'e and an army of Ch'ing entered Shing.

Par. 1. Chung-k'ew,—see VII. 3. This meeting was a sequel to that in p. 6 of last year. The Chuen says on it:—'In the 1st month, the duke had a meeting with the princes of Ts'e and Ch'ing in Chung-k'ëw, and on the day Kwei-ch'ow they made a covenant in Tang, settling the time when they should take the field.' From this it appears they made a covenant at this time; and to the question why it is not recorded in the text, all that Too Yu can say is that the duke only mentioned the meeting in the report he took back to his ancestral temple. Too also observes that the day Kwei-ch'ow was the 26th of the 1st month, and that *second* month in the text must be an error. But all through this year, as often in other years, the months and days of the King and Chuen do not accord.

Par. 2. The Chuen on this is:—'In summer, in the 5th month, Yu-foo, preceding *the duke*, joined the marquis of Ts'e and the earl of Ch'ing in invading Sung.' If this be correct, then both the marquis and earl are simply styled 人, 'man' in the text;—contrary to the general usage of the Work, where 人 either denotes an officer, not of very high rank, or a force under the command of such an officer. Agreeing with the Chuen, Too Yu says that Hwuy hurried away, ambitious of joining the two princes, and without waiting for orders from the duke, and that therefore his name only is mentioned by the sage. But this is not more reasonable than the theory of Kung and Kuh mentioned on p. 5 of the 4th year. The text leads us to suppose that the princes of Loo, Ts'e, and Ch'ing all sent officers and troops against Sung, in anticipation of their own advance.

Par. 3. The Chuen is:—'In the 6th month, on the day Mow-shin, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Ts'e and the earl of Ch'ing at Laou-t'aou, and on the day Jin-seuh he defeated an army of Sung at Kwan.' Too Yu from

this concludes that Ts'e and Ch'ing were dilatory, and had not united their forces with Loo, when the duke seized an advantage presented by the army of Sung, unprepared for action, and defeated it. The situation of Kwan does not appear to have been identified. Too says it was in Sung.

Par. 4. The Chuen is:—'On the day Kăng-woo, the army of Ch'ing entered Kaou, and on Sin-we the earl gave it over to us. On Kăng-shin his army entered Fang, and on Sin-sze he gave it *also* over to us.' From the text we should infer that both Kaou and Fang were taken by the troops of Loo. Tso-she, however, goes on to moralize over his narrative:—'The superior man will say that in this matter duke Chwang of Ch'ing may be pronounced a correct man. With the king's command he was punishing a prince who had forsaken the court. Not coveting his territory for himself, he rewarded with it the higher nobility of Loo:—this was a fine instance of correctness.' Kaou was 80 *le* to the south-east from the pres. dis. city of Shing-woo (城武), dep. Yen-chow. Fang was also in Yen-chow, west of the dis. city of Kin-hëang (金鄉).

[The Chuen adds here:—'The people of Ts'ae, of Wei, and of Shing, did not unite with *Ch'ing and the others* at the king's command.']

Par. 5. This was intended as a diversion, to compel Ch'ing to withdraw from Sung.

Par. 6. Tae was a small State, having its chief city in pres. dis. of K'aou-shing (考城), dep. Kwei-tih, Ho-nan. Its lords had the surname of 子, and must have been some branch, therefore, of the old House of Sung. It would appear that the officers of Sung and Wei, after entering Ch'ing, had been joined by a body of troops from Ts'ae, and then turned aside to attack Tae. The Chuen says:—'In autumn, in the 7th month, the army of Ch'ing entered its own borders and was still there, when the troops of Sung and Wei entered the State. These were joined by a force from Ts'ae, and proceeded to attack Tae. In the 8th month, on the day Jin-seuh, the earl of Ch'ing surrounded Tae; on Kwei-hae, he reduced it; taking at the same time the three armies. After Sung and Wei had entered Ch'ing, and then taken occasion to attack Tae, they called the forces of Ts'ae to co-operate with them. The men of Ts'ae were angry, so that there was discord among themselves, and they were defeated.' Kung and Kuh both understand 之, as many students do on a first look at the text, as referring to Tae, and seem to think that Ch'ing all at once made common cause with Sung, Wei, and Ts'ae and with their help took the city. But this is quite inconsistent with the relations of these States and Ch'ing. Hoo Gan-kwoh is of opinion that Ch'ing took advantage of the open strife and secret dissatisfaction between Tae, Sung, Wei, and Ts'ae, and so took the city and defeated the forces of the other three States. This is the view, followed in the 'History of the Divided States,' in its lively account of the affair. Upon the whole, the narrative in the Chuen is to be preferred, though it would be more easy to understand 取之 if it were spoken of the capture of a city.

[There is a short Chuen appended here, that 'in the 9th month, on the day Mow-yin, the earl of Ch'ing *again* entered Sung.'].

Par. 7. This is understood from the Chuen appended to p. 4. Tso says here that the allies 'entered Shing to punish its disobedience to the king's command.' Shing,—see on p. 3 of the 5th year.

Eleventh year.

一章 十有一年、春、滕侯薛侯來朝。

二章 夏、公會鄭伯于時來。

三章 秋、七月、壬午、公及齊侯鄭伯入許。

四章 冬、十有一月、壬辰、公薨。

左傳曰、十一年、春、滕侯薛侯來朝、爭長。薛侯曰、我先封。滕侯曰、我周之卜正也、薛庶姓也、我不可以後之。公使羽父請于薛侯曰、君與滕君辱在寡人、周諺有之曰、山有木、工則度之、賓有禮、主則擇之、周之宗盟、異姓爲後、寡人若朝于薛、不敢與諸任齒、君若辱貺寡人、則願以滕君爲

請。薛侯許之、乃長滕侯。

夏、公會鄭伯于郲。謀伐許也。鄭伯將伐許、五月、甲辰、授兵于大宮、公孫閼與潁考叔爭車、潁考叔挾輈以走、子都拔棘以逐之、及大逵、弗及、子都怒。

秋、七月、公會齊侯鄭伯伐許、庚辰、傅于許、潁考叔取鄭伯之旗蝥弧以先登、子都自下射之、顛。瑕叔盈又以蝥弧登、周麾而呼曰、君登矣。鄭師畢登。壬午、遂入許、許莊公奔衛。齊侯以許讓公、公曰、君謂許不共、故從君討之、許既伏其罪矣、雖君有命、寡人弗敢與聞。乃與鄭人。鄭伯使許大夫百里奉許叔以居許東偏、曰、天禍許國、鬼神實不逞于許君、而假手于我寡人、寡人唯是一二父兄不能共億、其敢以許自爲功乎、寡人有弟、不能和協、而使餬其口于四方、其況能久有許乎、吾子其奉許叔、以撫柔此民也、吾將使獲也佐吾子、若寡人得沒于地、天其以禮悔禍于許、無寧茲許公復奉其社稷、唯我鄭國之有請謁焉、如舊昏媾、其能降以相從也、無滋他族、實偪處此、以與我鄭國爭此土也、吾子孫其覆亡之不暇、而況能禋祀許乎、寡人之使吾子處此、不唯許國之爲、亦聊以固吾圉也。乃使公孫獲處許西偏、曰、凡而器用財賄、無寘于許、我死、乃亟去之、吾先君新邑于此、王室而既卑矣、周之子孫、日失其序、夫許、大岳之胤也、天而既厭周德矣、吾其能與許爭乎。君子謂鄭莊公于是乎有禮、禮、經國家、定社稷、序民人、利後嗣者也、許無刑而伐之、服而舍之、度德而處之、量力而行之、相時而動、無累後人、可謂知禮矣。

鄭伯使卒出豭、行出犬雞、以詛射潁考叔者。君子謂鄭莊公失政刑矣、政以治民、刑以正邪、既無德政、又無威刑、是以及邪、邪而詛之、將何益矣。

㈢王取鄔、劉、蔿、邘之田于鄭、而與鄭人蘇忿生之田、温、原、絺、樊、隰郕、欑茅、向、盟、州、陘、隤、懷。君子是以知桓王之失鄭也。恕而行之、德之則也、禮之經也、己弗能有、而以與人、人之不至、不亦宜乎。

⑫鄭息有違言、息侯伐鄭、鄭伯與戰于竟、息師大敗而還。君子是以知息之將亡也、不度德、不量力、不親親、不徵辭、不察有罪、犯五不韙、而以伐人、其喪師也、不亦宜乎。

⑬冬十月、鄭伯以虢師伐宋、壬戌、大敗宋師、以報其入鄭也、宋不告命、故不書。凡諸侯有命、告則書、不然則否、師出臧否、亦如之、雖及滅國、滅不告敗、勝不告克、不書于策。

羽父請殺桓公、將以求大宰、公曰、爲其少故也、吾將授之矣、使營菟裘、吾將老焉。羽父懼、反譖公于桓公、而請弒之。公之爲公子也、與鄭人戰于狐壤、止焉、鄭人囚諸尹氏、賂尹氏而禱于其主鍾巫、遂與尹氏歸、而立其主。十一月、公祭鍾巫、齊于社圃、館于寪氏。壬辰、羽父使賊弒公于寪氏、立桓公、而討寪氏、有死者。不書葬、不成喪也。

XI. 1 In [the duke's] eleventh year, in spring, the marquis of T'ăng and the marquis of Sëeh appeared at the court [of Loo].

2 In summer, the duke had a meeting with the earl of Ch'ing at She-lae.

3 In autumn, in the seventh month, on the day Jin-woo, the duke, with the marquis of Ts'e and the earl of Ch'ing, entered Heu.

4 In winter, in the eleventh month, on [the day] Jin-shin, the duke died.

Par. 1. 朝 is here, of course, a verb; but it is difficult to give an exact rendering of it. Kung-yang says that the *ch'aou* was of the same nature as the *p'ing*,—'a friendly visit,' the difference being that the visitors in the *p'ing* were officers, representing the princes, whereas in the *ch'aou*, the princes appeared themselves (諸侯來曰朝,大夫來曰聘). According to the rules of the Chow dynasty, every prince within 'the five tenures' was required to appear at the king's court, at least once, every six years;—see the Shoo V. xx. 14, and note; but this statute was little observed in the time of the Ch'un Ts'ëw. The princes were also required to appear at one another's courts. Tso-she says, on p. 3 of the 15th year of duke Wăn, that they did so once in 5 years; but acc. to the Chow Le, XXXVIII. 24, a prince visited his brother princes at their courts only once (世相見). Whatever the rule was, there was now no consistency in the observance of it.

Sëeh was a marquisate, near to T'ăng, having its chief town 40 *le* south of the pres. dis. city which still bears the name of T'ăng. Its lords were recognized as descended from Hwang-te, and had the surname of Jin (任).

In connection with this par., the Chuen says;—'The two princes contended which should have the precedence. The marquis of Sëeh said, "My fief is the older." The marquis said, "My *ancestor* was the chief minister of divination to Chow. Yours is a different surname from that of our royal House. I cannot go after you." The duke sent a request by Yu-foo to the marquis of Sëeh, saying, "Your lordship and the lord of T'ăng have condescended to visit me. There is a common saying in Chow, 'The mountain has trees, but the workman measures them; Guests have certain rules, but the host selects them.' Now the House of Chow at covenants *first records* the princes of its own surname, and those of different surnames come after. If I were at the court of Sëeh, I should not dare to take rank with the Jin. If your lordship will condescend to confer kindness on me, allow me to make a request in favour of T'ăng in this matter." The marquis of Sëeh agreed, and gave the precedence to the marquis of T'ăng.'

Par. 2. After 夏 Kung and Kuh have 五月. For 時來 Kung has 祁黎, and Tso simply 郲. She-lae was in Ch'ing, 40 *le* to the east of the dep. city of K'ae-fung. The meeting was preliminary to the invasion of Heu, the result of which we have in the next par. The Chuen says:—'The duke and the earl of Ch'ing met at Lae, to make arrangements for the invasion of Heu. The earl being about to attack Heu, in the 5th month, on the day Këah-shin he took his weapons of war out of the grand temple. Kung-sun Oh and Ying K'aou-shuh contended for a chariot [a prize offered by the earl to the strongest of his officers]. K'aou-shuh took the curved end of the chariot pole under his arm, and ran off with it, while Tsze-too [the designation of Kung-sun Oh] seized his spear, and pursued him as far as the highway, without coming up with him. Tsze-too was enraged.' See this Chuen and the next told graphically in the 列國志, 第七回.

Par. 3. Heu was a small State, which has left its name in the pres. Heu Chow, Ho-nan. Its lords were barons, having the surname Këang (姜), and being descended from Yaou's chief minister, the 'Four Mountains' of the 1st Book of the Shoo. The State was on the south of Ch'ing, and suffered much from that greater Power, being often reduced to the verge of extinction, but manifesting a wonderful tenacity of life. Its capital at this time was Heu-ch'ang (許昌), 30 le to the east of the pres. Chow city. The Chuen is:—'On the day Kăng-shin, the three princes were close to Heu, when Ying K'aou-shuh took the flag *mow-hoo* of the earl of Ch'ing, and was the first to mount the wall. Tsze-too pierced him with an arrow from below, and he fell down *dead*. Hëa Shuh-ying took up the flag, and again mounting the wall with it, he waved it all about, and shouted, "Our lord has mounted." All the army of Ch'ing then forced their way up; and on the day Jin-woo the princes entered Heu, duke Chwang of which fled to Wei. The marquis of Ts'e refused to accept Heu, and wished the duke to take it; but the duke said, "You said, my Lord, that *the baron* of Heu did not perform his duty, and I therefore followed you to punish him. He has paid the penalty of his crime; but, *as to his State*, I dare not take any notice even of your commands.' Heu therefore was given to Ch'ing, the earl of which made Pih-le, an officer of Heu, take charge of a younger brother of the baron who had fled, and reside with him in the eastern border of the State, saying, "Heaven has sent calamity on Heu;—it must be that the Spirits were not pleased with its lord, and made use of me, unworthy as I am, *to punish him*. But I have not been able to secure the repose of my uncles and cousins in Ch'ing;—dare I consider that Heu has come to me from my merit? I had a younger brother, whom I could not retain in harmony, and whom I caused to wander about filling his mouth in different States;—can I long enjoy the possession of Heu? Do you, Sir, maintain this youth, and help him to soothe and comfort the people of Heu; and I will send *my officer* Hwoh to assist you. If I live out my days in the land, and Heaven *then* graciously repent of the calamities inflicted on Heu, shall not the lord of Heu again worship at his altars? Then when Ch'ing has requests and messages to send to Heu, he will condescend to accede to them as intermarriages that have existed between our States might suggest, and there will be no people of other families allowed to settle here, and press upon Ch'ing, contending with it for the possession of this territory. *In that case* my descendants would have all their time occupied with defending themselves from overthrow, and could in no wise maintain the sacrifices of Heu. When I appoint you, Sir to dwell here, I do so not only for the sake of the State of Heu, but also to strengthen my own borders." Accordingly the earl sent Kung-sun Hwoh to reside in the western border of Heu, charging him. "Do not place your equipments and various wealth in Heu, but when I am dead, quickly leave it. My predecessor was the first to establish his capital here *in Ch'ing*. Even the royal House has become small, and the descendants of Chow are daily losing their patrimonies. Now *the lords of* Heu are the posterity of T'aeyoh; and since Heaven is manifesting its dissatisfaction with the virtue of Chow, am I able to go on contending with Heu?" The superior man may say that in this matter duke Chwang of Ch'ing behaved with propriety. It is propriety which governs States and clans, gives settlement to the tutelary altars, secures the order of the people, and provides for the good of one's future heirs. Because Heu transgressed the law, the earl punished it, and on its submission he left it. His arrangement of affairs was according to his measurement of his virtue; his action proceeded on the estimate of his strength; his movements were according to the exigency of the times:—so as not to embarrass those who should follow him. He may be pronounced one who knew propriety.'

'The earl of Ch'ing made every hundred soldiers contribute a pig, and every five and twenty contribute a fowl and a dog, and *over their blood* curse the man who had shot Ying K'aou-shuh. The superior man may say *here* that duke Chwang of Ch'ing failed in his methods of government and punishment. Government is seen in the ruling of the people, and punishment in dealing rightly with the bad. As he showed neither the virtue of government, nor the terrors of punishment, *his officers* became depraved. Of what benefit was it *simply* to curse the man who had so become depraved?

[There are here appended three other Chuen:—

'From Ch'ing the king took Woo, Lëw, and the fields of Wei and Yu; and he gave to Ch'ing the fields which had been granted to Soo Funsăng, containing the towns of Wăn, Yuen, He, Fan, Seih-shing, Ts'wan-maou, Hëang, Măng, Chow, Hing, T'uy, and Hwae. The superior man from this transaction may know that king Hwan had lost Ch'ing. To act towards another on the principle of reciprocity is the pattern of virtue, the standard rule of propriety. But when the king took what he could not hold himself to give to another, was it not to be expected that that other would not come to his court?'

'Ch'ing and Seih had some strife of words, on which the marquis of Seih invaded Ch'ing.

The earl fought with him in the borders, when the army of Seih received a great defeat, and retreated. The superior man from this transaction may know that Seih would *soon* perish. *Its lord* did not consider the virtue of *his opponent;* he did not estimate *his own* strength; he did not cherish the regard which he should have done to his relative [the chiefs of Ch'ing and Seih were of the same surname]; he made no examination into the language which was causing the strife; he did not try to ascertain whose the wrong was:—but guilty in all these five points, he proceeded to attack the other side. Was it not right that he should lose his army?'

'In winter, in the tenth month, the earl of Ch'ing, aided by an army of Kwoh, invaded Sung, and on the day Jin-seuh inflicted a great defeat on its army, thus taking revenge for Sung's entrance into Ch'ing *the year before.* Sung made no announcement of this *to Loo*, and therefore it was not entered in the historiographer's tablets. Whatever announcements were received from other princes were so entered; but where there was no announcement, no *official* record was made. The rule was also observed in regard to the good and evil, the success and defeat, of all military expeditions. Though the issue should be the extinction of a State, if the extinguished State did not announce its ruin, and the victor did not announce his conquest, the event was not written in the tablets.']

Par. 4. The reader supposes from this paragraph that duke Yin died a natural death, instead of being murdered, as was really the case. And numerous other instances will occur throughout the classic, which make the foreign student think very doubtfully of the merits of Confucius as a historian. The Chinese critics, however, can see no flaw in the sage. It was his duty, they say, to conceal such a nefarious transaction which reflected dishonour on his native State. And yet, they think, there are intimations of the real nature of the event, in its not being stated where he died, and in no entry being made of his burial! Of this and analogous peculiarities of the Ch'un Ts'ëw I have spoken in the prolegomena.

The account of Yin's death, as given in the Chuen is:—'Yu-foo asked leave to put duke Hwan [Yin's younger brother and successor] to death, intending thereon to ask to be made chief minister. The duke said, "I shall resign in his favour;—I have not done so yet simply because of his youth. I have caused T'oo-k'ëw to be built, and mean there to spend my old age.' Yu-foo was frightened at what he had done, and went and slandered the duke to Hwan, requesting leave to murder him. When he was a young man, the duke had fought with an army of Ch'ing at Hoo-jang, and was taken prisoner. Ch'ing kept him in confinement in the house of the officer Yin. He bribed this Yin, and prayed to Chung-woo, the Spirit whose shrine Yin had set up in his house. After this he and Yin returned together to Loo, and there he set up an altar to Chung-woo. In the eleventh month he was in the habit of going to sacrifice to this Chung-woo, fasting in the enclosure of the altar to the Spirits of the land, and lodging in the house of the officer Wei. On the day Jin-shin, Yu-foo employed ruffians to murder the duke in the house of the officer Wei. He then raised duke Hwan to the marquisate, and punished several members of the Wei family with death.']

Tso-she adds that the burial of duke Yin does not appear in the text, because the funeral rites were not paid to him.

The K'ang-he editors have a note here on the circumstance that only in the first of Yin's eleven years is the 'first month (正月)' recorded. Kung and Kuh see in the omission an intimation that Yin 不自正, or 不有正, 'did not consider himself, or was not, the rightful holder of the State.' Disclaiming this view, the editors seem to think that the omission is in condemnation of Yin's never having returned any of the king's friendly messages, and never having gone himself to the capital, thereby being the first to set the example of not doing honour to the ruling monarch by going or sending to receive the calendar for the year from him. This is being wise above what is written. To seek for meanings in the Ch'un Ts'ëw in this way makes the whole book a riddle, which two men will not guess alike.

First year.

桓公第二

一章 元年、春、王正月、公卽位。

二章 三月、公會鄭伯于垂。

三章 鄭伯以璧假許田。

四章 夏四月、丁未、公及鄭伯盟于越。

五章 秋、大水。

六章 冬十月。

左傳曰、元年、春、公卽位、修好于鄭。鄭人請復祀周公、卒易祊田、公許之。三月、鄭伯以璧假許田、爲周公祊故也。夏、四月丁未、公及鄭伯盟于越、結祊成也。盟曰、渝盟無享國。秋、大水。凡平原出水爲大水。㈡冬、鄭伯拜盟。㈢宋華父督見孔父之妻于路、目逆而送之、曰、美而豔。

I. 1 In his first year, in spring, in the king's first month, the duke succeeded duke Yin.

2 In the third month, the duke had a meeting with the earl of Ch'ing in Chuy.

3 The earl of Ch'ing borrowed the fields of Heu for a *peih* symbol.

4 In summer, in the fourth month, on [the day] Ting-we, the duke and the earl of Ch'ing made a covenant in Yueh.

5 In autumn there were great floods.

6 It was winter, the tenth month.

The title of the Book. 桓公, 'Duke Hwan.' See what is said on the title of the former book, where it is related how this Hwan was a younger brother of Yin, and would have succeeded to the marquisate on their father's death but for his youth. It appears that Yin had always intended to resign the dignity in his favour, when he should have grown up. The young man, however, was impatient, or perhaps he was doubtful of his brother's intentions; so he lent a ready ear to the slanders of their near relative Kung-tsze Hwuy, and gave his sanction to the murder of Yin. He thus became marquis

of Loo by a deed of atrocious guilt.—Sze-ma Ts'ëen gives his name as Yun (允), while other authorities say that it was Kwei (軌). The honorary title Hwan denotes—'Extender of cultivation and Subjugator of the distant (辟土服遠曰桓).'

Hwan's rule lasted 18 years, B. C. 710—693. His 1st year synchronized with the 9th year of king Hwan; the 20th year of He of Ts'e; the 7th year of Gae (哀) of Tsin; the 8th of Seuen (宣) of Wei; the 4th of Hwan (桓) of Ts'ae; the 33d of Chwang of Ch'ing; the 46th of Hwan of Ts'aou; the 34th of Hwan of Ch'in; the 40th of Woo of Ke (杞); the 9th of Shang (殤) of Sung; the 5th of Ning (甯) of Ts'in; and the 30th of Woo of Ts'oo.

Par. 1. After what has been said on all the phrases in this par. in the notes on the 1st par. of the former Book, it is only necessary to deal here, rather more at large, with the characters 卽位. They are somewhat difficult to translate. To say 'came to the throne' would be inaccurate, because Loo was only one of the feudal States of the kingdom; and 'came to the place' or 'to the seat,' would be awkward. The reader will see how I have dealt with it. On the death of duke Yin, in the 11th month of the year before, his brother had immediately taken his place; still what remained in that year was counted to Yin, and the first day of the next, his successor announced the beginning of the new rule in the ancestral temple,—'changed the beginning (改元),' as it is called,—and took solemn possession of the vacant dignity. This is the accession in the text; but here comes a great questioning with the critics. It seems to be a rule in the Ch'un Ts'ëw that the phrase 'came to the place' is not used where the preceding marquis has been murdered. So we find it at the accessions of Chwang, Min, and He. How is it that we find the phrase here, describing the accession of Hwan, chargeable with being accessory to the murder of his brother? The answer given by Choo He is the only sensible one. The paragraph simply relates what took place. Hwan omitted no ceremony that should have been proper on the occasion. He denied that he had been a party to the murder, and would have his accession gone about, as if Yin had died a natural death. No contrivances of Confucius, to construct his record so as to brand the new marquis, were necessary. His own conduct was the strongest condemnation of him.

Par. 2. Chuy,—see on I. viii. 1; but if Chuy belonged to Wei, as is stated there, Too Yu thinks it would hardly have been the meeting place of the marquis of Loo and the earl of Ch'ing. Këa Kwei (賈逵) thought it was in Loo, which seems more likely;—it is easier to suppose that the lords of Sung and Wei might have met in Loo on the occasion in I. viii. 1. This point, however, need not affect the identification of the place, for Loo and Wei were conterminous on the north-west of Loo. Hwan would be glad to get the countenance of Ch'ing, considering the circumstances in which he had just succeeded to Loo, and it appears from the next par. that Ch'ing had also something to gain by the meeting.

Par. 3. See the Chuen on I. viii. 2, and Too Yu's explanation of it. Tso-she says here:—'The duke on his accession would cultivate the friendship of Ch'ing, and the earl (鄭人) again requested liberty to sacrifice to the duke of Chow, and to complete the exchange of the fields of Păng. The duke acceded, and in the 3d month the earl borrowed the fields of Heu for a *peih*-stone;—with reference to the sacrifice to the duke of Chow, and to Păng.' It would appear that the exchange of the lands of Păng and Heu, proposed by Ch'ing to duke Yin, had not as yet taken full effect. Loo had taken possession of Păng, but Heu had not been given over to Ch'ing. Whatever difficulty there was in the matter was now adjusted. K'ung Ying-tah thinks that Heu was of more value than Păng, and that Loo required something additional for it; and Soo Ch'eh and Hoo Gan-kwoh follow his view. Ch'in Foo-lëang (陳傅良; of the Sung dynasty) thinks that the addition of the *peih* and the word 'borrowing' were simply to gloss over the transaction. This is more likely. For the two princes to exchange lands granted to their States by an act of the royal House, without any reference to the reigning king, shows how his authority was reduced.

The *peih* was one of the five sceptres or symbols of rank held by the princes from the king. Counts and barons received *peih*, differentiated by the figures engraved upon them. But the princes carried other *peih*, called 琢璧, in their visits among themselves; and it was, no doubt, one of these which was given at this time to Loo. All the *peih* were made round.

Par. 4. Yueh is the same as Chuy; and the place had thus three names;—Chuy, Yueh, and K'euen-k'ëw. This covenant was the sequel of the meeting in p. 2, 'to settle finally the exchange of Păng and Heu.' Tso-she says that among the words of the covenant were these,—'May he who departs from this covenant not enjoy his State!'

Par. 5. Acc. to Tso-she, the phrase 大水, 'great floods,' is used when the water is out all over the level plains.

Par. 6. See on I. vi. 3.

The Chuen appends here:—

['In winter, the earl of Ch'ing [came, or sent] to render thanks for the covenant.'

'Hwa-foo Tuh of Sung *happened to* see the wife of K'ung-foo [Confucius' ancestor] on the way. He gazed at her as she approached, and followed her with his eyes when she had passed, saying, "How handsome and beautiful!"']

Second year.

一章 二年、春、王正月、戊申、宋督弑其君與夷、及其大夫孔父。

二章 滕子來朝。

三章 三月、公會齊侯、陳侯鄭伯于稷、以成宋亂。

四章 夏、四月、取郜大鼎于宋、戊申、納于大廟。

五章 秋、七月、杞侯來朝。

六章 蔡侯鄭伯會于鄧。

七章 九月入杞。

八章 公及戎盟于唐。

九章 冬、公至自唐。

左傳曰、二年、春、宋督攻孔氏、殺孔父、而取其妻、公怒、督懼、遂弑殤公。君子以督爲有無君之心、而後動於惡、故先書弑其君。會于稷、以成宋亂、爲賂故、立華氏也。宋殤公立、十年十一戰、民不堪命、孔父嘉爲司馬、督爲大宰、故因民之不堪命、先宣言曰、司馬則然、已殺孔父、而弑殤公、召莊公于鄭而立之、以親鄭、以郜大鼎賂公、齊陳鄭皆有賂、故遂相宋公。

夏、四月、取郜大鼎于宋、戊申、納于大廟、非禮也。臧哀伯諫曰、君人者、將昭德塞違、以臨照百官、猶懼或失之、故昭令德以示子孫、是以清廟茅屋、

大路越席、大羹不致、粢食不鑿、昭其儉也。袞冕黻珽、帶裳幅舄、衡紞紘綖、昭其度也。藻率鞞鞛、鞶厲游纓、昭其數也。火龍黼黻、昭其文也。五色比象、昭其物也。錫鸞和鈴、昭其聲也。三辰旂旗、昭其明也。夫德儉而有度、登降有數、文物以紀之、聲明以發之、以臨照百官、百官于是乎戒懼、而不敢易紀律。今滅德立違、而寘其賂器于大廟、以明示百官、百官象之、其又何誅焉。國家之敗、由官邪也。官之失德、寵賂章也。郜鼎在廟、章孰甚焉。武王克商、遷九鼎于雒邑、義士猶或非之、而況將昭違亂之賂器於大廟、其若之何。公不聽。周內史聞之曰、臧孫達其有後于魯乎、君違、不忘諫之以德。

秋、七月、杞侯來朝。不敬、杞侯歸、乃謀伐之。

蔡侯、鄭伯會于鄧。始懼楚也。

九月、入杞。討不敬也。

公及戎盟于唐。修舊好也。

冬、公至自唐。告于廟也。凡公行、告于宗廟、反行飲至、舍爵策勳焉、禮也。特相會、往來稱地、讓事也。自參以上、則往稱地、來稱會、成事也。

⨸初、晉穆侯之夫人姜氏、以條之役生大子、命之曰仇、其弟以千畝之戰生、命之曰成師。師服曰、異哉、君之名子也。夫名以制義、義以出禮、禮以體政、政以正民、是以政成而民聽、易則生亂。嘉耦曰妃、怨耦曰仇、古之命也。今君命大子曰仇、弟曰成師、始兆亂矣、兄其替乎。惠之二十四年、晉始亂、故封桓叔于曲沃、靖侯之孫欒賓傅之。師服曰、吾聞國家之立也、本大而末小、是以能固。故天子建國、諸侯立家、卿置側室、大夫有貳宗、士有隸子弟、庶人工商、各有分親、皆有等衰。是以民服事其上、而下無覬覦。今晉甸侯也、而建國、本既弱矣、其能久乎。惠

之三十年、晉潘父弒昭侯而納桓叔不克、晉人立孝侯。惠之四十五年、曲沃莊伯伐翼、弒孝侯、翼人立其弟鄂侯、鄂侯生哀侯、哀侯侵陘庭之田、陘庭南鄙、啟曲沃伐翼。

II. 1 In the [duke's] second year, in spring, in the king's first month, on [the day] Mow-shin, Tuh of Sung murdered his ruler Yu-e, and the great officer K'ung-foo.

2 The viscount of T'ăng appeared at the court of Loo.

3 In the third month, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Ts'e, the marquis of Ch'in, and the earl of Ch'ing, at Tseih, to settle the confusion of Sung.

4 In summer, in the fourth month, the duke brought the tripod of Kaou from Sung, and on [the day] Mow-shin deposited it in the Grand temple.

5 In autumn, in the seventh month, the marquis of Ke came to the court of Loo.

6 The marquis of Ts'ae and the earl of Ch'ing had a meeting at T'ăng.

7 In the ninth month we entered Ke.

8 The duke and the Jung made a covenant in T'ang.

9 In winter the duke arrived from T'ang.

Par. 1. The Chuen at the end of last year was preliminary to this par. Tso-she adds here:—'In the duke's 2d year, in spring, Tuh attacked the K'ung family, killed K'ung-foo, and carried off his wife. The duke was angry, and Tuh, in fear, proceeded also to murder him. The superior man understands that Tuh was one who had no regard for his ruler in his heart, and that thence proceeded his wicked movements. It is on this account that the text mentions first his murder of his ruler, *though it was second in point of fact*.' See farther on par. 3.

Hwa-foo Tuh was a grandson of duke Tae (戴) of Sung (died B. C. 765). See about Kung-foo Këa in the proleg. to vol. I., p. 57. The 父, written sometimes 甫, is a respectful adjunct sometimes of the clan-name, and sometimes of the designation.

Par. 2. See on I. xi. 1. The only thing to be noticed here is the descent of the title from 'marquis' to 'viscount,' which has given rise to an immense amount of speculation and writing. Hoo Gan-kwoh's view may be mentioned,—that Confucius here degrades the marquis to condemn him for visiting a villain like the duke of Loo! The only satisfactory account of the difference of the titles is that given by Too Yu, that, for some reason or other, the lord of T'ăng had been degraded in rank by king Hwan.—The visit was, no doubt, to congratulate duke Hwan on his succession. According to the rule in the Chow Le (see on I.xi.1), all the other princes in this part of the kingdom should in the same way have come to Loo.

Par. 3. Tseih was in Sung;—somewhere in the pres. dep. of K'ae-fung. Tso-she says that though the meeting is cautiously said in the text to have been 'to settle the confusion of Sung,' it was really brought about by bribes (see on next par.), to maintain the power of the Hwa family. He adds:—'During the 10 years of duke Shang's rule in Sung, he had fought 11 battles, so that the people were not able to endure *the constant* summonses *to the field*. K'ung-foo Këa was the minister of War, and Tuh was the premier of the State. Taking advantage of the dissatisfaction of the people, Tuh first set on foot a report that the constant fighting was owing to the minister of War, and then, after killing K'ung-foo, he murdered duke Shang. *Immediately after*, he called duke Chwang (the Kung-tsze Ping; see the Chuen on I. iii. 5) from Ch'ing, and raised him to the dukedom;—in order to please Ch'ing, bribing *also* the duke of Loo with the great tripod of Kaou. Ts'e, Ch'in, and Ch'ing all received bribes, and so Tuh acted as chief minister to the duke of Sung.'

Par. 4. We have met with a city of Kaou already in Sung;—see I. x. 4. If Kaou mentioned here were not the same, it is yet placed by Too in the same dis., that of Shing-woo in Yenchow dep. Perhaps there had been a small State of this name, which had been absorbed by Sung. The tripod in the text had belonged to it, either made in Kaou, or more probably presented to it by king Woo, when he distributed among the princes many of the spoils of Shang. It was now held by Sung, and as a valuable curio was given at this time by Hwa Tuh as a bribe to Loo. I have translated 取 by 'brought,' without seeking to find any mysterious implication in its employment,—that the 'marquis of Loo was taking from Sung what Sung had no

right to give, and he had no right to receive.' The 'grand temple' was that of the duke of Chow.

There is here a long Chuen:—'This act of the duke was not proper, and Tsang Gae-pih [son of Tsang He-pih, famous for his remonstrance addressed to duke Yin;—see I. v. 1] remonstrated with him, saying, "He who is a ruler of men makes it his object to illustrate *his* virtue, and to repress *in others* what is wrong, that he may shed an enlightening influence on his officers. He is still afraid lest in any way he should fail *to accomplish these things;* and moreover he seeks to display excellent virtue for the benefit of his posterity. Thus it is that his ancestral temple has a roof of thatch; the mats in his grand chariot are only of grass; the grand soups [grand, as used in sacrifice] are without condiments; the millets are not finely cleaned:—all these are illustrations of his thrift. His robe, cap, knee-covers, and mace; his girdle, lower robe, buskins, and shoes; the cross-piece of his cap, its stopper pendants, its fastening strings, and its crown;—all these illustrate his observance of the statutory measures. His gem-mats, and his scabbard, with its ornaments above and below; his belt, with its descending ends: the streamers of his flags and the ornaments at his horses' breasts:—these illustrate his attention to the regular degrees of *rank.* The flames, the dragons, the axes, and the symbol of distinction *represented on his robes:*—these illustrate the elegance of his taste. The five colours laid on in accordance with the appearances of nature;—these illustrate with what propriety his articles are made. The bells on his horses' foreheads and bits, and those on his carriage pole and on his flags:—these illustrate his knowledge of sounds. The sun, moon and stars represented on his flags:—these illustrate the brightness of his intelligence.

"Now when thus virtuously thrifty and observant of the statutes, attentive to the degrees of high and low; his character stamped on his elegant robes and his carriage; sounded forth also and brightly displayed:—when thus he presents himself for the enlightenment of his officers, they are struck with awe, and do not dare to depart from the rules and laws. But now you are extinguishing your virtue, and have given your support to a man altogether bad. You have placed moreover the bribe received from him in the grand temple, to exhibit it to your officers. If your officers copy your example, on what ground can you punish them? The ruin of States and clans takes its rise from the corruption of the officers. Officers lose their virtue, when the fondness for bribes *on the part of their ruler* is displayed to them; and here is the tripod of Kaou in your temple, so that this could not be more plainly displayed! When king Woo had subdued Shang, he removed the nine tripods to the city of Loh, and the righteous *Pih-e and others,* it would appear, condemned him for it; but what can be said when this bribe is seen in the grand temple,—this bribe of wickedness and disorder?" The duke did not listen to the remonstrance, but when Chow's historiographer of the Interior heard of it, he said, "Tsang-sun Tah shall have posterity in Loo! His prince was doing wrong, and he neglected not to administer to him virtuous reproof."'

Parr. 5,7. See I. iv. 1; and p. 2. Tso-she says that the marquis of Ke behaved at this time disrespectfully, and that it was to punish him for this that the expedition in p. 7 was undertaken. Kung-yang and Kuh-lëang, however, read 紀 instead of 杞 in p. 5.

Par. 6. There was a small State called T'ăng, a long way off to the west near the river Han; but the T'ăng here was a city of Ts'ae, 35 *le* south-east from the pres. dis. city of Yen-shing (郾成), dep. K'ae-fung. Acc. to Tso-she, the lords of Ts'ae and Ch'ing met here, in fear for the first time of the encroachments and growing power of Ts'oo.

Parr. 8,9. See I. ii. 1,4. The duke and the Jung met now, says Tso-she, to renew the good relations between the Jung and Loo. The 至 in p. 9, intimates that the duke on his return to Loo gave notice of his arrival in his ancestral temple. Tso-she says:—'On setting out on any expedition, the duke announced the movement in the ancestral temple. On his return, he drank in celebration of that (飲至) in the temple; and when he put down the cup, he had the transaction entered in the tablets;—this was the rule. When only two parties were concerned at a meeting [as in these parr.], the *place* of it is mentioned both in the account of the setting out and of the return, as if to signify how each had declined to take the presidency. When three or more parties were concerned, then the place is mentioned in the account of the going, and on the return it is said, "The duke came from the meeting," intimating that *there was a president,* and the business was completed.'

[Tso-she has here a narrative about the affairs of Tsin:—"Years back, the wife of Muh, marquis of Tsin (B. C. 811—784), a lady Këang, gave birth to her eldest son, at the time of the expedition against T'ëaou, and on that account there was given him the name of K'ëw (仇 = "enemy,"). His brother was born at the time of the battle of Ts'ëen-mow, and he got with reference to it the name of Ching-sze (成師 = 'grand success"). Sze-fuh said, "How strange the names our lord has given to his sons! Now names should be definitions of what is right; the doing of what is right produces rules of what is proper; those rules again are embodied in the practice of government; and government has its issues in the rectification of the people. Therefore when government is completed in this way, the people are obedient; when this course is changed, it produces disorder. A good partner is called Fei (妃 = 'consort'); a grumbling partner is called K'ëw (仇 = 'enemy'):—these are ancient designations. Now our lord has called his eldest son Enemy, and his second son Grand Success;—this is an early omen of disorder, as if the elder brother would be superseded." In the 24th year of duke Hwuy of *Loo* (B. C. 744), Tsin began to be in confusion, and the marquis Ch'aou [son of K'ëw above] appointed Hwan Shuh [his uncle, the above Ching-sze] to K'ëuh-yuh, with Lwan Pin, grandson of the marquis Tsing, as his minister. Sze-fuh said,

"I have heard that in the setting up of States and clans, in order to the security of the parent State, while its root is large, the branches must be small. Therefore the son of Heaven establishes States; princes of States establish clans. Heads of clans establish collateral families; great officers have their secondary branches; officers have their sons and younger brothers as their servants; and the common people, mechanics and traders, have their different relatives of various degrees. In this way the people serve their superiors, and inferiors cherish no ambitious designs. Now Tsin is a marquisate in the Tëen (甸) domain; and, establishing this State, can it continue long, its root so weak? In the 30th year of duke Hwuy, Fan-foo killed the marquis Ch'aou, and endeavoured without success to establish Hwan-shuh *in Ts'in*. The people of Tsin appointed the marquis Hëaou. In the 45th year of duke Hwuy, Chwang, earl of K'ëuh-yuh, attacked Yih, and murdered the marquis Hëaou. The people of Tsin set up his younger brother, the marquis Goh. Goh begat the marquis Gae. Gae overran the lands of Hing-t'ing, which were on his southern border, and so opened the way for K'ëuh-yuh to attack Yih.']

Third year.

一章 三年、春、正月、公會齊侯于嬴。

二章 夏、齊侯衞侯胥命于蒲。

三章 六月、公會杞侯于郕。

四章 秋、七月、壬辰、朔、日有食之、既。

五章 公子翬如齊逆女。

六章 九月、齊侯送姜氏于讙。

七章 公會齊侯于讙。

八章 夫人姜氏至自齊。

九章 冬、齊侯使其弟年來聘。

十章 有年。

㊀左傳曰、三年、春、曲沃武公伐翼、次于陘庭、韓萬御戎、梁弘爲右、逐翼侯于汾隰、驂絓而止、夜獲之、及欒共叔。

會于嬴。成昏于齊也、

夏、齊侯衞侯胥命于蒲。不盟也。

公會杞侯于郕。杞求成也。

秋、公子翬如齊逆女。脩先君之好、故曰公子。齊侯送姜氏。非禮也。凡公女嫁于敵國、姊妹則上卿送之、以禮於先君、公子則下卿送之、於大國雖公子亦上卿送之、於天子則諸卿皆行、公不自送、於小國則上大夫送之。

冬、齊仲年來聘。致夫人也。

㊁芮伯萬之母芮姜惡芮伯之多寵人也、故逐之、出居于魏。

III. 1 In his third year, in spring, in the first month, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Ts'e in Ying.

2 In summer, the marquis of Ts'e and the marquis of Wei pledged each other at P'oo.

3 In the sixth month, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Ke in Shing.

4 In autumn, in the seventh month, on [the day] Jin-shin, the first day of the moon, the sun was totally eclipsed.

5 Duke [Hëaou's] son, Hwuy, went to Ts'e, to meet the [duke's] bride.

6 In the ninth month, the marquis of Ts'e escorted his daughter to Hwan.

7 The duke and the marquis of Ts'e had a meeting in Hwan.

8 The [duke's] wife, the lady Këang, arrived from Ts'e.

9 In winter, the marquis of Ts'e, sent his younger brother Nëen with friendly inquiries.

10 There was a good year.

[Tso-she here continues his narrative of events in Tsin:—'In the 3d year, in spring, duke Woo of K'ëuh-yuh [son of earl Chwang], proceeded against Yih, and halted in Hing-t'ing. [His uncle], Han Wan drove his chariot, having on his right Lëang Hwang. They pursued the marquis of Yih [*i.e.*, Tsin] to the banks of the Fun, when the trace of one of his outside horses got entangled about the yoke, and *the carriage* stopped. They caught him in the night, and Kung-shuh of Lwan with him.']

Par. 1. The absence of 王, 'king's,' after 春 and before 正月, has given rise to endless speculation and conjecture, especially as the character is wanting in most of the years of Hwan. Too Yu thinks that the king had not sent round the calendar to the princes on those years. Kuh-lëang thinks the omission is to mark the sage's condemnation of duke Hwan's character. But then it should have been omitted every year,—especially in the 1st. Even Too's explanation cannot be admitted in all the omissions of the term throughout the classic. We can only accept the omission without trying to account for it. Ying belonged to Ts'e,—50 *le* to the south-east of the pres. dep. city of T'ae-gan. The object of the meeting here was to settle a marriage between the duke and a princess of Ts'e. The K'ang-he editors say here that as 會 intimates that the mover to the meeting was not Loo but the outside party, and we must suppose here that the mover was really the marquis of Loo, wishing to strengthen himself in his ill-acquired dignity by an alliance with a powerful House, the term is used to mark Confucius' condemnation of Ts'e. But the thing itself was the condemnation of Ts'e, and we need not look for it in the simple term.

Par. 2. P'oo was in Wei,—in the pres. dis. of Ch'ang-yuen (長垣) dis., dep. Ta-ming, Chih-le. 胥命=相命, 'charged each other;' *i.e.*, the subject about which the two princes had met was put in writing, and *read* out in the hearing of them both; but they separated, simply pledged to each other in a certain line of conduct, without having gone through the formalities of making a convenant.

Par. 3. Tso and Kuh both have here 杞, while Kung-yang reads 紀. The K'ang-he editors think Kung's reading is right. Both Ke (紀) and Shing, they say, were afraid of Ts'e, and were cultivating the friendship of Loo as a counterpoise to the other powerful State. Shing,—see I. v. 3.

Par. 4. See on I.iii.1. 既=盡, 'totally.' There was a total eclipse in this year, on the day Jin-shin; but the month, acc. to Mr. Chalmers' table, should be the 8th, and not the 7th. See prolegg. to the Shoo, p. 103.

Par. 5—8. See on I.ii.5. The ancient practice of the princes going themselves to meet their brides had long fallen into disuse, though it might sometimes be observed, especially by the lord of a small State intermarrying with a larger. Hwuy (I. iv. 5; x. 2) appears here with his full title of 'duke's son,'—acc. to Tso-she out of respect to his father, a former marquis of Loo, and who, it might be presumed, was pleased with the match; but the reader need not weary himself in trying to account for the difference of style in this matter between this and former paragraphs.

Hwan was in Loo,—in pres. dis. of Fei-shing (肥城) dep. Ts'e-nan. It was contrary to the regular rule for the marquis himself to escort his daughter; but probably he had some business of another kind to discuss with the marquis of Loo. Tso-she says:—'It was contrary to the rule for the marquis of Ts'e to escort his daughter. In all cases of the marriages of the daughters of princes:—if the intermarriage were with a State of equal dignity and power, and the ladies were sisters of the ruling prince, a minister of the highest rank escorted

them, out of respect to their father, the former lord of the State; but if they were daughters of the ruling prince, only a minister of a lower rank escorted them; if the intermarriage were with a greater State, even in the case of a daughter of the ruling prince, a minister of the highest rank escorted her; if the intermarriage were with the son of Heaven, all the ministers of the State went, only the ruler himself did not go; and if it were with a smaller State, then the escort was only a great officer of the 1st class.' Observe the bride is here called 姜氏 'lady Këang,' as being still in Ts'e and with her father.

The duke may be said to have observed the ancient ceremony of meeting his bride, as Hwan was on the borders between Loo and Ts'e.

Par. 8. Having now entered Loo, the bride has passed into the wife (夫人). On 至, see the last par. of the previous year.

Par. 9. See I. vii. 5, and note. Tso-she says that the object of this mission was to carry her parents' salutations to the wife (致夫人). Too Yu adds that it was to inquire also about her deportment, whether it was becomingly modest and reverent, and to show the earnest regard which the union might be supposed to produce between the States. A mission of this kind sent *from* Loo would be called 致女; coming *to* Loo it has the general name of 聘. Such a mission was sent three months after the lady had left her parents. If she were not giving satisfaction, she might be returned. (So Ying-tah says:—其意言不堪事宗廟則欲以之歸).

Par. 10. The phrase 有年 is expressive of a good year, no crop failing (五穀皆熟). It is strange that the critics should find a mystery in this simple paragraph, as if the sage had preserved the record to show how things turned out in Loo as they ought not to have done under so bad a ruler as Hwan.

[Tso-she appends here:—'Juy Këang, the mother of Wan, earl of Juy, indignant at him because of his many favourites, drove him out of Juy, and he took up his residence in Wei (魏).']

Fourth year.

四年、(一章)春、正月、公狩于郎。(二章)夏、天王使宰渠伯糾來聘。

左傳曰、四年、春、正月、公狩于郎。書時、禮也。夏、周宰渠伯糾來聘。父在、故名。(二)秋、秦師侵芮、敗焉、小之也。(三)冬、王師秦師圍魏、執芮伯以歸。

IV. 1 In his fourth year, in spring, in the first month, the duke hunted in Lang.

2 In summer, the king [by] Heaven's [grace], sent the [sub-] administrator, K'ëu Pih-këw, to Loo with friendly inquiries.

Par. 1. 狩 here is the name of the winter hunt celebrated, as Tso says, 'at the proper season;' for in reality Chow's 1st month, was the 2d month of winter. This is an instance in point to show that Chow's 'spring' did really include two months of the natural winter. Lang,—see I.ix. 4.

Par. 2. See I. i. 4, for the meaning of 宰. K'ëu was the name of a city in Chow, from which the official family to whom it was granted took their clan-name. Tso-she says the name (Pih-këw) of the messenger is given because his father was still alive. If he had not been so, we should have read 渠氏.

There is no entry here under autumn or winter; not even the names of those seasons and their first months. This is contrary to the rule of the classic, and we must believe that a portion of the text is here lost. Of course many of the Chinese critics are unable to accept so simple a solution of the matter, and will have it that the sage left those seasons out of the year, to express his displeasure with duke Hwan, and his condemnation of the king for sending friendly inquiries to such a man as he was!

[Tso-she has two brief notes of events that happened in the second half of this year:—

'In autumn, an army of Ts'in made a raid on Juy, and was defeated. It was defeated through making too light of Juy.'

'In winter a king's army and an army of Ts'in besieged Wei. The *army of Ts'in* captured the earl of Juy, and carried him back *to Ts'in* with it.']

Fifth year.

一章 五年、春、正月、甲戌、己丑、陳侯鮑卒。

二章 夏、齊侯鄭伯如紀、

三章 天王使仍叔之子來聘。

四章 葬陳桓公。

五章 城祝丘。

六章 秋、蔡人、衛人、陳人、從王伐鄭。

七章 大雩。

八章 螽。

九章 冬、州公如曹。

左傳曰、五年、春、正月、甲戌己丑、陳侯鮑卒。再赴也。於是陳亂、文公子佗殺大子免而代之、公疾病而亂作、國人分散、故再赴。

夏、齊侯鄭伯朝于紀。欲以襲之、紀人知之。

仍叔之子。弱也。

王奪鄭伯政、鄭伯不朝。秋、王以諸侯伐鄭、鄭伯禦之。王爲中軍、虢公林父將右軍、蔡人衛人屬焉、周公黑肩將左軍、陳人屬焉。鄭子元請爲左拒、以當蔡人衛人、爲右拒、以當陳人、曰、陳亂、民莫有鬬心、若先犯之、必奔、王卒顧之、必亂、蔡衛不枝、固將先奔、既而萃於王卒、可以集事。從之。曼伯爲右拒、祭仲足爲左拒、原繁高渠彌以中軍奉公、爲魚麗之陳、先偏後伍、伍承彌縫、戰于繻葛、命二拒曰、旝動而鼓。蔡衛陳皆奔、王卒亂、鄭師合以攻之、王卒大敗、祝聃射王中肩、王亦能軍、祝聃請從之、公曰、君子不欲多上人、況敢陵天子乎、苟自救也、社稷無隕、多矣。夜、鄭伯使祭足勞王、

且間左右。秋、大雩、書不時也。凡祀、啟蟄而郊、龍見而雩、始殺而嘗、閉蟄而烝、過則書。冬、淳于公如曹、度其國危、遂不復。

V. 1 In the [duke's] fifth year, in spring, in the first month, on Këah-seuh or Ke-ch'ow, Paou, marquis of Ch'in, died.

2 In summer, the marquis of Ts'e and the earl of Ch'ing went to Ke.

3 The king [by] Heaven's [grace], sent the son of Jing Shuh to Loo with friendly inquiries.

4 There was the burial of duke Hwan of Ch'in.

5 We walled Chuh-k'ëw.

6 In autumn, an army of Ts'ae, an army of Wei, and an army of Ch'in followed the king and invaded Ch'ing.

7 There was a grand sacrifice for rain.

8 There were locusts.

9 In winter the duke of Chow went to Ts'aou.

Par. 1. There is here evidently some corruption of the text. Between Këah-sëuh and Ke-ch'ow there are 14 clear days. We can hardly conceive how the historiographers could have entered the death of the marquis as having occurred on the one day or the other. If by any possibility they had done so, here, if anywhere, there was need for the pruning pencil of Confucius (筆削). Tso-she says that two different announcements were communicated to Loo, and adds, 'At this time Ch'in was all in confusion. T'o, the son of duke Wăn, had killed the marquis's eldest son, Wăn [so 免 is here read], and superseded him. The disorder arose when the marquis was very ill; the people got scattered; and so two announcements were taken to Loo.' But this is an explanation made to suit the text. Ch'ing E supposes that after Këah-sëuh some entry has dropt out which constituted the 1st par.; and then a second par. might commence with 己丑. This is a reasonable conjecture, but there is another difficulty in the text which renders it inadmissible. The day Ke-ch'ow was in the 1st month of this year, but Këah-sëuh was in the 12th month of the preceding. This error of the month, as preceding 甲戌, is equally fatal to the solution of Kung-yang and Kuh-lëang, that the marquis, in a fit of madness, or some other way, disappeared on the first of the days mentioned, and was found dead on the second. The text is evidently corrupt. Leave out the two characters 甲戌, and the difficulty disappears.

Par. 2. 如, as in III. 5, simply=往, 'to go to.' Tso says that 'the lords of Ts'e and Ch'ing went to the court of Ke wishing to surprise it, and that the people of Ke knew their design.' The marquis of Ke, it is understood, then communicated their visit and its object to Loo, to which alone he looked for help; and so the entry of a transaction, apparently foreign to Loo, was made by its historiographers. We shall see, hereafter, that Ke's fear of Ts'e was well founded.

Par. 3. For 仍 Kuh-lëang has 任. Compare I. iii. 4. Jing Shuh must have been a great officer of Chow. The critics are much concerned to determine whether Jing Shuh himself were dead, or only old, so that his son was employed instead of him, and whether he took it upon him to send his son, or the son was directly commissioned by the king. The last point seems to be settled by the text; the others only give rise to uncertain speculations. Tso-she simply says the messenger was 'a youth (弱也).'

Par. 5. Chuh-k'ëw is believed to have been 50 *le* to the south-east of the pres. dep. city of E-chow. Too thinks it was walled as a precaution, in consequence of the designs of Ts'e on Ke.

Par. 6. On this paragraph Tso-she gives us the following narrative:—

'The king deprived the earl of Ch'ing of *all share in* the government *of the kingdom*, and the earl in consequence no more appeared at court. In autumn the king led *several of* the princes to invade Ch'ing, when the earl withstood him. The king *drew up his forces so that he himself* was in the centre, while Lin-foo, duke of Kwoh, commanded the army of the right, having the troops of Ts'ae and Wei attached to him, and Hih-këen, duke of Chow, commanded on the left, having the troops of Ch'in. Tsze-yuen of Ch'ing asked the earl to draw their troops up in squares, on the left opposed to the armies of Ts'ae and Wei, and on the right to the men of Ch'in. "Ch'in," said he, "is at this time all in confusion, and the people have no heart to fight. If we attack them first, they will be sure to run. The king's soldiers seeing this will fall into disorder, and the troops of Ts'ae and Wei will set them the example of flight without making any resistance. Let us then collect our troops

and fall upon the king;—in this way we may calculate on success." The earl followed this counsel. Man-pih commanded the square on the right; Chae Chung-tsuh that on the left; while Yuen Fan and Kaou K'eu-me, with the earl, led the centre, which was drawn up in fish-scale array. There was always a force of 25 chariots, supported by 5 files of 5 men each, to maintain a close and unbroken front. The battle was fought at Seu-koh. The earl commanded the squares *on the right and left* to wait till they saw his flag waved, and then to advance with drums beating. The troops of Ts'ae, Wei, and Ch'in all fled, while the king's were thrown into disorder. The forces of Ch'ing then united in an attack on the opposite centre. The king received a great defeat, and an arrow shot by Chuh Tan wounded him in the shoulder; but, *notwithstanding this, he retreated*, still maintaining an able fight. Chuh Tan asked leave to pursue him, but the earl said, "A superior man does not wish to be always showing superiority over others; much less dare he offer insult to the son of Heaven! If we manage to save ourselves, and the altars of Ch'ing take no damage, we have accomplished very much." At night he sent Tsuh of Chae to comfort the king, and to ask after the welfare of his officers.'

Par. 7. 雩 = 旱祭, 'a sacrifice in time of drought.' The Chuen says that to offer this sacrifice—or at least the grand sacrifice for rain—in the autumn was unseasonable, and therefore the record of it appears here. Tso-she adds:—'With regard to the sacrifices in general, at the season of K'ĕ-chih ['the emergence of insects from their burrows;'—the 1st month of Hëa, and the 3d of the Chow year], the border sacrifice [to Heaven] was offered; at the season of Lung-hëen ['the appearance of the Dragon (see the Shoo, on Pt. I., par. 5);'—the 4th month of Hëa, and the 6th of Chow], the sacrifice for rain; at the season of Ch'e-shah ['commencement of death:'—the 8th month of Hëa, and the 10th of Chow], the Shang or sacrifice of first fruits; and at the season of Pei-chih ['the closing of insects in their burrows;'—the 10th month of Hëa, and 12th of Chow], the Ching or winter sacrifice. If any of those sacrifices were offered after the season for them, the historiographers made an entry of it.' According then to Tso-she, this sacrifice for rain was competent to Chow and its various States only in the 6th month, its object being to supplicate for rain in the beginning of summer, that there might be a good harvest;—of course it was out of season to offer this sacrifice in any month of Chow's autumn. But I believe, with Maou K'ĕ-ling, that, while there was the regular sacrifice at the beginning of the natural summer, special sacrifices might be offered at any season of prolonged drought, and it does not follow, therefore, that the sacrifice in the text was unseasonable. As to the name 'grand,' characterizing the sacrifice here, it has given rise to much controversy. Këa Kwei thought the sacrifice was addressed to Heaven or God by the princes of Loo, under sanction of the grant to their ancestor to use imperial rites, and is therefore here called 'grand.' This point we must leave.

Par. 8. 螽 (in Kung-yang, 蝝) are described by Too Yu as 蚣蝑之屬, 'a kind of locusts.'

Par. 9. Chow was a small State, in pres. dis. of Gan-k'ëw (安丘), dep. Ts'ing-chow. Its prince appears here with the title of duke;—it is supposed because some previous lord had been one of the three Kung or dukes at the king's court. His capital was Shun-yu (淳于). Ts'aou was an earldom, held by the descendants of one of the sons of king Wăn;—its capital was Ts'aou-k'ëw (陶丘), in pres. dis. of Ting-t'aou, dep. Ts'aou-chow. Tso-she says on the par:—'In winter, the duke of Shun-yu went to Ts'aou, reckoning that his State was in a perilous state; and he did not return to it.'

Sixth year.

一章 六年、春、正月、寔來。

二章 夏四月、公會紀侯于成。

三章 秋八月、壬午、大閱。

四章 蔡人殺陳佗。

五章 九月、丁卯、子同生。

六章 冬紀侯來朝。

左傳曰、六年、春、自曹來朝。書曰寔來、不復其國也。㊁楚武王侵隨、使薳章求成焉、軍於瑕以待之、隨人使少師董成、鬬伯比言于楚子曰、吾不得志於漢東也、我則使然、我張吾三軍、而被

吾甲兵、以武臨之、彼則懼而協以謀我、故難間也。漢東之國隨爲大、隨張、必棄小國、小國離、楚之利也、少師侈、請羸師以張之。熊率且比曰、季梁在、何益。鬭伯比曰、以爲後圖、少師得其君。王毀軍而納少師。少師歸、請追楚師、隨侯將許之、季梁止之曰、天方授楚、楚之羸、其誘我也、君何急焉、臣聞小之能敵大也、小道大淫、所謂道、忠於民而信於神也、上思利民、忠也、祝史正辭、信也、今民餒而君逞欲、祝史矯舉以祭、臣不知其可也。公曰、吾牲牷肥腯、粢盛豐備、何則不信。對曰、夫民、神之主也、是以聖王先成民、而後致力於神、故奉牲以告曰、博碩肥腯、謂民力之普存也、謂其畜之碩大蕃滋也、謂其不疾瘯蠡也、謂其備腯咸有也。奉盛以告曰、絜粢豐盛、謂其三時不害、而民和年豐也。奉酒醴以告曰、嘉栗旨酒、謂其上下皆有嘉德、而無違心也。所謂馨香無讒慝也。故務其三時、脩其五教、親其九族、以致其禋祀、於是乎民和、而神降之福、故動則有成、今民各有心、而鬼神乏主、君雖獨豐、其何福之有、君姑脩政、而親兄弟之國、庶免於難。隨侯懼而脩政、楚不敢伐。

夏會于成、紀來諮謀齊難也、

㈡北戎伐齊、齊侯使乞師于鄭、鄭大子忽帥師救齊、六月、大敗戎師、獲其二帥大良少良、甲首三百、以獻於齊、于是諸侯之大夫戍齊、齊人饋之餼、使魯爲其班、後鄭、鄭忽以其有功也、怒、故有郎之師。公之未昏於齊也、齊侯欲以文姜妻鄭大子忽、大子忽辭、人問其故、大子曰、人各有耦、齊大、非吾耦也、詩云、自求多福、在我而已、大國何爲。君子曰、善自爲謀。及其敗戎師也、齊侯又請妻之、固辭、人問其故、大子曰、無事于齊、吾猶不敢、今以君命奔齊之急、而受室以歸、是以師昏也、民其謂我何、遂辭諸鄭伯。

秋、大閱、簡車馬也。

九月丁卯、子同生、以大子生之禮舉之、接以大牢、卜士負之、士妻食之、公與文姜宗婦命之、公問名於申繻、對曰、名有五、有信、有義、有象、有假、有類、以名生爲信、以德命爲義、以類命爲象、取於物爲假、取於父爲類、不以國、

不以官、不以山川、不以隱疾、不以畜牲、不以器幣、周人以諱事神、名終將諱之、故以國則廢名、以官則廢職、以山川則廢主、以畜牲則廢祀、以器幣則廢禮、晉以僖侯廢司徒、宋以武公廢司空、先君獻武廢二山、是以大物不可以命。公曰、是其生也、與吾同物、命之曰同。冬、紀侯來朝、請王命以求成于齊、公告不能。

VI. 1 In the [duke's sixth year, in spring, in the first month, Shih came to Loo.

2 In summer, in the fourth month, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Ke in Ching.

3 In autumn, in the eighth month, on Jin-woo, [the duke] held a grand military review.

4 The people of Ts'ae put to death T'o of Ch'in.

5 In the ninth month, on [the day] Ting-maou, the [duke's] son, T'ung, was born.

6 In winter, the marquis of Ke came to [our] court.

Par. 1. According to all the three Chuen, this is a continuation of the last par. in last year. Tso-she says:—'In the spring, he came from Ts'aou to the court of Loo. The text 寔來 intimates that he did not return again to his own State.' In this way, 寔='for good,' and Too Yu defines it by 實. Kung and Kuh explain it by 是 and 是人, 'this man.' Ch'ing E and Hoo Gan-kwŏ, however, suppose that Shih was the name of the duke of Chow. A prince, living, ought not to be called by his name, but this poor duke, a fugitive from his State, never to return to it, was in his princely character as good as dead, and might be named. The K'ang-he editors say both views are to be preserved. The point is one of trivial importance.

[There is appended here in the Chuen the following narrative:—'King Woo of Ts'oo [this viscount of Ts'oo had usurped the title of 'king'] burst suddenly into Suy, and sent Wei Chang to beg that Ts'oo and Suy might be on good terms with each other, meanwhile waiting with his army at Hëa for intelligence. The court of Suy sent Shaou-sze [少師; this is evidently the name of an office; but nothing can be ascertained about it. I have therefore followed the example of the Lëeh-kwoh Che which calls the phrase the *name* of the marquis of Suy's favourite] to manage the conclusion of a treaty of peace. Tow Pih-pe said to the viscount of Ts'oo, "That we have not got our will on the east of the Han is all owing to ourselves. We have displayed our three armies, our men all equipt with their buff coats and weapons, and so we have presented ourselves to the States in all our power. They have been afraid, therefore, and have united together to provide against our designs. It is this which makes it difficult to separate them. Of the States east of the Han Suy is the greatest. Let Suy *once* be elated, and then it will spurn the smaller States, which will become alienated from it;—this will be to the advantage of Ts'oo. This Shaou-sze is a vain extravagant man; let us inflate him by making our army appear as if it were weak." Hëung Lëuh-tseu-pe said, "While Ke Lëang is *in Suy*, of what use will this be?" Tow Pih-pe replied, "It will serve as a basis for future measures;—Shaou-sze is his prince's favourite."

'The king, *according to Pih-pe's counsel*, gave his army a dilapidated appearance, and then received Shaou-sze, who on his return to Suy requested leave to pursue the army of Ts'oo. The marquis was about to grant it, when Ke Lëang stopt him saying, "Heaven is now giving power to Ts'oo. Its exhibition of weakness was only made to deceive us. Why, O ruler, be so hasty? I have heard that the condition in which a small State can match with a great one, is when the small one is ruled according to reason, and the great one is abandoned to wild excess. What I mean by being ruled according to reason, is showing a loyal *love* for the people, and a faithful worship of the Spirits. When the ruler thinks *only* of benefiting the people, that is loyal loving of them; when the priests' words are all correct, that is faithful worship. Now our people are famishing, and the prince indulges his desires; the priests are hypocrites in their sacrifices:—I do not know whether there is the condition of success." The marquis said, 'My victims are the best, and well fatted; the millet in the vessels is good and all complete;—where is there any want of sincerity?" Ke Lëang replied, "The *state of* the people is what the Spirits regard. The sage kings therefore first secured the welfare of the people, and then put forth their strength in *serving* the Spirits. Thus when they presented their victims, and announced them as large and fat, they meant that the people's strength was all preserved; that to this was owing the large growth of the animals; that to this was owing their freedom from scab or itch; that to this it was owing

they were so fat, and amply sufficient. When they presented their vessels of millet, and announced it as clean and abundant, they meant that in all the three seasons no harm was done to the cause of husbandry; that the people were harmonious, and the years good. When they presented their distilled and sweet spirits, and announced them as admirable, strong, and good, they meant that superiors and inferiors were all of admirable virtue, and their hearts in nothing inclined to perverseness; what was termed the widely diffused fragrance was really that there were no slanderers nor wicked men. In this way it was that they exerted themselves that the labours of the three seasons should be performed; they cultivated and inculcated the five great duties of society; they cherished and promoted the affection that should exist among the nine classes of kindred: and from this they proceeded to their pure sacrifices. Thus their people were harmonious, and the Spirits sent down blessings, so that every movement they undertook was successful. Now the people's hearts are all at variance, and the Spirits have no lord [*i. e.*, none whom they will serve, and serve by blessing]. Although you as an individual may be liberal *in your acts of worship*, what blessing can that bring? I pray you to cultivate good government, and be friendly with the States of your brother princes; then perhaps you will escape calamity."

'The marquis of Suy was afraid, and attended properly to his duties of government; and Ts'oo did not dare to attack him.']

Par. 2. Tso says the marquis of Ke came to this meeting to consult with Loo about his difficulties with Ts'e. The 郕 in the text is from Kuh-lëang. Tso and Kung both read 成 which makes Too give the situation differently from that of the other in I.v. 3;—90 *le* north-east from pres. dis. city of Ning-yang.

[The Chuen has here:—'The northern Jung had invaded Ts'e, which sent to ask the assistance of a force from Ch'ing. Hwuh, the eldest son of the earl of Ch'ing, led a force *accordingly* to the help of Ts'e, and inflicted a great defeat on the Jung, capturing their two leaders, Tae-lëang and Shaou-lëang, whom he presented to the marquis with the heads of 300 of their buff-coated warriors. At that time the great officers *of many* of the princes were keeping guard in Ts'e, and the marquis supplied them with cattle, employing *the officers of* Loo to arrange the order of distribution. These placed *the troops of Ch'ing* last, which made Hwuh indignant, considering that his had been the merit of the victory; and it gave rise to the battle of Laug [see the 10th year].

'Before the duke of *Loo* had married the daughter of Ts'e, the marquis had wished to marry her—Wăn Këang—to Hwuh; but he had refused the match. Some one asked the reason of his refusal, when he replied, "People should be equally matched. *A daughter of* Ts'e is too great a match for me. The ode says, 'For himself he seeks much happiness (She, III. i. I. 6).' I have to do with what depends on myself simply; what have I to do with a great State?" A superior man will say that *Hwuh* did well in thus making himself the centre *of his plan of life*. On this occasion, when he had defeated the army of the Jung, the marquis of Ts'e again asked him to take another of his daughters to wife, but *again* he firmly refused. Being asked the reason, he said, "Formerly when I had had nothing to do in Ts'e, I still did not dare to marry one of its princesses. Now I hurried here by our ruler's order to succour Ts'e in its exigency; if I returned from it with a wife, it would be as if I had won her by arms." In this way he declined the alliance on the ground of wanting the earl of Ch'ing's command.'

Tso-she seems to have forgotten here that he had already narrated the marriage of Hwuh of Ch'ing to a daughter of the house of Ch'in, under I.viii. 3. The marquis of Ts'e would hardly have offered one of his daughters to fill a secondary place in Hwuh's harem.]

Par. 3. 閱=簡車馬 'to examine the chariots and horses.' This was an annual ceremony, to which the winter hunt was subsidiary. See the Chow Le, Bk. XXIX., pp. 24—34. Many of the critics think that the holding this review, as here, in the 8th month in autumn, was unseasonable, and that it is recorded to condemn it. But the duke might easily have had reasons sufficient to justify him for holding such a review at this time.

Par. 4. Tso-she has no Chuen here, but we find what serves for one under the 22d year of duke Chwang. We have seen, under V.1, that T'o had killed the eldest son of the marquis of Ch'in, and superseded him. But that son's younger brother was a son of a princess of Ts'ae, and in his interest Ts'ae now did justice on T'o. T'o had not yet been recognized as marquis of Ch'in, and therefore we have simply his name, without his title. I have translated 蔡人 by 'the people of Ts'ae,' after the analogy of 衞人 in I.iv.6,7. Kuh and Kung account for his death at the hands of some people of Ts'ae by saying that he had intruded into the territory of Ts'ae in hunting or for a worse purpose, and was killed in a quarrel about a bird or a woman. Their Chuen, however, where matters of history are concerned, are not to be compared with Tso-she's.

Par. 5. Tso-she tells us that this entry of T'ung's birth intimates that he was received with all the honours proper to the birth of a son and heir; that an ox, a sheep, and a pig were sacrificed on the occasion; that an officer of divination carried him on his back, and his wife nursed him; and that the duke, with the child's mother, Wăn Këang, and the wives of the duke's noble kindred, gave him his name. This last ceremony took place on the 3d month after the birth. Tso-she adds:—'The duke asked Shin Sëu about names, who replied "Names are taken from five things:—some pre-intimation; some auspice of virtue; some striking appearance about the child; the borrowing the name of some object; or some similarity. When a child is born with a name on it, that is a pre-intimation [a character, such as 友, may seem to be made by some marks on the body, and so is taken as the name]; when a child is named from some virtue, this is called an auspice [Ch'ang, the name of king Wăn, is an instance in point]; when it is named from some resemblance about it to something, this is called naming from the

appearance [Confucius was so named Ne-k'ëw (尼丘)]; when it is named from some object, this is called borrowing [the name of Confucius' son Pih-yu (魚, 'the fish') is an instance]; when the name is taken from *something about* the father, this is called a name from similarity [see below]. The name must not be taken from the name of the State; or of an office; or of a mountain or river; or of any malady; or of an animal; or of a utensil, or of a ceremonial offering. The people of Chow do not use the name *which they bore* in serving the Spirits *of the dead;* and the name is not mentioned after death. To take the name from the State would do away with the *State's* name; one from an office would do away with the office; one from a hill or stream would do away with the sacrifice to it; one from an animal would do away with its use as a victim; one from a utensil or a ceremonial offering would do away with its use in ceremonies. The name of the marquis He of Tsin [he was called 司徒] made the title of minister of Instruction (司徒) be discontinued in Tsin. So with duke Woo of Sung and the title of minister of Works (司空). Our former dukes Hëen [called 具] and Woo [called 敖] caused two hills to lose their names. Therefore the names of such great objects and offices must not be given to a child." The duke said, "Well, his birth and mine were on the same day." So, from that similarity, the child was named T'ung [the Similar].'

As this is the only instance in the classic in which the birth of a Son of any of the marquises of Loo is chronicled, there is much speculation as to the reason of the entry here. Some think it is a clear case of the pencil of the sage, who would thus show that duke Chwang was really the son of the marquis of Loo, and not the fruit of the incestuous commerce which his mother subsequently indulged in!

Par. 6. Tso-she says this visit from the marquis of Ke was to beg the services of the duke to ask the king's order to bring about peace between Ke and Ts'e, but that the duke told him he could do nothing in the matter.

Seventh year.

七年、春、二月、己亥、焚咸丘。(一章)

夏、穀伯綏來朝、(二章)

鄧侯吾離來朝。(三章)

左傳曰、七年、春、穀伯鄧侯來朝。名、賤之也。㈡夏、盟、向、求成於鄭、既而背之、秋、鄭人齊人衞人伐盟向、王遷盟向之民於郟。㈢冬、曲沃伯誘晉小子侯、殺之。

VII. 1 In his seventh year, in spring, in the second month, on Ke-hae, the duke hunted with fire in Hëen-k'ëw.

2 In summer, Suy, earl of Kuh, came to [our] court.

3 Woo-le, marquis of T'ăng, came to [our] court.

Par. 1. Hëen-k'ëw was a district, and probably the name of a town in it, belonging to Loo;—somewhere in dep. of Yen-chow. 焚 here=火田, 'to hunt with fire.' This appears in the Urh-ya as another name for the winter hunting (火田爲狩). The object in using fire was to drive the birds and animals from their coverts. Too says the record is made here to condemn the duke for his wantonness in carrying on the operation, so that nothing should escape. But this does not appear in the text; and the Chuen has nothing on the par.

Parr. 2, 3. Kuh was a marquisate, with the surname Ying (嬴), and has left its name in the pres. dis. of Kuh-shing, dep. Sëang-yang, Hoo-pih. T'ăng was not far from Kuh, an earldom with the surname Man (曼). Some place it in pres. T'ăng Chow, dep. Nan-yang, Ho-nan; others find its principal city, 20 *le* north-east of the dep. city of Sëang-yang in Hoo-pih. But the two identifications need not clash. What brought these two distant lords to Loo we cannot tell. Tso-she says they are mentioned by name in contempt; but we may find a better reason in a rule of the Le Ke, I. Pt. II.ii. 21, that princes who had lost their States were mentioned by name. The supposition that the princes in the text were in this condition adequately explains their coming all the long way from their former fiefs to Loo.

Nothing that occurred in autumn or winter is here entered. See what has been said upon this,—on the 4th year.

[Tso-she appends here two short Chuen:—'Măng and Hëang sought terms of peace from Ch'ing [these are two of the places mentioned in one of the Chuen under I. xi. 3, as granted by Chow to Ch'ing. It was there said that Chow could not keep them, and it would appear that Ch'ing also found it difficult to do so], and afterwards broke them. In autumn, an army of Ch'ing, an army of Ts'e, and an army of Wei invaded Măng and Hëang, when the king removed their inhabitants to Këah.'

'In winter, the earl of K'ëuh-yuh inveigled the child-marquis of Tsin, and put him to death.']

Eighth year.

一章 八年、春、正月、己卯、烝。

二章 天王使家父來聘。

三章 夏、五月、丁丑、烝。

四章 秋、伐邾。

五章 冬、十月、雨雪。

六章 祭公來、遂逆王后于紀。

㈠左傳曰、八年、春、滅翼。

㈡隨少師有寵、楚鬬伯比曰、可矣、讎有釁、不可失也。夏、楚子合諸侯於沈鹿、黃隨不會、使薳章讓黃、楚子伐隨、軍於漢淮之間。季梁請下之、弗許而後戰、所以怒我而怠寇也。少師謂隨侯曰、必速戰、不然、將失楚師。隨侯禦之、望楚師、季梁曰、楚人上左、君必左、無與王遇、且攻其右、右無良焉、必敗、偏敗、衆乃攜矣。少師曰、不當王、非敵也。弗從。戰於速杞、隨師敗績、隨侯逸、鬬丹獲其戎車、與其戎右少師。秋、隨及楚平、楚子將不許、鬬伯比曰、天去其疾矣、隨未可克也、乃盟而還。

㈥冬、王命虢仲立晉哀侯之弟緡于晉。祭公來、遂逆王后於紀。禮也。

VIII. 1 In the [duke's] eighth year, in spring, in the first month, on Ke-maou, we offered the winter sacrifice.

2 The king [by] Heaven's [grace] sent Këa Foo to Loo with friendly inquiries.

3 In summer, in the fifth month, on Ting-ch'ow, we offered the winter sacrifice.

4 In autumn, we invaded Choo.

5 In winter, in the tenth month, there was snow.

6 The duke of Chae came [to Loo], and immediately after went to meet the king's bride in Ke.

Par. 1. 烝 was the name of the sacrifice offered in the ancestral temple at mid-winter. 烝 = 衆, 'all;' — all the labours of the year had been completed, and the fruits of the earth gathered in. They could therefore be now presented more largely than at the other seasonal sacrifices. This is supposed to be the reason of the name. Chow's 1st month was the 2d month of Hëa's winter. The *ching* sacrifice was now offered, therefore, at the proper time; but a record of it is here entered, the critics think, to show the absurdity of offering the same again in summer, as in par. 3.

Par. 2. See I. vii. 6. 家 is the clan-name, = the surname, and 父 is the designation. The rule was, it is said, that great officers of Chow sent on such missions to the States should be mentioned with their designation; but I am not sure of the correctness of such a rule.

[Tso-she adds here that 'in the spring there was the extinction of Yih;' *i.e.* the earl of K'ëuh-yuh extinguished Tsin, or thought he had done so.]

Par. 3. The proper sacrifice at this time was the 祠. To repeat at this season the winter sacrifice was certainly a strange proceeding.

[Tso-she here gives the sequel of the Chuen under VI. 1:—'Shaou-sze became *more* the favourite in Suy; and Tow Pih-pe of Ts'oo said, "Our enemy presents an opening, which we must not lose." *Accordingly,* in summer, the viscount of Ts'oo called the princes *of the south* together at Ch'in-luh; and as Hwang and Suy did not attend, he sent Wei Chang to reprove Hwang, while he proceeded himself to attack Suy, encamping his army between the Han and the Hwae. Ke Lëang begged the *marquis of Suy* to make offers of submission. "If Ts'oo refuse them," he said, "and we fight afterwards, this will have made our men indignant and the thieves remiss." Shaou-sze, however, said, "We must fight quickly, for, if we do not do so, we shall lose the army of Ts'oo *a second time.*" The marquis took the field; and as he surveyed from a distance the army of Ts'oo, Ke Lëang said, "In Ts'oo they attach greatest importance to the left; the king is sure to be on the left. Don't let us meet him, but let us attack their right. There are no good soldiers there, and they will be beaten. When a part is beaten, the whole will be disorganized." Shaou-sze said, "If we do not meet the king, we are no soldiers." The marquis would not follow *Ke-Lëang's advice.* The battle was fought in Suh-ke, and the army of Suy was completely defeated. The marquis fled. Tow Tan captured his war-chariot, and Shaou-sze who had occupied the place in the right of it. In autumn, Suy and Ts'oo made peace. *At first* the viscount was unwilling to grant peace, but Tow Pih-pe said, "Heaven has removed from Suy him who was its plague; it is not yet to be subdued." *Accordingly* the viscount granted a covenant, and withdrew *with his army.*']

Par. 4. The critics are much divided on the question whether the duke himself commanded in person in this expedition or not. I do not see that it can be determined; and have left the matter in the translation indefinite. Many of the neighbouring small lords had been to Loo since Hwan's accession, but he of Choo had not made his appearance. This invasion was the consequence probably.

Par. 5. This was only the 8th month of Hëa, and snow was unseasonable.

[Tso-she has here:—'In winter, the king ordered Chung of Kwoh to establish Min, younger brother of the marquis Gae, as marquis of Tsin.']

Par. 6. In I. i. 6, we have an earl of Chae. The duke in the text may have been the same, or a son of that earl, here called *kung* or duke, as being one of the king's three highest ministers;—see the Shoo, V. xx. 5. When the king was taking a wife from one of the States, the rule was that one of these *kung* should meet her, and one of the princes, of the same surname as the royal House, act as director in the affair. The king himself could not appear in it, in consistency with his supreme position. Every thing in this par., therefore, is, as Tso-she says, 'proper.' The duke of Chae comes from Chow, gets his orders from the duke of Loo, and then goes to Ke to meet the bride, whom Loo could not designate 女, 'daughter' of Ke, simply, as she was going to be 'queen (后).' The poor marquis of Ke had, no doubt, managed to bring the match about, as a forlorn hope against the attempts on him of the lord of Ts'e. Maou observes that as this was the 18th year of king Hwan, it cannot be supposed that he had remained queen-less up to this time, and that the daughter of Ke was being taken by him as a second wife (再娶).

Ninth year.

一章 九年、春、紀季姜歸于京師。

二章 夏四月。

三章 秋七月。

四章 冬、曹伯使其世子射姑來朝。

左傳曰、九年、春、紀季姜歸于京師。凡諸侯之女行、唯王后書。

◎巴子使韓服告于楚、請與鄧爲好、楚子使道朔將巴客以聘於鄧。鄧南鄙鄾人攻而奪之幣、殺道朔及巴行人。楚子使薳章讓於鄧、鄧人弗受。夏、楚使鬬廉帥師及巴師圍鄾、鄧養甥聃甥帥師救鄾、三逐巴師、不克、鬬廉衡陳其師於巴師之中、以戰、而北、鄧人逐之、背巴師而夾攻之、鄧師大敗、鄾人宵潰。

◎秋、虢仲芮伯梁伯荀侯賈伯、伐曲沃。

冬、曹大子來朝。賓之以上卿、禮也。享曹大子、初獻、樂奏而歎。施父曰、曹大子其有憂乎、非歎所也。

IX. 1 In the [duke's] ninth year, in spring, the lady Këang, fourth daughter of [the marquis of] Ke, went to her palace in the capital.

2 It was summer, the fourth month.

3 It was autumn, the seventh month.

4 In winter, the earl of Ts'aou sent his heir-son, Yih-koo, to our court.

Par. 1. This is the sequel of the last par. of last year. Tso-she observes that the historiographers did not enter any intermarriages of other States, excepting where they were with the royal House. 季 is the 4th in order of birth, and appears here as the designation of the lady, so that the translation might have been simply —'Ke Këang of Ke.' 歸,—see I. ii. 6. I have here rendered it 'to her palace,' as Ke Këang was a royal bride. On 京師 Kung-yang says, 'The phrase denotes the dwelling of the son of Heaven. 京 means "great;" and 師 means "all." Where the son of Heaven dwells must be described by such terms.'

Parr. 2, 3. See on I. vi. 3.

[The Chuen adds:—'The viscount of Pa sent Han Fuh with an announcement to Ts'oo, asking Ts'oo's services to bring about good relations between it and T'ăng. The viscount of Ts'oo then sent Taou-soh, along with the visitor from Pa, to present a friendly message to T'ăng, but the men of Yëw, on the southern borders of T'ăng, attacked them, carried off the presents they were bearing, and slew them both. Ts'oo sent Wei Chang to complain to the lord of T'ăng of the matter, but he would not acknowledge that he had any hand in it.

'In summer, Ts'oo sent Tow Lëen with a force and a force of Pa to lay siege to Yëw, to the relief of which the lord of T'ăng sent his nephews Yang and Tan. They made three successful attacks on the troops of Pa, and Ts'oo and Pa were likely to fail. Tow Lëen then threw his force right in between the troops of Pa, engaged the enemy, and took to flight. The men of T'ăng pursued them, till their backs were towards the troops of Pa, and they were attacked on both sides. The army of T'ăng received a great defeat, and during the night the men of Yëw dispersed.'

'In autumn, the brother of the duke of Kwoh, the earl of Juy, the earl of Lëang, the marquis of Seun, and the earl of Këa, invaded K'ëuh-yuh.']

Par. 4. The earl of Ts'aou himself was ill, and therefore sent his son to visit the marquis of Loo in his stead. Tso-she says:—'The son of the earl of Ts'aou was received, as was proper, with the honours due to a minister of the highest rank. At the ceremonial reception which was given to him, when the first cup was presented, as the music struck up, he sighed. She-foo said, "The prince of Ts'aou will *soon* be sad indeed. This is not the place for sighing."'

The critics are much divided in their views of this visit, and labour hard to find the sage's work of 'condemnation' in it.

Tenth year.

一章 十年、春、王正月、庚申、曹伯終生卒。

二章 夏、五月、葬曹桓公。

三章 秋、公會衞侯于桃丘、弗遇。

四章 冬、十有二月、丙午、齊侯衞侯鄭伯來戰于郎。

左傳曰、十年、春、曹桓公卒。

㈠虢仲譖其大夫詹父於王、詹父有辭、以王師伐虢、夏、虢公出奔虞。

㈡秋、秦人納芮伯萬於芮。

㈢初、虞叔有玉、虞公求旃、弗獻、既而悔之、曰、周諺有之、匹夫無罪、懷璧其罪、吾焉用此、其以賈害也。乃獻之。又求其寶劍、叔曰、是無厭也、無厭、將及我。遂伐虞公、故虞公出奔共池。

冬、齊衞鄭來戰於郎。我有辭也。初北戎病齊、諸侯救之、鄭公子忽有功焉、齊人餼諸侯、使魯次之、魯以周班後鄭、鄭人怒、請師於齊、齊人以衞師助之、故不稱侵伐、先書齊衞、王爵也。

X. 1 In the [duke's] tenth year, in spring, in the king's first month. on Kăng-shin, Chung-săng, earl of Ts'aou, died.

2 In summer, in the fifth month, there was the burial of duke Hwan of Ts'aou.

3 In autumn, the duke [went to] have a meeting with the marquis of Wei in T'aou-k'ëw, but did not meet with him.

4 In winter, in the twelfth month, on Ping-woo, the marquis of Ts'e, the marquis of Wei, and the earl of Ch'ing came and fought [with us] at Lang.

Par. 1. Parr. 1,2. See the Chuen on last par. of last year. A great mystery is found in the reappearance of 王;—'in the 10th year, the completion of numbers.' Tso blends the two parr. together, saying that 'in the spring duke Hwan of Ts'aou died.'

[Tso-she adds here:—'The brother of *the duke of* Kwoh slandered his great officer Chen Foo to the king. Chen Foo was able to rebut the slander, and with an army from the king attacked Kwoh. In summer, the duke of Kwoh fled to Yu.']

Par. 3. T'aou-k'ëw was in Wei;—50 *le* to the west of the present dist. city of Tung-o (東阿), in dept. Tung-ch'ang. The meeting had been agreed upon, and the duke was anxious to detach Wei from the party of Ch'ing, which was threatening Loo;—see next par. The marquis of Wei, however, changed his mind, and determined to go with the other side.

[Tso-she adds:—'In autumn, Ts'in restored Wan, earl of Juy, to Juy.' See the Chuen at the end of the 4th year.

'The 3d brother of the duke of Yu had a *valuable* piece of jade, which the duke asked of him. He refused it, but afterwards repented, saying, "There is the proverb in Chow, 'A man may have no crime;—that he keeps his *peih* is his crime.' This jade is of no use to me:—shall I buy my hurt with it?" He then presented it to the duke, who went on to ask a precious sword which he had. The young brother then said *to himself*, "This man is insatiable; his greed will reach to my person." He therefore attacked the duke, who was obliged to flee to Kung-ch'e.']

Par. 4. Lang,—see I. ix. 4. Tso-she says:—'In winter, Ts'e, Wei, and Ch'ing came to fight with us in Lang; but we could explain what they complained of. Formerly when the northern Jung were distressing Ts'e, *many of* the princes sent to its relief, and Hwuh, son of the earl of Ch'ing, acquired merit. When the people of Ts'e were sending cattle round to the different troops, the officers of Loo were employed to arrange the order of distribution. They did so according to the rules of precedence at the court of Chow, and sent last to Ch'ing. The men of Ch'ing were angry, and the earl requested the help of a force from Ts'e, which granted it and got troops from Wei besides. In these circumstances the text does not speak of their attacking Loo covertly or openly, *but that they came and fought*. It also puts Ts'e and Wei before Ch'ing, *though Ch'ing was the prime mover of the expedition*,—in the order of their rank as fixed by the king.' The battle was, we may suppose, bloodless.

Eleventh year.

一章 十有一年、春、正月、齊人衛人鄭人盟于惡曹。

二章 夏五月、癸未、鄭伯寤生卒。

三章 秋七月、葬鄭莊公。

四章 九月、宋人執鄭祭仲。

五章 突歸于鄭。

六章 鄭忽出奔衛。

七章 柔會宋公、陳侯、蔡叔、盟于折。

八章 公會宋公于夫鍾。

九章 冬十有二月、公會宋公于闞。

左傳曰、十一年、春、齊衛鄭宋盟於惡曹。

㈠楚屈瑕將盟貳軫、鄖人軍於蒲騷、將與隨絞州蓼伐楚師、莫敖患之、鬬廉曰、鄖人軍其郊、必不誠、且日虞四邑之至也、君次於郊郢、以禦四邑、我以銳師宵加於鄖、鄖有虞心、而恃其城、莫有鬬志、若敗鄖師、四邑必離。莫敖曰、盍請濟師於王。對曰、師克在和、不在衆、商周之不敵、君之所聞也、成軍以出、又何濟焉。莫敖曰、卜之。對曰、卜以決疑、不疑何卜。遂敗鄖師於蒲騷、卒盟而

還。㈢鄭昭公之敗北戎也、齊人將妻之、昭公辭、祭仲曰、必取之、君多內寵、子無大援、將不立、三公子皆君也。弗從。夏、鄭莊公卒。初、祭封人仲足、有寵於莊公、莊公使為卿、為公娶鄧曼、生昭公、故祭仲立之。宋雍氏女於鄭莊公曰雍姞、生厲公、雍氏宗有寵於宋莊公、故誘祭仲而執之、曰、不立突、將死。亦執厲公而求賂焉、祭仲與宋人盟、以厲公歸、而立之。秋、九月、丁亥、昭公奔衞。己亥、厲公立。

XI. 1 In the [duke's] eleventh year, in spring, in the first month, an officer of Ts'e, an officer of Wei, and an officer of Ch'ing made a covenant in Goh-ts'aou.

2 In summer, in the fifth month, on [the day] Kwei-we, Woo-sǎng, earl of Ch'ing, died.

3 In autumn, in the seventh month, there was the burial of duke Chwang of Ch'ing.

4 In the ninth month, the people of Sung seized Chae Chung of Ch'ing.

5 Tuh returned to Ch'ing.

6 Hwuh of Ch'ing fled to Wei.

7 Yëw had a meeting with the duke of Sung, the marquis of Ch'in, and the third brother of [the marquis of] Ts'ae, in Cheh.

8 The duke had a meeting with the duke of Sung in Foo-chung.

9 In winter, in the twelfth month, the duke had a meeting with the duke of Sung in K'an.

Par. 1. The position of Goh-ts'aou is not known. This meeting was, no doubt, a sequel, in some way, to the expedition of the three princes, the previous month, against Loo. Tso-she says that Ts'e, Wei, Ch'ing and Sung all united in the covenant, and Too thinks therefore that 宋 is wanting in the text. But the mention of Sung is supposed by many, and I think correctly, to be an error of Tso. But who were the covenanting parties? Sun Këoh (孫覺) early in Sung dyn.), Hoo Gan-kwoh, the K'ang-he editors, and many other critics, contend that they were the princes of the three States, who are called 人,—in condemnation. But why were they not called 人 in the par. immediately before? It is better to understand 人 here, as in many other places, of officers appointed by the princes to act for them.

[Tso-she appends here:—'K'ëuh Hëa of Ts'oo was about to make a covenant with Urh and Chin, when the people of Yun took post with their army at P'oo-saou, intending, with Suy, Këaou, Chow, and Lëaou, to attack the army of Ts'oo. The Moh-gaou [this was the name of an office in Ts'oo. The party intended is K'ëuh Hëa] was troubled about it; but Tow Leen said, 'The people of Yun, having their army in their suburbs, are sure to be off their guard; and they are daily anxious for the arrival of the forces of the other four States. Do you, Sir, take up a position at Këaou-ying to withstand the advance of those forces, and I will make an attack upon Yun at night with a nimble, ardent troop. The men of Yun are anxiously looking out, and relying on *the proximity of* their city, so that they have no mind to fight. If we defeat the army of Yun, the other four cities will abandon *their alliance with it.*" Keuh Hëa replied, "Why not ask the help of more troops from the king [i. e., the viscount of Tsoo]?" The other said, "An army conquers by its harmony, and not by its numbers. You have heard how unequally Shang and Chow were matched. We have come forth with a complete army;—what more do we want?" The Moh-gaou said, "Let us divine about it." "We divine," returned the other, "to determine in cases of doubt. Where we have no doubts, why

should we divine?" Immediately he defeated the army of Yun in P'oo-saou. The covenant [with Urh and Chin] was completed, and they returned.'

'When duke Ch'aou of Ch'ing [*i. e.*, the earl's son Hwuh, afterwards duke Ch'aou] defeated the northern Jung, the marquis of Ts'e wished to give him one of his daughters to wife. When he declined the match, Chae Chung said to him, "You must take her. Our prince has many favourites in his family. Without some great support, you will not be able to secure the succession to yourself. Your three brothers may all aspire to the earldom." Hwuh, however, did not follow the advice.']

Parr. 2, 3. The earl of Ch'ing was certainly the ruling spirit of his time, shrewd, crafty, and daring,—the hero of the first part of the Ch'un Ts'ëw. His burial should not have taken place till the 10th month. There must have been something in the circumstances of the State to cause it to be hurried. Tso-she appends to par. 2:—'Chung Tsuh had been border-ward n of Chae, and became a favourite with duke Chwang, who made him one of his chief ministers. He had got the duke married to a lady Man, one of the daughters of the House of T'ang, and the produce of the union was duke Ch'aou [the duke's son Hwuh.] It was on this account that Chae Chung secured the succession to him.'

Parr. 4—6. Chae was a place or district in Ch'ing, of which Chae Chung, as we learn from the last Chuen, had been warden; and it became equivalent to his surname, and actually the surname of his descendants. Too says that Chae was really his surname, and Chung his name; but I must believe that Chung was the designation, and Tsuh (足) the name. 宋人,—'the people of Sung;' like 蔡人, in VI. 4. A literal translation of 執 would be 'grabbed.' The reason of the seizure of Chae Chung is told by Tso-she:—'The officer Yung of Sung had married a daughter, called Yung K'eih [雍 姞; Yung was the father's clan-name; K'eih the surname] to duke Chwang of Ch'ing. She bore *a son* [*Tuh*], *who became* duke Le. The Yung clan was in favour with duke Chwang of Sung, who therefore beguiled Chae Chung, seizing him, and telling him that, unless he raised Tuh to the earldom, he should die. At the same time he seized duke Le [Tuh], and required *the promise of* bribes from him. Chae Chung made a covenant with an officer of Sung, took duke Le back with him *to Ch'ing*, and set him up.' The action of pp. 5, 6 was almost contemporaneous. As the Chuen says:—'In the 9th month, on Ting-hae, duke Ch'aou fled to Wei, and on Ke-hae [12 days after] duke Le was acknowledged in his room.' As Hwuh had been both *de jure* and *de facto* earl of Ch'ing since his father's death, the critics are much concerned to find the reason why he is mentioned here simply by his name, without his title. Kung-yang thinks the style is after the simplicity of the Yin dynasty, which called the son by his name in presence of the father; and the former earl might be considered as only just dead,—in fact, as almost still alive. Kuh-lëang thinks the name is given, as to a prince who had lost his State. Hoo Gan-kwoh thinks the name is condemnatory of him, for having refused the strong alliance which Ts'e had pressed on them. Too's explanation is more likely. The announcement of his exit, he says, was from Ch'ing, which gave his name in contempt, and the historiographers of Loo entered it as it came to them. But see on XV. 4.

Par. 7. The situation of Chëh has not been determined. Yëw was a great officer of Loo, who, acc. to Tso-she, had not received a clan-name. On 蔡 叔, Too Yu says that 叔 is the name, and Maou agrees with him. It serves, indeed, the purpose of a name; but I prefer to render the word, according to its signification, as in the translation. So, Sun Fuh (蔡 叔, 蔡侯弟也).

Parr. 8,9. Foo-chung (Kung reads 童) was in the small State of Shing (郕); and K'an was very near to Shing, belonging to Loo;—in the west of Wăn-shang (汶 上) district. At this time Loo and Sung, for some reason, became, or wanted to become, close friends. We shall find that their two princes had three meetings in the course of the next year. The affairs of Ch'ing were, no doubt, a principal topic with them.

Twelfth year.

一章 十有二年、春、正月。

二章 夏、六月、壬寅、公會杞侯莒子盟于曲池。

三章 秋、七月、丁亥、公會宋公燕人盟于穀丘。

四章 八月、壬辰、陳侯躍卒。

五章 公會宋公于虛。
六章 冬、十有一月、公會宋公于龜。
七章 丙戌、公會鄭伯盟于武父。
八章 丙戌、衞侯晉卒。
九章 十有二月、及鄭師伐宋、丁未、戰于宋。

左傳曰、十二年、夏、盟于曲池。平
杞莒也。
公欲平宋鄭、秋、公及宋公盟于
句瀆之丘。宋成未可知也、故又
會于虛。冬、又會于龜。宋公辭平、
故與鄭伯盟于武父、遂帥師而
伐宋、戰焉、宋無信也。君子曰、苟
信不繼、盟無益也、詩云、君子屢
盟、亂是用長、無信也。
㈡楚伐絞、軍其南門、莫敖屈瑕
曰、絞小而輕、輕則寡謀、請無扞
采樵者以誘之。從之。絞人獲三
十人、明日、絞人爭出、驅楚役徒
於山中、楚人坐其北門、而覆諸
山下、大敗之、爲城下之盟而還。
伐絞之役、楚師分涉於彭、羅人
欲伐之、使伯嘉諜之、三巡數之。

XII. 1 It was the [duke's] twelfth year, the spring, the first month.

2 In summer, in the sixth month, on Jin-yin, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Ke and the viscount of Keu, when they made a covenant at K'ëuh-ch'e.

3 In autumn, in the seventh month, on Ting-hae, the duke had a meeting with the duke of Sung, and an officer of Yen, when they made a covenant at Kuh-k'ëw.

4 In the eighth month, on Jin-shin, Yoh, marquis of Ch'in, died.

5 The duke had a meeting with the duke of Sung in Heu.

6 In winter, in the eleventh month, the duke had a meeting with the duke of Sung in Kwei.

7 On Ping-seuh, the duke had a meeting with the earl of Ch'ing, when they made a covenant at Woo-foo.

8 On Ping-seuh, Tsin, marquis of Wei, died.

9 In the twelfth month, [our army] and the army of Ch'ing invaded Sung; and on Ting-we a battle was fought in Sung.

Par. 1. See on I.vi.3.

Par. 2. For Ke 杞 we have 紀 in Kung and Kuh. For 曲池 Kung has 毆蛇. K'ëuh-ch'e was in Loo;—40 *le* to the north-east of pres. dis. city of K'ëuh-fow. We might translate the characters—'the pool of K'ëuh.' There is or was such a pool, having its source in Shih-mûn (石門) hill.

Tso-she says the object of this meeting was 'to reconcile Ke and Keu,' which had been at feud since Keu invaded Ke in the 4th year of duke Yin.

Par. 3. Kuh-k'ëw was in Sung;—30 *le* north from the dep. city of Ts'aou-chow. Tso-she says:—'The duke, wishing to reconcile Sung and Ch'ing, had a meeting in the autumn with the duke of Sung, at the height of Kow-tow (句瀆之丘).' This is another name for Kuh-k'ëw. Yen here is the 'southern' Yen, a small earldom, whose lords had the surname K'eih (姞), and professed to be descended from Hwang-te. It was in the pres. dis. of Keih (汲), dep. Wei-hwuy, Ho-nan. Sung had required very great promises from Tuh, as the price of establishing him in Ch'ing; and the non-fulfilment of them created great animosity between the two States. Loo, at Ch'ing's solicitation, tried to act as mediator; but without success. But if this meeting were, as Tso-she says, held simply on account of the differences between Sung and Ch'ing, we cannot account for the presence of an officer of Yen, whose weight in the scale, on one side or the other, would hardly be appreciable. Woo Ch'ing (吳澄; the great Yuen commentator) thinks therefore, that the meeting was called for another purpose in which Yen had an interest, and that Loo took the opportunity to touch on Ch'ing matters. The 'History of the Different States' gives quite another turn to the par., and makes 燕人, to be the earl of the 'northern Yen,' who happened to arrive at Kuh-k'ëw, while the meeting was being held, on his way to the court of Sung.

Par. 4. This marquis was canonized as duke Le (厲公). His burial is not recorded, because Loo did not attend it. See on I.iii.7. Ho Hëw foolishly supposes that this marquis was the son of T'o, and therefore his burial is not entered,—'in condemnation of T'o.' Too Yu observes that the day Jin-shin was the 23d of the 7th month; and explains the error of entering the death under the 8th month as having arisen from the historiographers of Loo, simply taking down the date as it was given them erroneously, so far as the month was concerned, in the message from Ch'in (從赴).

Parr. 5, 6. Tso-she says:—'Uncertain whether Sung would be reconciled to Ch'ing or not, Loo persevered in its endeavours; and the duke had the meetings in these two paragraphs.' Heu and Kwei were both in Sung; but their positions are not well determined.

Par. 7. Sung had now positively declined to be reconciled, and Loo takes decidedly the side of Ch'ing. Woo-foo was in Ch'ing,—in the south-west of pres. dis. of Tung-ming (東明), dep. Ta-ming, Chih-le.

Par. 8. This is the only instance in the Ch'un Ts'ëw, in which, when entries of two or more different things that occurred on the same day are made, the name of the day is given with each of them.

Par. 9. This is the sequel of par. 7. The text, however, is not so precise as usual. We want a subject before 及, which should be 'the duke' or 我師, as I have given it. Then the clause at the end is quite indefinite, so that Kung and Kuh both say that Loo and Ch'ing quarrelled, and fought between themselves,—whereas we find them fighting on the same side in the 2d par. of next year. Tso-she, after mentioning the meeting of Loo and Ch'ing at Woo-foo, adds:—'Immediately after, they led their forces and invaded Sung, with which they fought a battle,—to punish it for its want of good faith. A superior man will say, "If there be not the appendage of good faith, covenants are of no use. It is said in the Poems (II.v.IV.3),

'The king is continually insisting on covenants,
And the disorder is thereby increased;'—

which was from the want of good faith.'

[The Chuen adds here:—'Ts'oo invaded Këaou, and attacked the south gate of the city. The Moh-gaou, K'ëuh-hëa, said, "Këaou being small will be lightly moved. Lightly moved, its plans will be with little thought. Let us leave our wood-gatherers unprotected and so entrap it.' His advice was followed, and the people of Këaou caught 30 men. Next day they struggled to get out to pursue the service-men of Ts'oo upon the hill. The army took post at the north gate, and an ambuscade had been placed at the foot of the hill. Këaou received a great defeat. Ts'oo imposed a covenant beneath the wall, and withdrew. In this invasion of Këaou, the army of Ts'oo waded through the P'ăng in separate divisions. The people of Lo wished to attack them, and sent Pih-këa to act as a spy. He went thrice round the troops, and counted them.']

Thirteenth year.

一章 十有三年、春、二月、公會紀侯鄭伯、己巳、及齊侯宋公、衛侯燕人戰。齊師、宋師、衛師、燕師敗績。

二章 三月、葬衛宣公。

三章 夏、大水。

四章 秋、七月。

五章 冬十月。

㊀左傳曰、十三年、春、楚屈瑕伐羅、鬬伯比送之、還、謂其御曰、莫敖必敗、舉趾高、心不固矣。遂見楚子、曰、必濟師。楚子辭焉、入告夫人鄧曼、鄧曼曰、大夫其非衆之謂、其謂君撫小民以信、訓諸司以德、而威莫敖以刑也、莫敖狃於蒲騷之役、將自用也、必小羅、君若不鎮撫、其不設備乎、夫固謂君訓衆而好鎮撫之、召諸司而勸之以令德、見莫敖而告諸天之不假易也、不然、夫豈不知楚師之盡行也。楚子使賴人追之、不及。莫敖使徇於師曰、諫者有刑。及鄢、亂次以濟、遂無次、且不設備、及羅、羅與盧戎兩軍之、大敗之。莫敖縊於荒谷、羣帥囚於冶父、以聽刑、楚子曰、孤之罪也、皆免之。宋多責賂於鄭、鄭不堪命、故以紀魯及齊與宋衛燕戰。不書所戰、後也。

㊁鄭人來請脩好。

XIII. 1 In his thirteenth year, in spring, in the second month, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Ke and the earl of Ch'ing; and on Ke-sze they fought with the marquis of Ts'e, the duke of Sung, the marquis of Wei, and an officer of Yen, when the armies of Ts'e, Sung, Wei, and Yen received a severe defeat.

2 In the third month there was the burial of duke Seuen of Wei.

3 In summer there were great floods.

4 It was autumn, the seventh month.

5 It was winter, the tenth month.

[Tso-she gives the following narrative as prior to the fight in par. 1:—'In spring, K'ëuh Hëa of Ts'oo proceeded to invade Lo, and was escorted *part of the way* by Tow Pih-pe. As Pih-pe was returning, he said to his charioteer, "The Mok-gaou will certainly be defeated. He walks high on his tiptoes;—his mind is not firm." Immediately after, he had an interview with the viscount of Ts'oo, and begged him to send more troops. The viscount refused, and when he had gone into his palace told his wife, a Man of T'ăng [see on VII.3] about the matter.

"Your great officer's words," said she, "were not *merely* for the sake of sending more troops; his meaning was that you should comfort the inferior people by *your* good faith, instruct all the officers by *your* virtue, and awe the Moh-gaou by *the fear of* punishment. The Moh-gaou, accustomed *to success* by the action of P'oo-saou [see the Chuen appended to XI. 1; but perhaps for P'oo-saou we should read Këaou] will presume on his own ability, and is sure to make too little of Lo. If you do not control him and comfort *the army*, the Moh-gaou will not make the necessary preparations. Pih-pe's meaning certainly is that you, my Lord, should instruct all the people, by good *words* controlling him and comforting them; that you should call the officers and stimulate them on the subject of excellent virtue; that you should see the Moh-gaou, and tell him how Heaven does not make use of hasty, supercilious men. If this were not his meaning, *he would not speak as he has done;*—does he not know that all the army of Ts'oo has gone *on the expedition?*" The viscount *on this* sent a Man of Lae after *K'ëuh Hëa*, but he could not overtake him. *Meanwhile* the Moh-gaou had sent an order round the army that whosoever remonstrated with him should be punished. When they got to the *river* Yen, the troops got disordered in crossing it. After that, they observed no order, and the general made no preparations. When they got to Lo, its army and one of the Loo Jung [see the Shoo, V. ii.4.] attacked them, and inflicted a grand defeat. The Moh-gaou strangled himself in the valley of Hwang, and all the principal officers *of the expedition* rendered themselves as prisoners at Yay-foo to await their punishment. But the viscount of Ts'oo said, "The fault was mine," and forgave them all.']

Par. 1. The three Chuen all differ as to the parties in whose interest this battle was fought. Kung-yang thinks they were Loo and Sung; Kuh-lëang, Ke and Ts'e; and Tso-she, Sung and Ch'ing. The K'ang-he editors prefer the view of Kuh-lëang, referring to the arguings of Chaou K'wang (趙匡; of the T'ang dyn.), Hoo Gan-kwoh, Sun Këoh, and Woo Ch'ing in its favour; and place the scene of the battle in Ke (紀). Something may be said in favour of each view, but a fourth one, advocated by Maou Ke-ling, is to my mind still more likely. He sees in the battle Loo's return to Ts'e and Wei for their attack in the duke's 10th year. Then Ch'ing was associated with them under Hwuh, but Hwan had managed to make Ch'ing under Tuh confederate with him to punish the other two States. The battle he thinks was fought in Sung, like the one in the preceding par., which seems to account for the place not being mentioned in the text. Tso-she's account is:—"Sung kept constantly requiring the payment of the bribes *promised* by the earl of Ch'ing. Ch'ing could not endure its demands, and with the help of Ke and Loo fought with Ts'e, Sung, Wei, and Yen. The name of the place of the battle is not in the text, because *the duke* was too late *to take part in it.*' The last observation is sufficiently absurd. The marquis of Wei is mentioned, the son, that is, of Tsin, whose death is mentioned in the 8th par. of last year. As the father was not yet buried, the son ought not, it is said, according to rule, to be mentioned by his title. But would that rule hold, when a new year came between the death and burial of the former prince? Then the son would publicly 'come to the vacant place,' and a new rule be inaugurated. 敗績 means a great defeat.' Tso-she says, under the 11th year of duke Chwang that 大崩曰敗績, 'the phrase indicates a ruin like the fall of a great mountain.' 績=功績, 'merit.' The defeat involved the loss of merit and character.

Par. 8. See on I. 5. Wang Paou (王葆; Sung dyn., about contemporary with Hoo Gan-kwoh) says:—'Nine times is the calamity of floods recorded in the Ch'un Ts'ëw: twice in the time of Hwan, and thrice in the time of Chwang. Of the nine calamities five of them occurred in the days of the father and his son. May we conclude that they were in retribution to the father for his wickedness accumulated and unrepented of, and to the son for allowing his father's wrong to go unavenged?' So speculate Chinese scholars.

Fourteenth year.

一章 十有四年、春、正月、公會鄭伯于曹。

二章 無冰。

三章 夏、五　鄭伯使其弟語來盟。

四章 秋、八月、壬申、御廩災。

五章 乙亥、嘗。

六章 冬、十有二月、丁

巳、齊侯祿父卒。(七章)宋人以齊人、蔡人、衞人、陳人伐鄭。

左傳曰、十四年、春、會於曹。曹人致餼、禮也。夏、鄭子人來、尋盟、且脩曹之會。秋、八月、壬申、御廩災、乙亥、嘗。書不害也。冬、宋人以諸侯伐鄭、報宋之戰也。焚渠門、入及大逵、伐東郊、取牛首、以大宮之椽、歸爲盧門之椽。

XIV. 1 In his fourteenth year, in spring, in the first month, the duke had a meeting with the earl of Ch'ing in Ts'aou.

2 There was no ice.

3 In summer, in the 5th [month],——the earl of Ch'ing sent his younger brother Yu to Loo to make a covenant.

4 In autumn, in the eighth month, on Jin-shin, the granary of the ancestral temple was struck with lightning.

5 On Yih-hae we offered the autumnal sacrifice.

6 In winter, in the twelfth month, on Ting-sze, Luh-foo, marquis of Ts'e, died.

7 An officer of Sung, with an officer of Ts'e, an officer of Ts'ae, an officer of Wei, and an officer of Ch'in, invaded Ch'ing.

Par. 1. Since the meeting of the duke and earl at Woo-foo in the 12th year, Loo and Ch'ing had been fast allies, and this meeting was, no doubt, to cement the bond between them. Too says that, as they met in Ts'aou, the earl of Ts'aou was also a party at the meeting. Tso-she adds that the people of Ts'aou supplied, cattle and other fresh provisions;—'which was proper.'

Par. 2. The 1st month of Chow was the 11th of Hëa, the 2d month of winter, when there ought to have been ice.

Par. 3. After 五 there is wanting the character 月, 'month;' and perhaps other characters as well. Or it may be, as some critics think, that 五 is an interpolation.

Instead of 語, Kuh-lëang has 禦. Tso-she says:—'*The son of duke Chwang* of Ch'ing, Tsze-jin [子人; this was the designation of Yu, and afterwards became a clan-name] came to renew the covenant [尋盟], and to confirm the meeting in Ts'aou.' I suppose this meeting had then been agreed on. Kuh-lëang lays down a law, that where the day of a covenant is not given, it intimates that the covenant had formerly been arranged for. The law is arbitrary; but the fact in this case was, probably, as it would assume.

Par. 4. Woo Ch'ing says:—'When the prince is in his chariot, he is in immediate proximity to his charioteer. (與御者最相親近). Therefore the charioteer 御 is used of the men whom the prince approaches nearest, and also of the things which the prince himself uses. The 御 granary was that in which the rice which was produced from the field cultivated by the prince himself was stored, used to supply the grain for the vessels of the ancestral temple, and which it was not presumed to apply to any other use.' This is an attempt to explain the use of 御 here; and it is strange the dictionary takes no notice of the term in this passage. The phrase might be rendered by 'the duke's own granary,' as well as by those I have employed in the translation. 災 = 'met with calamity;' but acc. to Tso-she, in the Ch'un Ts'ëw the term is used specially of 'calamity by fire from Heaven (天火曰災).'

Par. 5. The *Chang* was a regularly recurring sacrifice, and as ordinary and regular things are not entered in the Ch'un Ts'ëw, the critics are greatly concerned to account for this entry. A sufficient reason seems to be supplied in the date. The *Chang* was due on the 8th month of Hëa, and it was now only the 8th month of Chow, = the 6th month of Hea. But the grain for it would have to be supplied from the granary which had been burned; and by the mention of the sacrifice immediately after that event, the text seems to intimate some connection between the two things. Tso-she simply

says that the proximity of the texts shows that 'no harm was done' by the lightning; *i. e.*, observes Too, 'the fire was extinguished before it reached the grain.' But, contends Kuh-lëang, to use the miserable remains of the grain scathed by the lightning was very disrespectful; and not to divine again for another day on which to offer the Shang, after such an ominous disaster, Hoo Gan-kwŏ shows, was more disrespectful still! To a western reader all this seems 'much ado about nothing.'

Par. 7. Too Yu gives here, from another part of the Chuen, a useful canon about the use of 以 in the text and similar paragraphs:—'When armies can be ordered to the right or the left, 以 is used.' The character simply = 用, 'used.' In this case the troops of Ts'e and other States were at the disposal of Sung. Once in the She—IV. i. [iii.] V.—we find the same usage of 以. The invasion of Ch'ing was in reprisal for the events in par. 1 of last year, and XII. 8. The Chuen says:—'In winter, an officer of Sung, aided *by armies* from several princes, invaded Ch'ing, to avenge the battle [or battles] in Sung. The allies burned the K'eu gate *of its outer wall* and penetrated to the great road. Then they attacked the eastern suburbs; took Nëw-show; and carried off the beams of *Ch'ing's* ancestral temple to supply those of the Loo gate of Sung [carried off the year before].'

Fifteenth year.

一章 十有五年、春、二月、天王使家父來求車。

二章 三月、乙未、天王崩。

三章 夏、四月、己巳、葬齊僖公。

四章 五月、鄭伯突出奔蔡。

五章 鄭世子忽復歸于鄭。

六章 許叔入于許。

七章 公會齊侯于艾。

八章 邾人、牟人、葛人來朝。

九章 秋、九月、鄭伯突入于櫟。

十章 冬、十有一月、公會宋公、衞侯、陳侯、于袲、伐鄭。

左傳曰、十五年、春、天王使家父來
求車。非禮也。諸侯不貢車服、天子
不私求財。
祭仲專、鄭伯患之、使其壻雍糾殺
之、將享諸郊、雍姬知之、謂其母曰、
父與夫孰親。其母曰、人盡夫也、父
一而已、胡可比也。遂告祭仲曰、雍
氏舍其室、而將享子於郊、吾惑之、
以告。祭仲殺雍糾、尸諸周氏之汪。
公載以出、曰、謀及婦人、宜其死也。
夏、厲公出奔蔡。
六月、乙亥、昭公入。
許叔入於許。
公會齊侯於艾。謀定許也。
秋、鄭伯因櫟人殺檀伯、而遂居櫟。
冬會於衺。謀伐鄭、將納厲公也、弗
克而還。

XV. 1 In the [duke's] fifteenth year, in spring, in the second month, the king [by] Heaven's [grace] sent Këa Foo to Loo to ask for carriages.

2 In the third month, on Yih-we, the king [by] Heaven's [grace] died.

3 In summer, in the fourth month, on Ke-sze, there was the burial of duke He of Ts'e.

4 In the fifth month, Tuh, earl of Ch'ing, fled to Ts'ae.

5 Hwuh, heir-son of Ch'ing, returned to his dignity in Ch'ing.

6 The third brother of [the baron of] Heu entered into Heu.

7 The duke had a meeting with the marquis of Ts'e in Gae.

8 An officer of Choo, an officer of Mow, and an officer of Koh came to [our] court.

9 In autumn, in the ninth month, Tuh, earl of Ch'ing, entered into Leih.

10 In winter, in the eleventh month, the duke joined the duke of Sung, the marquis of Wei, and the marquis of Ch'in, at Ch'e, and they invaded Ch'ing.

Par. 1. 家父,—see VIII. 2. On the whole par., see on I. iii. 5. Tso-she says here:—"This mission was contrary to propriety. It did not belong to the princes to contribute carriages or dresses to the king; and it was not for the son of Heaven privately to ask for money or valuables.'

Par. 2. See on I. iii. 2.

Par. 4. The Chuen relates:—'Chae Chung monopolized the government of Ch'ing, to the great trouble of the earl, who employed Chung's son-in-law, Yung Këw [this Yung Këw had come to Ch'ing with Tuh from Sung, and married a daughter of Chae Chung] to kill him. Këw proposed *doing so* at a feast which he was to give Chung in the suburbs, but Yung Ke [Këw's wife, and Chung's daughter] became aware of the design, and said to her mother, "Whether is a father or a husband the nearer and dearer?" The mother said, "Any man may be husband to a woman, but she can have but one father. How can there be any comparison between them?" She then told Chae Chung, saying, "Yung is leaving his house, and intends to feast you in the suburbs *and there kill you;* I got him to tell me by guile." On this Chae Chung killed Yung Këw, and threw away his body by the pool of the Chow family. The earl took it with him in his carriage, and left the State, saying, "It was right he should die, who communicated his plans to his wife!" *Thus* in summer duke Le quitted Ch'ing, and fled to Ts'ae.' Here Tuh has his title given him, which, we saw, was withheld from Hwuh in XI. 6. Some of the reasons assigned by the

critics for that withholding were then adduced. but another may here be suggested. Under Hwuh, Loo and Ch'ing were and continued after this to be enemies. Under Tuh, they were friends. These different conditions betray themselves in the historiographers, and Confucius did not care to alter their style in XI. 6. In this par. it should seem that there ought to be some mention of Chae Chung's expelling his prince; but the characters 出奔 'went out and fled,' imply an impelling violence behind.

Par. 5. The feeling of Loo against Hwuh appears here also in his being only called 世子 or 'heir-son.' Tso says:—'In the 6th month, on Yih-hae, duke Ch'aou entered.' The phrase 復歸, however, implies his recovery of former dignity. In a Chuen on duke Ch'ing, XVIII. 5, Tso has—復其位曰復歸, 'restoration to one's dignity is expressed by 復歸.'

Par. 6. See the long Chuen on the affairs of Heu on I. xi. 3. The Heu Shuh here is the young brother of the baron who had fled before Ch'ing and its allies, and whom the earl had placed in the eastern borders of the State, as if with some prevision of what now occurred. After sixteen years, the young man recovered the possession of his fathers. 入 here has not the hostile meaning which it generally bears, though the K'ang-he editors think such a term is used to convey some blame of Heu Shuh, for taking possession of the seat of his fathers without announcing his purpose to the king, and getting his sanction to his undertaking. But of what use could such a proceeding have been? The king was hardly able to sustain himself. The 于 after 入 seems to distinguish this use of 入 from the cases in which it is followed directly by its object.

Par. 7. Tso-she says the object of this meeting was 'to consult about the settlement of Heu;' but the critics doubt this view as nothing is found in the Ch'un Ts'ëw or elsewhere to confirm it. See I. vi. 2. For 艾 Kung has 鄗, and Kuh 蒿.

Par. 8. Choo, Mow, and Koh were all small States, though the lords of Choo came to be called viscount and marquis, and the chief of Koh was an earl, with the surname Ying (嬴). It was in pres. dis. of Ning-ling (寧陵), dep. Kwei-tih. Mow was merely an 'attached' State, in pres. dis. of Lae-woo (萊蕪), dep. T'ae-gan. Too Yu thinks the three visitors were all the heir-sons of the three small States; the chiefs of which, as being merely 'attached,' would be entered by their names, and their sons, therefore, would simply be called 'men,' and not named; but this is mere conjecture. We may adhere here to the translation of 人 by 'officer.'

Par. 9. Leih was a strong city of Ch'ing, in pres. Yu Chow, dep. K'ae-fung. Tso-she says:—'In autumn, [Tuh], the earl of Ch'ing, procured the death of T'an Pih [the commandant of Leih] by some of the people of Leih, and immediately took up his residence in it.' The meaning of 入 here is intermediate between its purely hostile significance, and that in par. 6. Kung-yang supposes that this occupation of Leih was equivalent to the recovery by Tuh of Ch'ing, led away probably by the 'earl of Ch'ing,' in which we again see the favour which Loo bore to Tuh.

Par. 10. Ch'e was in Sung;—in Suh Chow (宿州), dep. Fung-yang, Gan-hwuy, Tso-she says the movement was to restore duke Le; and that it was unsuccessful, and the invaders returned. Kung-yang has 齊侯 after 會, and 侈 for 袲. Sung was induced to join the undertaking, probably by assurances from Tuh that, if he were once again re-established in Ch'ing, he would fulfil the promises he had formerly made.

Sixteenth year.

一章 十有六年、春、正月、公會宋公、蔡侯、衛侯于曹。

二章 夏、四月、公會宋公、衛侯、陳侯、蔡侯、伐鄭。

三章 秋、七月、公至自伐鄭。

四章 冬、城向。

五章 十有一月、衛侯朔出奔齊。

左傳曰、十六年、春正月、會於曹。謀伐鄭也。夏、伐鄭。秋七月、公至自伐鄭。以飲至之禮也。冬、城向、書時也。初、衞宣公烝於夷姜、生急子、屬諸右公子、爲之娶於齊而美、公取之、生壽及朔、屬壽於左公子、夷姜縊、宣姜與公子朔構急子、公使諸齊、使盜待諸莘、將殺之、壽子告之、使行、不可、曰棄父之命、惡用子矣、有無父之國則可也、及行、飲以酒、壽子載其旌以先、盜殺之、急子至、曰我之求也、此何罪、請殺我乎、又殺之、二公子故怨惠公、十一月、左公子洩、右公子職、立公子黔牟、惠公奔齊。

XVI. 1 In his sixteenth year, in spring, in the first month, the duke had a meeting with the duke of Sung, the marquis of Ts'ae, and the marquis of Wei, in Ts'aou.

2 In summer, in the fourth month, the duke joined the duke of Sung, the marquis of Wei, the marquis of Ch'in, and the marquis of Ts'ae, in invading Ch'ing.

3 In autumn, in the seventh month, the duke arrived from the invasion of Ch'ing.

4 In winter, we walled Hëang.

5 In the eleventh month, Soh, marquis of Wei, fled to Ts'e.

Par. 1. The expedition by Loo, Sung, Wei and Ch'in against Ch'ing in the 11th month of the last year had been unsuccessful. The princes of Loo, Sung, and Wei now meet and arrange for another; and they have Ts'ae also to join their confederacy. Tso-she says:—'The object of the meeting was to plan about invading Ch'ing (謀伐鄭也).'

Par. 2. This is the sequel of the last par.; and Ch'in re-appears in the expedition. In accounts of conferences and expeditions, Ts'ae is always placed before Wei, as in par. 1, while here it is last in order. This makes Too say that at this time the marquis of Ts'ae was 'the last to arrive (後至).' Ying-tah, however, quotes from Pan Koo (historian of the 1st Han), to the effect that, from Yin to the 14th year of duke Chwang,—a period of 43 years,—there was no regular order of precedence among the princes, as no really leading one among them (霸主) had yet arisen.'

Par. 3. See on II. 9.

Par. 4. It is mentioned before, I. ii. 2, that 'Keu entered Hëang;' and in VII. iv. 1, we read that duke Seuen attacked Keu and took Hëang. But here we find duke Hwan fortifying Hëang. This can hardly have been the same place, but another, properly belonging to Loo. Too Yu says nothing here on this point, nor does any other of the critics, so far as I have observed. Tso-she observes that this undertaking was recorded because it was 'at the proper time.' But the time for such undertakings was not yet come, according to the natural reading of the par., which simply says the thing was done in winter; and as the next par. begins with the specification of the 11th month, we conclude that Hëang was walled in the 10th;—which was only the 8th month of the Hëa year. To justify Tso-she's observation, therefore, Too contends that though no month is mentioned here, we must understand the 11th month; and he says also that the sixth month of this year was intercalary, which of course would carry the 11th month of Chow forward to the term for for such an undertaking. All this, however, is very uncertain.

Par. 5. Tso-she has here a melancholy narrative:—'*Long* before this, duke Seuen of Wei had committed incest with E-keang [a concubine of his father;—comp. 1. Cor. v. 1], the produce of which was Keih-tsze, the charge of whom he entrusted to Chih, his father's son by the occupant of the right of the harem. *In course of time*, he made an engagement for Keih-tsze with one of the princesses of Ts'e, but took her to himself in consequence of her beauty. She gave birth to *two sons*, Show and Soh, the former of whom he gave in charge to his father's son by the occupant of the left of the harem. E Këang strangled herself; and Seuen Këang [the lady of Ts'e, who should have been Keih-tsze's wife] and Soh plotted against Keih-tsze, till the duke sent him on a mission to Ts'e, employing ruffians to wait for him at Sin, and put him to death. Show told Keih-tsze of the scheme, and

urged him to go *to some other State;* but he refused, saying, "If I disobey my father's command, how can I use the name of son? If there were any State without fathers, I might go there." As he was about to set out, *Show* made him drunk, took his flag, and went on before him. The ruffians [thinking him to be Keih-tsze] killed him, and then came Keih-tsze, crying out, "It was I whom ye sought? What crime had he? Please kill me." The ruffians killed him also. On this account, the two brothers of Seuen [who had received charge of Keih-tsze and Show] cherished resentment against duke Hwuy [Soh], and raised K'ëen-mow to the marquisate, when Hwuy fled to Ts'e.' See the She, I. iii. XIX.

Seventeenth year.

一章 十有七年、春、正月、丙辰、公會齊侯、紀侯、盟于黃。

二章 二月、丙午、公會邾儀父、盟于趡。

三章 夏、五月、丙午、及齊師戰于奚。

四章 六月、丁丑、蔡侯封人卒。

五章 秋、八月、蔡季自陳歸于蔡。

六章 癸巳、葬蔡桓侯。

七章 及宋人、衞人、伐邾。

八章 冬、十月、朔、日有食之。

左傳曰、十七年、春、盟於黃。平齊紀、且謀衞故也。及邾儀父盟于趡。尋蔑之盟也。夏、及齊師戰于奚。疆事也。於是齊人侵魯疆、疆吏來告、公曰、疆場之事、慎守其一、而備其不虞、姑盡所備焉、事至而戰、又何謁焉。蔡桓侯卒。蔡人召蔡季於陳。秋、蔡季自陳歸於蔡。蔡人嘉之也。伐邾。宋志也。冬、十月朔、日有食之。不書日、官失之也。天子有日官、諸侯有日御、日官居卿以底日、禮也。日御不失日、以授百官於朝。㈠初、鄭伯將以高渠彌爲卿、昭公惡之、固諫不聽、昭公立、懼其殺己

也、辛卯、弑昭公而立公子亹。君子謂昭公知所惡矣。公子達曰、高伯其爲戮乎、復惡已甚矣。

XVII. 1 In his seventeenth year, in spring, in the first month, on Ping-shin, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Ts'e and the marquis of Ke, when they made a covenant in Hwang.

2 In the second month, on Ping-woo, the duke had a meeting with E-foo of Choo, when they made a covenant in Ts'uy.

3 In summer, in the fifth month, on Ping-woo, we fought with the army of Ts'e at He.

4 In the sixth month, on Ting-ch'ow, Fung-jin, marquis of Ts'ae, died.

5 In autumn, in the eighth month, the fourth brother of [the marquis of] of Ts'ae returned from Ch'in to Ts'ae.

6 On Kwei-sze there was the burial of the marquis Hwan of Ts'ae.

7 Along with an army of Sung and an army of Wei, [we] invaded Choo.

8 In winter, in the tenth month, the first day of the moon, the sun was eclipsed.

Par. 1. Hwang, acc. to Too, was in Ts'e. Some find it in the pres. dis. of Hwang, dep. Tăng-chow; but that would seem to be too distant from Loo, though convenient enough for Ts'e and Ke. Tso-she says that the object of the meeting was to reconcile Ts'e and Ke, and to consult about the affairs of Wei. We may suppose that Ke was now in more danger from Ts'e, since the death of the king, and the consequent loss of his influence in favour of his son-in-law.

Par. 2. Ts'uy was in Loo, somewhere in the borders of the pres. diss. of Sze-shwuy and Tsow. Tso says the object of the meeting was to renew the covenant at Mëeh;—see I. i. 2. Too observes that Ping-woo was not in the 2d month, but was the 4th day of the 3d month. It is plain that there could be no Ping-woo in the 2d month, as we have the same day, in the next par. recurring in the 5th month. Kung has 及 instead of 會.

Par. 3. Kung-yang has here no 夏, and Kuh-lëang, instead of 奚, has 郎. He was in Loo;—in pres. dis. of T'ăng, dept. Yen-chow. Tso says:—'This fight was in consequence of some border dispute. When it arose, the people of Ts'e made a stealthy inroad on the borders of Loo, the officers of which came and told the duke, who said, "On the borders it is for you carefully to guard your own particular charge, and to be prepared for anything unexpected. In the meantime look thoroughly to your preparations; and when the thing comes, fight. What need you come to see me for?"

The covenant of the 1st month had proved of little use.

Par. 5. 季 has the meaning in the translation, and was also and naturally the designation of the individual. On par. 4 Tso says that, on the death of the marquis [who had no son], the people of Ts'ae called his younger brother from Ch'in; and here he observes that the entry here [the designation being given, and not the name] shows how highly the people of Ts'ae thought of him. I think the character 歸 intimates that Ke was raised to be marquis of Ts'ae; and this was the opinion of Too Yu, who identifies him with Hëen-woo, who, we shall see hereafter, was carried off prisoner by Ts'oo.

I am surprised that the K'ang-he editors doubt this identification, and follow the opinion of Ho Hëw, the editor of Kung-yang, who says that Ke refused to accept the marquisate, which was then given to Hëen-woo. Kuh-lëang says strangely that Ke was a nobleman of Ts'ae, raised by the support of Ch'in to be marquis. Yet even he does not doubt the elevation of Ke.

Par. 6. In all other cases, where the burial of a prince is recorded, the title of duke follows the honorary or sacrificial epithet. Here we have a solitary instance, where the title of rank, borne during the life-time, is preserved. This has given rise to much speculation. It seems the simplest solution of the difficulty to suppose an error in the text of 侯 for 公.

Par. 7. Loo had covenanted with Choo in the 2d month, and, the year before, Choo had sent its salutations to the court of Loo; and yet here we find Loo joined with Sung and Wei in an invasion of Choo. Tso-she says that Loo was following the lead of Sung, which, acc. to Too, was quarrelling with Choo about their borders.

Par. 8. This eclipse took place, Oct. 3d, B. C. 694, and on Kăng-woo, the 7th day of the cycle. The day of the cycle is not given in the text, because, acc. to Tso-she, 'the officers had lost it.' He adds, 'The son of Heaven had his "officer of the days (日官)," and the princes their "superintendent of the days (日御)." The officer of the days had the rank of a high minister, and it was his business to regulate the days of the year. The superintendents of the days were *required not to* lose the days [which they had received from the king's officer], but to deliver them to the difft. officers in their princes' courts.' It may have been so that the number of the day was thus lost; but it is simpler to suppose that the historiographers on this occasion omitted it. This is the view taken by many critics; —as Chaou K'wang (趙匡; T'ang dyn.), Ch'in Foo-lëang (陳傅良; 12th cent.), and Chan Joh-shwuy (湛若水; Ming dyn.). The K'ang-he editors observe, that, during the Han dynasty and previously, astronomers could only determine the first day of the moon, approximately, in an average way (平朔), from the average motion of the sun and moon, but that from the time of Lëw Hung, (劉洪; the After Han dyn.), and through his labours, it became possible to determine exactly the time of new moon (定朔), by adding to or subtracting from the average time, as might be necessary. Still, this want of exactitude in these times could not affect the day of the cycle on which a phænonenon like an eclipse was to be recorded.

[The Chuen appends here:—'Years back, when the earl of Ch'ing [Woo-shang, duke Chwang, *the* earl] had wished to make Kaou K'eu-me one of his high ministers, duke Ch'aou [then the earl's son Hwuh], who disliked Kaou, had remonstrated strongly against such a measure. The earl did not listen to him; but when duke Ch'aou succeeded to the State, Kaou was afraid lest he should put him to death. On the day Sin-maou, therefore, he *took the initiative*, and killed duke Ch'aou, raising up his brother We in his room. A superior man will say that the prince knew the man whom he disliked. Kung-tsze Tah said, "Kaou Pih [Kaou K'eu-me] indeed deserved an evil end! His revenge of an ill done to him was excessive."']

Eighteenth year.

一章 十有八年、春、王正月、公會齊侯于濼、公與夫人姜氏遂如齊。

二章 夏、四月、丙子、公薨于齊、丁酉、公之喪至自齊。

三章 秋、七月、

四章 冬、十有二月、己丑、葬我君桓公。

左傳曰。十八年、春、公將有行、遂與姜氏如齊。申繻曰、女有家、男有室、無相瀆也、謂之有禮。易此必敗。公會齊侯于濼。遂及文姜如齊。齊侯通焉、公謫之、以告。夏、四月、丙子、享公、使公子彭生乘公、公薨於車。魯人告於齊、曰、寡君畏君之威、不敢寧居、來修舊好、禮成而不反、無所歸咎、惡於諸侯、請以彭生除之。齊人殺彭生。

㈢秋、齊侯師于首止、子亹會之、高渠彌相。七月、戊戌、齊人殺子亹、而轘高渠彌、祭仲逆鄭子於陳而立之。是行也、祭仲知之、故稱疾

不往。人曰、祭仲以知免、仲曰、信也。

㈠周公欲弑莊王、而立王子克。辛伯告王、遂與王殺周公黑肩、王子克奔燕。初子儀有寵於桓王、桓王屬諸周公、辛伯諫曰、並后、匹嫡、兩政、耦國、亂之本也。周公弗從、故及。

XVIII. 1 In his eighteenth year, in spring, in the king's first month, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Ts'e, near the Luh, after which the duke and his wife, the lady Këang, went to Ts'e.

2 In summer, in the fourth month, on Ping-tsze, the duke died in Ts'e; and on Ting-yew, his coffin arrived from Ts'e.

3 It was autumn, the seventh month.

4 In winter, in the twelfth month, on Ke-ch'ow, we buried our ruler, duke Hwan.

Par. 1. Once more, at the commencement of duke Hwan's last year, the character 王 re-appears, and the fancies to which its re-appearance has given rise are numerous and ridiculous. It would be as fruitless to detail as to discuss them. We must read the two entries about the meeting on the Luh, and the going to Ts'e, in one par. because of the 遂, which, as a 繼事之詞, or 'a word connecting events,' links them together. The character 與 in the second part does not occur in Kung-yang; and Twan Yuh-tsae, in his 'Old Text of Tso-she's Ch'un Ts'ëw' omits it, contending that Kuh-lëang also did not have it. It is, however, in all the editions of Kuh that I have seen. Twan says that it is 'a vulgar addition' to Tso-she (俗增之). The critics generally receive it, however. The conjunctions 及, 會, and 暨 are those proper to the Classic, and for the 與 here they account by insisting on its equivalence to 許, 'to grant,' 'to allow.' It was contrary to propriety for the duke's wife to go to Ts'e, but she was bent on going, and the duke weakly allowed her to accompany him.

The 濼 (pronounced Luh or Loh) was a stream, which flows into the Tse in the north-west of the dis. of Leih-shing (歷城), dep. Tse-nan. We have no intimation of the business discussed at this meeting between Loo and Ts'e; and the ordinary view is that it had been brought about by duke Sëang of Ts'e simply with a view to bring his sister and him together, and then to get her farther to accompany him to his capital. The only scholar who controverts this view is Wan Sze-ta (萬斯大), of the pres. dyn., who argues, feebly however, that Sëang was a younger brother of Wăn Këang, and that the incestuous connection between them originated at this meeting.

The Chuen says:—'In spring the duke, being about to travel, allowed at the same time his wife Këang to go with him to Ts'e. Shin Seu said, "The woman has her husband's house; the man has his wife's chamber; and there must be no defilement on either side;—then is there what is called propriety. Any change in this matter is sure to lead to ruin." *Notwithstanding this remonstrance*, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Ts'e near the Luh, and then went on with Wăn Këang [his wife was styled Wăn, from her elegance and accomplishments] to Ts'e, where she had criminal connection with the marquis, *her brother*. The duke angrily reproached her, and she told the marquis of it.'

Par. 2. In continuation of the last Chuen, Tso-she says:—'*The marquis* feasted the duke, and then, [having made him drunk], employed P'ăng-săng, a half brother of his own, to take him *to his lodging* in his carriage. The duke died in the carriage, and the people of Loo sent a message to *the marquis of* Ts'e, saying, "Our poor lord, in awe of your majesty, did not dare to remain quietly at home, but went to renew the old friendship *between your State and ours.* After the ceremonies had been all completed, he did not come back. We do not fix the crime on any one, but the wicked deed *is known* among all the princes, and we beg you will take the shame of it away with P'ăng-sang." On this, the people of Ts'e put P'ang-săng to death.'

The reader will find all the incidents of Hwan's visit to Ts'e, his wife's misconduct, his death, &c., graphically told in the 'History of the Different States,' Bk. XIII. As to Confucius' silence about them in the text, see the note to I. xi. 4. Choo He says very lamely, 'Confucius gives a straightforward narration, and his judgment lies in the facts themselves. When he says, "The duke met with the marquis of Ts'e in such and such a place; the duke and his wife Këang went to Ts'e; the duke died in Ts'e; the duke's coffin came from Ts'e; the duke's wife withdrew to Ts'e;"—with such en-

tries plainly before our eyes, we could understand the nature of them without any Chuen.'

喪 is to be taken here as 喪器＝柩, 'the coffin with the body in it;'—see the dictionary, *in voc.*

Par. 3. [Tso-she gives here two narratives:—'In autumn, the marquis of Ts'e went with a force to Show-che, and there Tsze-we [the new earl of Ch'ing; see the Chuen at the end of last year] went to have a meeting with him, Kaou K'eu-me being in attendance as his minister. In the 7th month, on Mow-seuh, the marquis put Tsze-we to death, and caused Kaou K'eu-me to be torn in pieces by chariots. *After this*, Chae Chung sent to Ch'in for another son of duke Chwang, met him, and made him earl of Ch'ing. *When Tsze-we and K'eu-me* were setting out for Show-che, Chae Chung, knowing what would happen, made a pretence of being ill, and would not accompany them. Some people said, "Chae Chung escaped by his intelligence," and he himself said that it was so.'

'The duke of Chow [Hih-këen; see the Chuen on V. 6] wished to murder king Chwang, and set his brother K'ih [the king's brother; another son of king Hwan] on the throne. Sin Pih told the king of it, and then he and the king put the duke of Chow, Hih-këen, to death, while the king's brother K'ih fled to Yen. Formerly, Tsze-e [the designation of K'ih] was the favourite with king Hwan, who placed him under the care of the duke of Chow. Sin Pih remonstrated *with the duke*, saying, "Equal queens [*i. e.*, a concubine made the equal of the queen], equal sons [*i. e.*, the son of a concubine put on the same level as the queen's son], two governments [*i. e.*, favourites made equal to ministers], and equal cities [*i. e.*, any other fortified city made as large as the capital]:—these all lead to disorder." The duke paid no heed to this advice, and he consequently came to *his bad end.*']

[The marquis of Ts'e, having committed incest with his sister, and murdered his brother-in-law, proceeded to execute the justice which the former of these narratives describes to awe princes and people into silence about his own misdeeds. The division of the body by five chariots was a horrible punishment. The head, the two arms, and two legs were bound, each to a carriage in which an ox was yoked, each animal placed in a separate direction. The oxen were then urged and beaten till the head and limbs were torn from the body.]

Par. 4. The burial took place later than it should have done; and indeed, according to Kung and Kuh, it should not have taken place at all until the real murderer of the duke was punished. But what could Loo do in the circumstances? The evil man had come to an evil end; and the best plan was to consign his coffin to the earth.

First year.

莊公

一章 元年、春、王正月。

二章 三月、夫人孫于齊。

三章 夏、單伯送王姬。

四章 秋、築王姬之館于外。

五章 冬、十月、乙亥、陳侯林卒。

六章 王使榮叔來錫桓公命。

七章 王姬歸于齊。

八章 齊師遷紀郱、鄑、郚。

左傳曰、元年、春。不稱卽位、文姜出故也。三月、夫人孫於齊。不稱姜氏、絶不爲親、禮也。秋、築王姬之館於外。爲外、禮也。

I. 1 [It was] the [duke's] first year, the spring, the king's first month.

2 In the third month, the [late duke's] wife retired to Ts'e.

3 In summer, the earl of Shen escorted the king's daughter.

4 In autumn, a reception house was built for the king's daughter outside [the city wall].

5 In winter, in the tenth month, on Yih-hae, Lin, marquis of Ch'in, died.

6 The king sent Shuh of Yung [to Loo] to confer on duke Hwan [certain] symbols of his favour.

7 The king's daughter went to her home in Ts'e.

8 An army of Ts'e carried away [the inhabitants of] P'ing, Tsze, and Woo, [cities of] Ke.

TITLE OF THE BOOK.—莊公, 'Duke Chwang.' This was the son of Hwan, whose birth is chronicled in II. vi. 5, and who received the name of T'ung (同), in the manner described in the Chuen on that paragraph. He was therefore now in his 13th year. The honorary title Chwang denotes—'Conqueror of enemies and Subduer of disorder (勝敵克亂曰莊).'

Chwang's rule lasted 32 years, B.C. 692—661. His first year synchronized with the 4th year of king Chwang (莊); the 5th of Sëang (襄) of Ts'e; the 12th of Min (緡) of Tsin; the 7th of Hwuy (惠), and the 3d of K'ëen-mow (黔牟), of Wei [Hwuy is the Soh of II. xvi. 5. See the Chuen there]; the 2d of Gae (哀) of Ts'ae; the 8th of Le, and the 1st of Tsze-e, of Ching [see the Chuen appended to II. xviii. 3]; the 9th of Chwang (莊) of Ts'aou; the 7th of Chwang (莊) of Ch'in; the 11th of Tsing (靖) of Ke (杞); the 17th of Chwang (莊) of Sung; the 5th of Woo (武) of Ts'in; and the 48th of Woo of Ts'oo.

Par. 1. See on I. i. 1, and II. i. 1. There is here the same incompleteness of the text as in I. i. 1; and no doubt for the same reason,—that the usual ceremonies at the commencement of the rule of a new marquis were not observed. The young marquis's father had been basely murdered; he took his place; but with as little observation as possible. Tso-she says that 'the phrase 卽位 is not used here because Wăn Këang [his mother] had left the State.' This occasions some difficulty, as will be seen, with the next par.

Par. 2. The char. 孫, read *sun*, and in the 3d tone, is = 遜, 'to retire,' 'to withdraw;'—a euphemism for 奔, 'fled.' It is evident that Wăn Këang had returned from Ts'e to Loo;—when she did so, does not appear. From Tso-she's observation above, that the phrase 卽位 was omitted in the account of Chwang's accession, because his mother was then in Ts'e, it would appear as if she returned subsequently to that event. But that explanation of the omission is inadmissible; and the view of Maou and others is much more probable, that she had returned to Loo at the same time that the coffin and corpse of duke Hwan were brought to it. She probably felt her position there exceedingly unpleasant. Guilty of incest with her brother, and of complicity in the murder of her husband, she could not be looked kindly on by her son or the people of Loo; and now therefore she fled to Ts'e.

Mysteries are found in the omission of the words 姜氏, 'the lady Këang,' after 夫人, on which we need not touch. Tso-she says they are left out, 'as a disowning of her, and not acknowledging her kinship;—as was proper;' but even this is doubtful.

Kung and Kuh give a very strange view of the par. They think that Wăn Këang had not returned at all to Loo; and that duke Chwang, just at this period of the mourning for his father, was led to think sorrowfully of her absence, and ordered the entry in the text to be made about her. This is clearly most unlikely in itself, and contrary to the usage of 孫, which we shall meet with in other passages.

Par. 3. A treaty of marriage had for more than a year been going on between Loo, on behalf of the royal House, on the one hand, and Ts'e on the other. When the king wanted to marry one of his daughters to any of the princes, it was considered inconsistent with his dignity to appear in the matter himself; and a prince of the same surname was employed as internuncius and manager. This duty was frequently devolved on the princes of Loo; and Hwan had undertaken it in this instance. His meeting with the marquis of Ts'e at Luh, in the first month of last year, had reference perhaps to this very matter. When the marriage was fixed, the rule was that the king should send the lady, escorted by a high minister, to the court of the managing prince; and there she was met or sent for by her future husband.

Accordingly, we have in the text the earl [a royal minister, so titled] of Shen [the name of the city assigned to him in the royal domain] escorting the lady (王姬, a royal Ke] to Loo. On this view of the paragraph, all is plain; but instead of 送, Kung and Kuh, followed in this instance by the K'ang-he editors, have 逆, 'met.' This necessitates our understanding 單伯, as the surname and designation of an officer of Loo, specially commissioned, somehow, to meet and convoy the king's daughter to Loo. One can easily see how 送 and 逆, might be mistaken, the one for the other. There can be no doubt, it seems to me, that Tso-she's reading should be followed.

Par. 4. It was autumn, when the king's daughter arrived at the capital of Loo. The case was a hard one, as Chwang was still in mourning for his father. To be managing the marriage of the king's daughter to the man who had murdered his own father, was a greater difficulty still. The case was met, in part at least, by not receiving the lady in the palace or the ancestral temple, but building a 館, a sort of hall or reception-house for her, outside the city. Tso-she says, 'This was treating her as an outsider (爲外);—which was proper.'

Par. 6. 命 is used here as in the Shoo, V. viii. 4, meaning the symbols of investiture or more generally of royal favour. These were of 9 kinds, all of which could be conferred only on the holder of a fief of the first class,—a duke or a marquis. An earl might have seven of them; a viscount or a baron, 5. The proper place for conferring them was the court, on the noble's personal appearance; but they might also

be sent;—as in the Shoo, V. xiii. 25. To confer them, as here, on a dead man, seems very strange; and on a man who had been stained with crime, is stranger still. Whatever the gifts were, they would be treasured in Loo as royal testimonials to the excellence of duke Hwan. Yung [the clan-name] Shuh [the designation] was a great officer of the court. According to the analogy of other passages, there ought to be 天 before 王. It may have slipped out of the text, or been unwittingly omitted by the historiographers.

Par. 8. Ts'e here takes an important step in carrying out its cherished purpose of extinguishing the State of Ke. P'ing is referred to somewhere in the pres. dep. of Ts'ing-chow; Tsze [so 郚 is read], to dis. of Ch'ang-yih (昌邑), same dep.; and Woo to a place 60 *le* to the south-west of dis. Gan-k'ëw (安丘), dep. Tse-nan. These were three towns or cities of Ke, the inhabitants of which the marquis of Ts'e removed within his own State, peopling them also, we must suppose, with his own subjects. Kuh-lëang wrongly supposes that the three names are those of three small States, absorbed by Ts'e at this time in addition to Ke. But the end of Ke was not yet.

Second year.

一章 二年、春、王二月、葬陳莊公。

二章 夏、公子慶父帥師伐於餘丘。

三章 秋、七月、齊王姬卒。

四章 冬、十有二月、夫人姜氏會齊侯于禚。

五章 乙酉、宋公馮卒。

左傳曰、二年、冬、夫人姜氏會齊侯於禚。書姦也。

II. 1 In the [duke's] second year, in spring, in the king's second month, there was the burial of duke Chwang of Ch'in.

2 In summer, duke [Hwan's] son K'ing-foo led a force, and invaded Yu-yu-k'ëw.

3 In autumn, in the seventh month, the king's daughter, [married to the marquis] of Ts'e, died.

4 In winter, in the twelfth month, the [late duke's] wife, the lady Këang, had a meeting with the marquis of Ts'e in Choh.

5 On Yih-yëw, P'ing, duke of Sung, died.

Par. 2. K'ing-foo was the name of a half-brother of duke Chwang, older than he, but the son of a concubine. Older than Chwang, he should be designated Măng (孟); but as not being the son of the rightful wife, he was only styled Chung (仲), and his descendants became the Chung-sun (仲孫) clan, which subsequently was changed into Măng-sun (孟孫);—see the note in the Analects on II. v. 1. Kung-yang is wrong in saying he was a younger full brother of Chwang;—how could a boy of 10 or thereabouts be commanding on a military expedition? Too says that Yu-yu-k'ëw was the name of a State, while Kung, Kuh, and Ying-tah, all make it a city of Choo (邾). Too's view is to be preferred; and from the foreign, barbarous, trisyllabic aspect of the name, we may infer that the State was that of some wild tribe, not far from Loo.

Par. 3. The 列國志 says the lady pined away, and died broken-hearted, on finding what sort of a husband she was mated to. Her death is entered here, contrary to the rule in such matters, probably because Loo had superintend-

ed the marriage, and she might be considered as one of the daughters of the State. See a reference to the death of this lady, and duke Chwang's wearing mourning for her 9 months, in the Le Ke, II. Pt. II. i. 18.

Par. 4. The critics are unanimous in supposing that this par. implies that Wăn Këang had again returned to Loo, after her withdrawment to Ts'e in the 3d month of last year. Choh [Kung-yang has 郜] was in Ts'e, on its western border. Tso-she says plainly that the object of the meeting was a repetition of the former crime.

Par. 5. See the Chuen appended to I. iii. 5, and the note on II. ii. 3.

Third year.

一章 三年、春、王正月、溺會齊師伐衞。

二章 夏、四月、葬宋莊公。

三章 五月、葬桓王。

四章 秋、紀季以酅入于齊。

五章 冬、公次于滑。

左傳曰、三年、春、溺會齊師伐衞。疾之也。夏、五月、葬桓王。緩也。秋、紀季以酅入於齊。紀於是乎始判。冬、公次於滑。將會鄭伯、謀紀故也、鄭伯辭以難。凡師、一宿爲舍、再宿爲信、過信爲次。

III. 1 In the [duke's] third year, in spring, in the king's first month, Neih joined an army of Ts'e in invading Wei.

2 In summer, in the fourth month, there was the burial of duke Chwang of Sung.

3 In the fifth month, there was the burial of king Hwan.

4 In autumn, the third brother of [the marquis of] Ke entered with [the city of] Hwuy under [the protection of] Ts'e.

5 In winter the duke halted in Hwah.

Par. 1. Compare I. iv. 5. We have here the name Neih, just as in that par. we have the name Hwuy. Tso-she says here, as there, that the omission of 公子, 'duke's son,' before the name, indicates the sage's dislike of the individual and his enterprise (疾之也); and though that omission has no such significance, the invasion of Wei was certainly most blameworthy. Sŏh the marquis of Wei, stained with atrocious crimes, had fled to Ts'e, in the 16th year of Hwan, and K'ëen-mow, with the approval of the king [see VI. 1], had been raised to his place; yet here we have Ts'e moving to restore Soh, and Loo, forgetting its own injuries received from Ts'e, joining in the attempt.

Par. 3. Tso-she remarks that this burial was late; and late it was, as king Hwan had died in the 15th year of duke Hwan. Some reason there must have been for deferring the interment so long, but we know not what. Kung and Kuh, without any evidence in support of their view, suppose that this was a second burial,—the removal of the coffin from its first resting place to another.

Par. 4. The marquis of Ke was of course the eldest brother of his family (伯), and the one here mentioned would be his 3d or his 4th brother. Hwuy was a city of Ke,—in the pres. dis. of Lin-tsze (臨淄), dep. Ts'ing-chow. Ts'e had begun to carry into effect its purpose of annexing the State of Ke (see I. 8). This brother of the marquis, seeing the approaching fate of the whole State, makes offer of the city and district under his charge, and enters Ts'e as a Foo-yung, or attached State, in which he might preserve the sacrifices to his ancestors. Tso-she says that 'Ke now began to be divided.'

Par. 5. Hwah (Kung and Kuh have 郎), acc. to Too, belonged to Ch'ing;—in Suy Chow (睢州), dep. Kwei-tih; but Maou and many other recent critics think it was the name of a small State near to Ch'ing. Tso-she says that the duke wanted to have a meeting with the earl of Ch'ing (Tsze-e), to consult if any thing could be done for Ke, but that the earl pleaded his own difficulties [arising from his brother Tuh], and declined a meeting. In explanation of the term 次, Tso adds:—'In all military expeditions, where a halt is made for one night, it is called 宿; where it is for two nights, it is called 信; and when for more than two nights, it is called 次.'

Fourth year.

一章 四年、春、王二月、夫人姜氏、享齊侯于祝丘。

二章 三月、紀伯姬卒。

三章 夏、齊侯、陳侯、鄭伯、遇于垂。

四章 紀侯大去其國。

五章 六月、乙丑、齊侯葬紀伯姬。

六章 秋、七月。

七章 冬、公及齊人狩于禚。

(一)左傳曰、四年、春、王三月、楚武王荊尸、授師孑焉、以伐隨。將齊、入告夫人鄧曼曰、余心蕩。鄧曼歎曰、王祿盡矣、盈而蕩、天之道也、先君其知之矣、故臨武事、將發大命、而蕩王心焉、若師徒無虧、王薨於行、國之福也。王遂行、卒於樠木之下。令尹鬬祁、莫敖屈重、除道梁溠、營軍臨隨、隨人懼、行成。莫敖以王命入盟隨侯、且請爲會於漢汭而還、濟漢而後發喪。紀侯不能下齊、以與紀季、夏、紀侯大去其國。違齊難也。

IV. 1 In the [duke's] fourth year, in spring, in the king's second month, [duke Hwan's] wife, the lady Këang, feasted the marquis of Ts'e at Chuh-k'ëw.

2 In the third month, [duke Yin's] eldest daughter, [who had been married to the marquis] of Ke, died.

3 In summer, the marquis of Ts'e, the marquis of Ch'in, and the earl of Ch'ing met at Ch'uy.

4 The marquis of Ke made a grand leaving of his State.

5 In the sixth month, on Yih-ch'ow, the marquis of Ts'e interred [duke Yin's] eldest daughter of Ke.

6 It was autumn, the seventh month.

7 In winter, the duke and an officer of Ts'e hunted in Choh.

Par. 1. Chuh-k'ëw,—see on II. v. 5. It appears from this that the duke's mother had returned to Loo, after her meeting with her brother in II. 4. Her now getting him to come to Loo, and openly feasting him, shows how they were becoming more and more shameless.

Par. 2. This is the lady whose marriage was chronicled in I. ii. 5, 6. The death of daughters of the House of Loo who had been married *to other princes* was chronicled by the historiographers; and sometimes their burial also.

[Tso-she adds here;—'In the 3d month of this year, king Woo of Ts'oo, *made new* arrangements for marshalling the army, and supplied the soldiers with the hooked spear. He was then going to invade Suy; and, being about to fast before the delivery of the new weapons, he went into his palace, and told his wife, Man of T'ăng [see the Chuen after II. xiii. 1] that his heart felt all-agitated. "Your majesty's life [lit., revenues]," said she, sighing, "is near an end. After fulness comes that dissipation;—such is the way of Heaven. The former rulers [in whose temple he was going to fast] must know this; and therefore, at the commencement of this military undertaking, when you were about to issue your great commands, they have thus agitated your majesty's heart. If the expedition take no damage, and your majesty die on the march, it will be the happiness of the State." The king marched immediately after this, and died under a *mun* tree. The chief minister [see Ana. V. xviii.], Tow K'e, and the Moh-gaou, K'ëuh Ch'ung, made a new path, bridged over the Cha, and led their army close to Suy, the inhabitants of which were afraid, and asked for terms of peace. The Moh-gaou, *as if* by the king's command, entered the city, and made a covenant with the marquis of Suy, asking him also to come to a meeting on the north of the Han, after which the army returned. It was not till it had crossed the Han that the king's death was made known, and the funeral rites began.']

Par. 3. Ch'uy,—see I. viii. 1. The meeting here had reference, probably, to Ke, which was now near its end as an independent State. Hoo Gan-kwoh and many other critics think Tuh, or duke Le, is the earl of Ch'ing here intended; but much more likely is the view that it was Tsze-e [see the Chuen after p. 5 of II. xviii.]. The word 遇 is used instead of 會, probably because the meeting wanted some of the usual formalities.

Par. 4. Tso-she says:—'The marquis of Ke was unable to submit to Ts'e, and gave over the State to his 3d brother. In summer, he took a grand leave of it, to escape the oppression of Ts'e.' The poor marquis was unable to cope with his relentless enemy, and rather than sacrifice the lives of the people in a vain struggle, he gave the State over to his brother, who had already put himself under the jurisdiction of Ts'e (III. 4). Too says that 'to leave and not return is called a grand leaving.' The phrase is here complimentary. Kung-yang, indeed, argues that the style of the paragraph, concealing the fact that Ts'e now *extinguished* the State of Ke, was designed to gloss over the wickedness of the marquis of Ts'e in the act, because he thereby revenged the wrong done in B. C. 893 to one of his ancestors, who was boiled to death at the court of Chow, having been slandered by the then lord of Ke! The marquis of Ts'e, therefore, was now only discharging a duty of revenge in destroying the House of Ke! Into such vagaries do the critics fall, who will find 'praise or censure' in the turn of every sentence in this Classic.

Par. 5. The leaving his wife unburied shows to what straits the prince of Ke had been reduced, when he went away. The marquis of Ts'e, we may suppose, now performed the duty of interment, with all the honours due to the lady's rank, partly in compliment to Loo, and partly to conciliate the people.

Par. 7. Here, as in II. 4, Kung-yang has 郜 instead of 禚. Both Kung and Kuh say that by 齊人 is intended the marquis of Ts'e himself; but Too simply says the phrase=微者, 'a mere officer,' adding that the nature of the whole transaction,—the duke's crossing his own borders and hunting in another State with one of inferior rank,—is sufficiently apparent.

Fifth year.

一章 五年、春王正月。

二章 夏、夫人姜氏如齊師。

三章 秋、郳黎來來朝。

四章 冬、公會齊人、宋人、陳人、蔡人、伐衛。

左傳曰、五年、秋、郳犂來來朝。名、未王命也。冬、伐衞。納惠公也。

V. 1 It was [the duke's] fifth year, the spring, the king's first month.

2 In summer, [duke Hwan's] wife, the lady Këang went to the army of Ts'e.

3 In autumn, Le-lae of E paid a visit to our court.

4 In winter, the duke joined an officer of Ts'e, an officer of Sung, an officer of Ch'in, and an officer of Ts'ae, and invaded Wei.

Par. 2. The army of Ts'e was probably in Ke at this time. Wăn Këang now joined her brother, in the sight of thousands. Wang Paou says:—'The month of former meetings, as at Choh and Chuh-k'ëw, was mentioned, intimating that after some days the marquis and his sister separated. Here the season is given, intimating that they remained together for months.'

Par. 3. E (Kung-yang has 倪) was a small attached territory under the jurisdiction of Sung,—in pres. dis. of T'ăng, dep. Yen-chow. Its chief, as Tso says, had not received from the king any symbol of dignity (未王命), and therefore he is mentioned by his name,—Le (Tso has 犂)-lae. The chiefs of attached territories are mentioned both by their names, and designations. Hoo Gan-kwoh thinks that the name indicates that the territory is that of some barbarous tribe. Tung Chung-shoo (董仲舒; early in the Han dyn.) says that when the territory contained 30 square *le*, the chief was mentioned by his designation; when it had only 20 square *le*, simply by his name. All this is very doubtful.

Par. 4. The object of this expedition was the restoration of Soh, or duke Hwuy;—see II. xvi. 5.

Sixth year.

一章 六年、春、王正月、王人子突救衞。

二章 夏、六月、衞侯朔入于衞。

三章 秋、公至自伐衞。

四章 螟。

五章 冬、齊人來歸衞俘。

左傳曰、六年、春、王人救衞。夏、衞侯入、放公子黔牟于周、放甯跪于秦、殺左公子洩、右公子職、乃卽位。君子以二公子之立黔牟、爲不度矣、夫能固位者、必度其本末、而後立衷焉、不知其本、不謀、知本之不枝、弗彊、詩云、本枝百世。冬、齊人來歸衞寶。文姜請之也。

(一)楚文王伐申、過鄧、鄧祁侯曰、吾甥也、止而享之。騅甥、聃甥、養甥、請殺楚子、鄧侯弗許、三甥曰、亡鄧國者、必此人也、若不早圖、後君噬齊、其及圖之乎、圖之、此爲時矣。鄧侯曰、人將不食吾餘。對曰、若不從三臣、抑社稷實不血食、而君焉取餘。弗從、還年、楚子伐鄧。十六年、楚復伐鄧、滅之。

VI. 1 In the [duke's] sixth year, in spring, in the king's first month, Tsze-tuh, an officer of the king, [endeavoured to] relieve [the capital of] Wei.

2 In summer, in the sixth month, Soh, marquis of Wei, entered [the capital of] Wei.

3 In autumn, the duke arrived from the invasion of Wei.

4 There were the *ming*-insects.

5 In winter, an officer of Ts'e came to present [to Loo] the spoils of Wei.

Par. 1. Kung and Kuh both read here 三 instead of 正. The king made an effort to support Wei against the attempt to re-instate Soh; but his ministers all declined the risk of commanding the expedition. Only Tsze-tuh in the text, not even a 'great officer,' would hazard himself on the enterprize. Too, followed by Ying-tah, and a host of others, consider that Tsze-tuh was the officer's designation, while Kung and Kuh have many critics, and among them for once Maou K'e-ling, affirming that it was his name. I think the former view is the correct one.

Par. 2. As Soh had been *de facto* marquis of Wei, the 入于衞 here, as descriptive of his restoration, is peculiar. Comp. II. xi. 5, xv. 5; *et al.* The phrase seems to be condemnatory of him, entering as an enemy into his capital. Tso-she says:—'In summer, the marquis of Wei entered; drove Kung-tsze K'ëen-mow [see the Chuen to II xvi. 5] to Chow, and Ning Kwei to Ts'in; and put to death Sëeh and Chih, the sons of duke Hwan by the two ladies on the right and left of the harem. After this he took his place as marquis. The superior man will say, "The action of the two sons of duke *Hwan* in raising K'ëen-mow to the marquisate was ill-considered. He who would be able to make sure the seat *to which he raises any one*, must measure the beginning and the end *of his protegé*, and then establish him as circumstances direct. If he know the individual to have no root *in himself*, he dismisses him from his plans. If he know that his root will not produce branches, it is vain to try to strengthen him. The Book of Poetry says, "The root and the branches increase for a hundred generations (She III. i. I. 2)."

Par. 4. See I. v. 6.

Par. 5. Kung and Kuh both read 寶 here for 俘, and Tso-she also has 寶 in his Chuen, so that Too suspects 俘 to be an error of the text. It need not be so, however, for 俘 may signify either prisoners or precious spoils generally. See an instance of the latter application of it in the Preface to the Shoo, p. 14. Tso-she says that this gift of the spoils of Wei was made at the request of Wăn-këang.

[The Chuen adds here:—King Wăn of Ts'oo was invading Shin and passed by T'ăng. K'e, marquis of T'ăng, said, "He is my sister's son;" and thereupon detained and feasted him. Three other sisters' sons, called Chuy, Tan, and Yang requested leave to put the viscount [*i.e.*, the *soi-disant* king] to death, but the marquis refused it. "It is certainly this man," said they, "who will destroy the State of T'ăng. If we do not take this early measure, hereafter you will have to gnaw your navel;—will you then be able to take any measures? This is the time to do what should be done." The marquis, however, said, "*If I do this deed*, no man will hereafter eat from my board [吾餘, 'what I have left;' *i.e.*, what remains to me for my own use, after all the sacrificial offerings]." They replied, "If you do not follow our advice, even the altars will have no victims, and where will you hereafter get food to put on your board?" Still the marquis would not listen to them; and in the year after he returned *from invading Shin*, the viscount of Ts'oo attacked T'ăng. In the 16th year *of duke Chwang*, he again attacked and extinguished it.]

Seventh year.

一章 七年、春、夫人姜氏會齊侯于防。

二章 夏四月、辛卯、夜、恒星不見、夜中、星隕如雨。

三章 秋、大水、無麥苗。

四章 冬、夫人姜氏會齊侯于穀。

左傳曰、七年、春、文姜會齊侯于防。齊志也。夏、恒星不見。夜明也。星隕如雨。與雨偕也。秋、無麥苗。不害嘉穀也。

VII. 1 In the [duke's] seventh year, in spring, [duke Hwan's] wife, the lady Këang, had a meeting with the marquis of Ts'e at Fang.

2 In summer, in the fourth month, on Sin-maou, at night, the regular stars were not visible. At midnight, there was a fall of stars like rain.

3 In autumn, there were great floods, so that there was no wheat nor other grain in the blade.

4 In winter, [duke Hwan's] wife, the lady Këang, had a meeting with the marquis of Ts'e in Kuh.

Par. 1. Fang,—see I. ix. 6. As Fang was in Loo, Tso-she says that this meeting was sought by Ts'e. Of course, when a meeting between the brother and sister was in Ts'e, he would say that Wăn Këang was the mover to it.

Par. 2. 見 is read *hëen*, 'to appear,' 'to be visible.' For the 1st 夜 Kuh-lëang has 昔; and for 隕, in this other and passages, Kung-yang has 霣. K'ung Ying-tah says, 'The term "night" covers all the space from dusk to dawn, but as we have here "midnight" specified, we must understand the previous "night" of the time before midnight,—the time after twilight. Then the stars were not visible;—it is not said that they were not visible during all the night. Kuh-lëang reads 昔 for 夜, and defines 昔 as meaning the time between sundown and the appearance of the stars. But during this time of course the stars would not be visible, and why should that regularly recurring fact be mentioned in the text as a thing remarkable?' By 恒星 we are to understand the stars generally,—all 'constantly, regularly,' visible, or that may be expected to be so. Maou Se-ho would confine the phrase to the stars in the 28 constellations of the zodiac, and take the 星 below of the other stars. But it is not necessary to do so. Before midnight the sky was very bright, as if a flush of sunlight were still upon it, so that the stars were not visible as usual. As Tso-she says, 'The night was bright.' After midnight came a grand shower of meteors. The phrase 星隕如雨, 'the stars fell as rain,' seems plain enough. Tso, however, and Kuh-lëang take 如=而 'and.' The former says:—'The stars fell along with the rain;' the latter, 'There fell stars, and it rained.' Kung-yang says, without giving any authority, that, before Confucius revised the text of the Ch'un Ts'ëw of Loo, this entry was—雨星不及地尺而復, 'It rained stars to within a foot of the earth, when they reascended!'

Par. 3. 秋大水,—see II. i. 5; *et al.* At this time the wheat was getting to be ripe, while the rice, millet, &c., were only in the blade. The floods washed all away; yet Tso-she says 'they did not hurt the good grain,' meaning there was still time to sow the paddy and millet again, and reap a crop before the winter. The K'ang-he editors cast out of the text this remark of Tso's; indicating thereby, as on other occasions of the same suppression, their dissent from it.

Par. 4. Kuh belonged to Ts'e,—was in the pres. dis. of Tung-o (東阿), dep. Yen-chow.

Eighth year.

一章 八年、春、王正月、師次于郎、以俟陳人、蔡人。二章 甲午、治兵。三章 夏、師及齊師圍郕、郕降于齊師。

(四節)秋、師還。(五節)冬、十有一月、癸未、齊無知弑其君諸兒、

左傳曰、八年春、治兵于廟、禮也。
夏、師及齊師圍郕、郕降于齊師、仲慶父請伐齊師、公曰、不
可、我實不德、齊師何罪、罪我之由、夏書曰、臯陶邁種德、德
乃降、姑務脩德、以待時乎。
秋、師還。君子是以善魯莊公。
齊侯使連稱管至父戍葵丘、瓜時而往、曰、及瓜而代、期戍、
公問不至、請代、弗許、故謀作亂。僖公之母弟曰夷仲年、生
公孫無知、有寵于僖公、衣服禮秩如適、襄公絀之、二人因
之以作亂、連稱有從妹在公宮、無寵、使間公、曰、捷、吾以女
爲夫人。冬、十二月、齊侯游于姑棼、遂田于貝丘、見大豕、從
者曰、公子彭生也。公怒曰、彭生敢見。射之、豕人立而啼、公
懼、隊于車、傷足、喪屨、反、誅屨于徒人費、弗得、鞭之、見血、走
出、遇賊于門、刧而束之、費曰、我奚御哉、袒而示之背、信之、
費請先入、伏公而出、鬭、死于門中、石之紛如死于階下、遂
入、殺孟陽於牀、曰、非君也、不類、見公之足于戶下、遂弑之、
而立無知。初、襄公立、無常、鮑叔牙曰、君使民慢、亂將作矣。
奉公子小白出奔莒、亂作、管夷吾召忽奉公子糾來奔。
⨸初、公孫無知虐于雍廩。

VIII. 1 In the [duke's] eighth year, in spring, in the king's first month, [our] army halted at Lang, to wait for the troops of Ch'in, and the troops of Ts'ae.

2 On Këah-woo, we exercised the soldiers in the use of their weapons.

3 In summer, [our] army and the army of Ts'e besieged Shing. Shing surrendered to the army of Ts'e.

4 In autumn, [our] army returned.

5 In winter, in the eleventh month, on Kwei-we, Woo-che of Ts'e murdered his ruler, Choo-urh.

Par. 1. Lang,—see I. ix. 4; *et al.* The duke had probably made an agreement with the princes of Ch'in and Ts'ae to join in the attack on Shing; and as their troops had not arrived at the time agreed on, the army of Loo was obliged to wait for them here at Lang. This is the natural explanation of the par. Fan Ning, on Kuh-lëang, and Ho Hëw, on Kung-yang, suppose that the halting of the troops at Lang was to meet a real or pretended invasion of Loo by Ts'ae and Ch'in.

Par. 2. Kung-yang reads 祠 for 治, but with the same meaning. Tso-she says that the 治兵, whatever it was, took place in the ancestral temple, and was proper. But it took place, evidently, at Lang, while the troops were halting for those of Ts'ae and Ch'in. As to the expression 治兵, it is a technical phrase, the exact meaning of which it is difficult to determine.

In the Chow Le, XXIX. 25—43, we have an account of the huntings at the four seasons of the year, and the military exercises practised in connection with them, under the direction of the minister of War. At mid-spring the men were taught 振旅; at mid-summer, 茇舍; at mid-autumn, 治兵; and at mid-winter, 大閱. Biot there translates 仲秋教治兵 by '*au milieu de l'automne il enseigne l'art de faire la guerre, ou conduire les soldats en expedition.*' But 兵 was not used anciently for 'soldiers,' but for weapons of war, especially pointed, offensive weapons, though buff-coats and shields may also be admitted under the term. I think that 治兵 denotes the putting the weapons, offensive and defensive, in order, and the methods of attack. Some critics find fault with Tso's saying that the 治兵 was in order here, when the exercise was appropriate to mid-autumn; but it was so appropriate only in times of peace. Now Loo was engaged in war, and it was then appropriate, whenever it would be advantageous.

Par. 3. Shing (Kung has 成),—see I. v. 3. As no mention is made of Ts'ae and Ch'in, their troops probably had not come up at all. And we do not know the circumstances sufficiently to understand why Shing surrendered to Ts'e alone, and not to the allied army of Ts'e and Loo. That a slight was done to Loo, we understand from the Chuen:—'When Shing surrendered to the army of Ts'e, Chung K'ing-foo asked leave to attack that army. The duke said, "No. It is I who am really not virtuous. Of what crime is the army of Ts'e guilty? The crime is all from me. The Book of Hea says:—'Kaou-yaou vigorously sowed abroad his virtue, and it made the people submissive (But see on the Shoo, II. ii. 10).' Let us meanwhile give ourselves to the cultivation of our virtue, and bide our time."' It would appear from this narrative that duke Chwang was himself with the army, though the style of all the paragraphs makes us conclude that he was not himself commanding.

Par. 4. The return of an army is not usually chronicled in the Ch'un Ts'ëw as it is here. Tso-she observes that from the mention of it here the superior man will commend duke Chwang. It is not easy to see the point of the remark, unless we take it as referring to the duke's words in the preceding Chuen.

Par. 5. Choo-urh was the name of the marquis of Ts'e,—duke Sëang. Woo-che was a son of E Chung-nëen (夷仲年), an uncle of the marquis. The marquis and he therefore were first cousins. The Chuen on this par. is:—'The marquis of Ts'e had sent Lëen Ch'ing and Kwan Che-foo to keep guard at K'wei-k'ëw. It was the season of melons when they left the capital, and he said, "When the melons are in season again, I will relieve you." They kept guard for twelve months; and no word coming from the marquis, they requested to be relieved. But their request was refused, and in consequence they fell to plot rebellion.

'E Chung-nëen, own brother to duke He, had left a son, called Kung-sun Woo-che, who was a favourite with He, and had been placed by him, so far as his robes and other distinctions were concerned, on the same footing as a son of his own. Duke Sëang, however, had degraded him. The two generals, therefore, associated themselves with him to carry out their plans. There was a first cousin *also* of Lëen Ch'ing in the duke's harem, who had lost his favour, and her they employed as a spy upon his movements, Woo-che having declared to her that, if their enterprise were successful, he would make her his wife.

'In winter, in the 11th month, the marquis went to amuse himself at Koo-fun, and was hunting on Pei-k'ëw, when a large boar made his appearance. One of the attendants said, "It is the Kung-tsze P'ăng-săng [see the Chuen on II. xvii. 3]." The marquis was enraged and said, "Does P'ăng-săng dare to show himself." With this he shot at the creature, which stood up *on its hind legs* like a man, and howled. The marquis was afraid, and fell down in his carriage, injuring one of his feet, and losing the shoe. Having returned [to the palace where he was lodging], he required his footman Pe to bring the shoe, and when it could not be found, scourged him, till the blood flowed. Pe ran out of the room, and met *several* assassins at the gate, who seized and bound him. "Should I oppose you?" said Pe, baring his body, and showing them his back, on seeing which they believed him. He then requested leave to go in before them, when he hid the marquis, came out again, and fought with them till he was killed in the gate. Shih-che Fun-joo died fighting on the stairs, on which the assassins entered the chamber, and killed Măng Yang [who had taken the marquis' place] in the bed. "This is not he," they *soon* cried. "It is not like him." They then discovered the duke's foot, [where he was hiding] behind the door, murdered him, and raised up Woo-che in his place.

'Before this, when duke Sëang came to the marquisate, Paou Shuh-ya, seeing his irregularities, said, "The prince is making the people despise him;—there will soon be disorder;" and he fled to Keu with He's son Sëaou-pih. When the disorder broke out, Kwan E-woo and Shaou Hwuh fled to Loo with Këw, another of He's sons.

'Before his elevation, Kung-sun Woo-che had behaved oppressively to Yung Lin.'

It will be seen from this narrative that Woo-che was not the actual murderer of the marquis of Ts'e, nor indeed the first mover to the taking of him off. Still, as he was the one who was to profit by his death, the Ch'un Ts'ëw charges the deed on him. The marquis deserved his fate.

Ninth year.

一章 九年、春、齊人殺無知。

二章 公及齊大夫、盟于蔇。

三章 夏、公伐齊納糾、齊小白入于齊。

四章 秋、七月、丁酉、葬齊襄公。

五章 八月、庚申、及齊師戰于乾時、我師敗績。

六章 九月、齊人取子糾、殺之。

七章 冬、浚洙。

左傳曰、九年春、雍廩殺無知。

公及齊大夫盟于蔇。齊無君也。

夏、公伐齊、納子糾。桓公自莒先入。

秋、師及齊師戰于乾時、我師敗績。公喪戎路、傳乘而歸。秦子梁子、以公旗辟于下道。是以皆止。鮑叔帥師來言曰、子糾、親也、請君討之、管召、讎也、請受而甘心焉。乃殺子糾于生竇、召忽死之。管仲請囚、鮑叔受之、及堂阜而稅之。歸而以告曰、管夷吾治於高傒、使相、可也。公從之。

IX. 1 In the [duke's] ninth year, in spring, the people of Ts'e killed Woo-che.

2 The duke made a covenant with [some] great officers of Ts'e at Ke.

3 In summer, the duke invaded Ts'e, intending to instate Këw; [but] Sëaou-pih [had already] entered Ts'e.

4 In autumn, in the seventh month, on Ting-yëw, there was the burial of duke Sëang of Ts'e.

5 In the eighth month, on Kăng-shin, we fought with the army of Ts'e at Kan-she, when our army received a severe defeat.

6 In the ninth month, the people of Ts'e took Tsze-këw, and put him to death.

7 In winter, we deepened the Shoo.

Par. 1. I translate 齊人 here by 'the people of Ts'e,' after the analogy of I. iv. 6, 7, *et al.* Tso-she tells us, however, that the real slayer of Woo-che was Yung Lin, mentioned at the end of the last Chuen. Woo-che had taken his place as marquis of Ts'e; but only a month had elapsed, and his title had not been acknowledged by the other princes. He is therefore mentioned in the text simply by his name.

Par. 2. Ke (Kung and Kuh have 暨) was in Loo,—80 *le* to the east of the dis. city of Yih (嶧), dep. Yen-chow. On the death of Woo-che, great officers were sent to Loo to arrange about making Këw, who had taken refuge there soon after the murder of duke Sëang, marquis in his room. This was the subject of the covenant at Ke. Tso-she explains the fact of the duke's covenanting with them, a thing beneath his dignity, by saying that there was at this time no ruler in Ts'e.

Par. 3. It does not immediately appear why the duke should *invade* Ts'e to instate Këw, seeing that Këw's elevation had been matter of covenant between him and representatives of Ts'e. Opposition, probably, was anticipated from Sëaou-pih, and the military force was to provide against it. But the duke's movements were not speedy enough to effect his object. Tso-she, both in his text and Chuen, has 子糾 instead of 糾, which would indicate that Këw was the older of the two brothers. And the evidence does preponderate in favour of this view, though the opposite one has many advocates of note. The K'ang-he editors spend a whole page in reviewing the question. The Chuen on VIII. 4 states that Sëaou-pih had fled to Keu, and here it is said:—'Duke Hwan had been beforehand in entering Ts'e from Keu.'

Par. 4. It was now the ninth month since the murder of the marquis. His burial had been deferred in consequence of the troubles of the State.

Par. 5. Kan-she was in Ts'e,—in the north of pres. dis. of Poh-hing (博興), dep. Ts'ing-chow. Notwithstanding that Sëaou-pih had anticipated his brother, and got possession of Ts'e, the duke of Loo persevered in his efforts in favour of Këw, and suffered this defeat.

敗績,—see on II.xiii 1. Tso-she says:—'At this battle the duke lost his war-chariot, but got into another, and proceeded homewards. Ts'in-tsze and Lëang-tsze [who had been in the chariot with him] took his flag, and separated from him by a lower road [to deceive the enemy]; and the consequence was that they were both taken.' Thus, the duke himself commanded in this expedition,—a fact which the text is so constructed as to conceal.

Par. 6. It is here said that 'the people of Ts'e took Tsze-këw, and killed him,' but in reality they were Loo hands which put him to death. To require his death was cruel on the part of Ts'e. To deliver him up. to kill him in fact, was base in the extreme on the part of Loo. A foreigner loses all patience with Confucius and the Ch'un Ts'ëw, when he finds the events of history so misrepresented in it. The Chuen says:—'Paou Shuh led an army to Loo, and said to the duke, "Tsze-këw is our prince's near relative; we beg of you to take him off. Kwan and Shaou are his enemies; we beg them to be delivered to us, and our prince will feel satisfied." On this we killed Tsze-këw in Săng-tow, when Shaou Hwuh died with him, while Kwan Chung asked to be kept as a prisoner. Paou-shuh received him from Loo, and set him free when they had got to T'ang-fow. On their return *to the capital*, he informed the marquis of all the circumstances, saying *also*, "Kwan E-woo's talents for government are greater than those of Kaou He [a minister and noble of Ts'e]. If you employ him as your chief minister and helper, it will be well." The marquis followed the advice.'

Par. 7. The Shoo was a river flowing from the north-east of Loo in a south-west direction till it joined the Yuen (沂), after which their united stream flowed on to the Sze (泗). The object in deepening it was to make it a better defence against the attempts of Ts'e. The critics are all severe against duke Chwang for wasting his people's strength in this undertaking. It may have been foolish and useless, but it would be hard to extract any condemnation of it from the text.

[The student who is familiar with the Analects and Mencius will now have recognized two names well known to him;—duke Hwan of Ts'e, the first and in some respects the greatest of the five *pa* or leaders of the princes, and Kwan Chung, or Kwan E-woo, his chief minister.]

Tenth year.

一章 十年、春、王正月、公敗齊師于長勺。

二章 二月、公侵宋。

三章 三月、宋人遷宿。

四章 夏、六月、齊師、宋師、次

于郎、公敗宋師于乘丘。秋、[五章]九月、荊敗蔡師于莘、以蔡侯獻舞歸。冬、[六章]十月、齊師滅譚、譚子奔莒。

左傳曰、十年、春、齊師伐我、公將戰、曹劌請見、其鄉人曰、肉食者謀之、又何間焉。劌曰、肉食者鄙、未能遠謀。乃入見、問何以戰。公曰、衣食所安、弗敢專也、必以分人。對曰、小惠未徧、民弗從也。公曰、犧牲玉帛、弗敢加也、必以信。對曰、小信未孚、神弗福也。公曰、小大之獄、雖不能察、必以情。對曰、忠之屬也、可以一戰、戰則請從。公與之乘、戰于長勺、公將鼓之、劌曰、未可。齊人三鼓、劌曰、可矣。齊師敗績、公將馳之、劌曰、未可。下視其轍、登軾而望之、曰、可矣。遂逐齊師。既克、公問其故、對曰、夫戰、勇氣也、一鼓作氣、再而衰、三而竭、彼竭我盈、故克之、夫大國、難測也、懼有伏焉、吾視其轍亂、望其旗靡、故逐之。

夏、六月、齊師宋師次于郎、公子偃曰、宋師不整、可敗也、宋敗、齊必還。請擊之、公弗許。自雩門竊出、蒙臯比而先犯之、公從之、大敗宋師于乘丘、齊師乃還。

蔡哀侯娶于陳、息侯亦娶焉、息嬀將歸、過蔡、蔡侯曰、吾姨也。止而見之、弗賓。息侯聞之、怒、使謂楚文王曰、伐我、吾求救于蔡而伐之、楚子從之。秋、九月、楚敗蔡師于莘、以蔡侯獻舞歸。

齊侯之出也、過譚、譚不禮焉、及其入也、諸侯皆賀、譚又不至、冬、齊師滅譚、譚無禮也、譚子奔莒、同盟故也。

X. 1 In his tenth year, in spring, in the king's first month, the duke defeated the army of Ts'e at Ch'ang-choh.

2 In the second month, the duke made an incursion into Sung.

3 In the third month, the people of Sung removed [the State of] Suh.

4 In summer, in the sixth month, an army of Ts'e and an army of Sung halted at Lang. The duke defeated the army of Sung at Shing-k'ëw.

5 In autumn, in the ninth month, King defeated the army of Ts'ae at Sin, and carried Hëen-woo, marquis of Ts'ae, back [to King].

6 In winter, in the tenth month, an army of Ts'e extinguished T'an. The viscount of T'an fled to Keu.

Par. 1. Ch'ang-choh was in Loo, but its position has not been identified. Lo Pe (羅泌), says that of the clans of Shang removed by king Ch'ing to Loo, one was called the Ch'ang-choh, as having been located in Ch'ang-choh. The Chuen here is:—'The army of Ts'e invaded our *State*, and the duke was about to fight, when *one* Ts'aou Kwei requested to be introduced to him. One of Kwei's fellow-villagers said him, "The flesh-eaters [comp. Ps. xxii. 29], are planning for the occasion; what have you to do to intermeddle?" He replied, "The flesh-eaters are poor creatures, and cannot form any far-reaching plans." So he entered and was introduced, when he asked the duke what encouragement he had to fight. The duke said, "Clothes and food minister to my repose, but I do not dare to monopolise them:—I make it a point to share them with others." "That," replied Kwei, "is but small kindness, and does not reach to all. The people will not follow you *for that*." The duke said, "In the victims, the gems, and the silks, *used in sacrifice*, I do not dare to go beyond *the appointed rules*:—I make it a point to be sincere." "That is but small sincerity; it is not perfect:—the Spirits will not bless you for that." The duke said *again*, "In all matters of legal process, whether small or great, although I may not be able to search them out *thoroughly*, I make it a point to decide according to the real circumstances." "That," answered Kwei, "bespeaks a leal-heartedness:—you may venture one battle on that. When you fight, I beg to be allowed to attend you." The duke took him with him in his chariot. The battle was fought in Ch'ang-choh. The duke was about to order the drums to beat an advance, when Kwei said, "Not yet;" and after the men of Ts'e had advanced three times with their drums beating, he said, "Now is the time." The army of Ts'e received a severe defeat; but when the duke was about to dash after thém, Kwei *again* said, "Not yet." He then got down, and examined the tracks left by their chariot-wheels, remounted, got on the front-bar, and looked after *the flying enemy*. After this he said "Pursue;" which the duke did. When the victory had been secured, the duke asked Kwei the reasons of what he had done. "In fighting," was the reply," all depends on the courageous spirit. When the drums first beat, that excites the spirit. A second advance occasions a diminution of the spirit; and with a third, it is exhausted. With our spirit at the highest pitch we fell on them with their spirit exhausted; and so we conquered them. But it is difficult to fathom a great State;—I was afraid there might be an ambuscade. I looked *therefore* at the traces of their wheels, and found them all-confused; I looked after their flags, and they were drooping:—then *I gave the order to* pursue them."'

Par. 2. This is the first record in the text of the military expedition called 侵. As the word denotes (侵＝漸進), it was a stealthy incursion. Kung-yang says: 觕者曰侵,精者曰伐, 'an ill-ordered advance is called *ts'in*; one in good array is called *fah*.' Tso-she, better:—有鐘鼓曰伐;無鐘鼓曰侵, 'an advance with bells and drums is called *fah*; without them, *ts'in*.' So far as the text goes, this would appear to have been a wanton attack on Sung. Maou supposes that Sung may have been confederate with Ts'e in the previous month.

Par. 3. Suh,—see on I. i. 5; where it has been observed that Suh was a long way from Sung. But the word 遷, 'to remove,' does not signify that Sung continued to hold possession of the old territory;—it carried the people away and all the valuables of the State into its own territories. The affair would seem to be commemorated in the name of Suh-ts'ëen (宿遷), a dis. of Seu-chow dep., in Këang-soo, which was within the limits of Sung. We shall find 遷 hereafter as a neuter verb, where the signification is different.

Par. 4. Lang,—see VIII. 1. Shing-k'ëw is referred to the dis. of Tsze-yang (滋陽), dep. Yen-chow. If this identification be correct, then the allied forces had moved from Lang; or perhaps they had separated, and the army of Sung gone north to Shing-k'ëw. The Chuen says:—'The armies of Ts'e and Sung were halting at Lang, when Yen, a son of duke *Hwan*, said, "The army of Sung is ill drawn up, and may be defeated. If Sung be defeated, Ts'e will be obliged to retire. I beg leave to attack *the troops of Sung*." The duke refused, but he stole out at the Yu gate, and having covered *his horses* with tigers' skins, fell upon the enemy. The duke followed to support him, when they inflicted a great defeat on the army of Sung at Shing-k'ëw; and the army of Ts'e withdrew *from Loo*.'

Par. 5. Here for the first time, Ts'oo, a great Power, appears on the stage of the Ch'un T'sëw, though we have met with it already more than once in the Chuen. King was the original name of Ts'oo, and in the Ch'un Ts'ëw it is thus named down to the 1st year of duke He. The chiefs of Ts'oo were at first viscounts, with the surname Me (芈; the bleating of a sheep), who traced their lineage up to the præhistoric times, pretending to be descended from Chuen-hëuh. The representative of the line in the times of Wăn and Woo was Yuh-heung (鬻熊); and his great-grandson, Hëung-yih (熊繹), was invested by king Ch'ing with the lands of King Man (荆蠻), or 'King of the wild south,' and the title of viscount. His capital was Tan-yang (丹陽), referred to a place, 7 *le* south-east from the pres. dis. city of Kwei-chow (歸州), dep. E-ch'ang (宜昌), Hoo-pih. In B. C. 886, Hëung-k'eu (熊渠) usurped the title of king, which was afterwards dropped for a time, but permanently resumed by Hëung T'ung (熊通), known as king Woo, in B. C. 703, who also moved the capital to Ying (郢), 10 *le* north of the pres. dep. city of King-chow (荆

州). The viscount of Ts'oo at this first appearance of the House in the text was king Wăn (文王), a son of Woo, by name Hëung-tsze (熊貲).

Sin belonged to Ts'ae, and was in the borders of pres. dis. of Joo-yang (汝陽), dep. Joo-ning, Ho-nan. Hëen-woo (Kuh has 武) was the 蔡季 of II. xvii. 5. The style of the par. is unusual, the name of the State—King—being mentioned, and no 'viscount of King,' or 'officer.' Too finds in this an evidence of the still barbarous condition of King or Ts'oo unacquainted with the forms of the States of 'the Middle country.'

The Chuen says:—'The marquis Gae of Ts'ae had married a daughter of the House of Ch'in, and the marquis of Seih had married another. When the latter lady [息媯 'Kwei of Seih.' Kwei was the surname of Ch'in] *on one occasion* was going back to Seih, she passed by Ts'ae, and the marquis said, 'She is my sister-in-law." He detained her, therefore, and saw her, not treating her as a guest should be treated. When the marquis of Seih heard of it, he was enraged, and sent a messenger to king Wăn of Ts'oo, saying, 'Attack me, and I will ask assistance from Ts'ae, when you can attack it." The viscount of Ts'oo did so; and in autumn, in the 9th month, Ts'oo defeated the army of Ts'ae at Sin, and carried off the marquis, Hëen-woo.'

Par. 6. T'an was a small State, whose lords were viscounts, within the circle of Ts'e. Its chief town was 70 *le* to the south-east of the dis. city of Leih-shing, dep. Tse-nan. This is the first instance in the text of the 'extinction' of a State. The term implies the destruction of its ruling House, the abolition of its sacrifices, and the absorption of the people and territory by the prevailing Power. The Chuen says:—'When the marquis of Ts'e [*i.e.*, the present marquis] fled from the State [see the Chuen on VIII. 5], and was passing by T'an, the viscount showed him no courtesy. When he entered it again, and the other princes were all congratulating him, the viscount did not make his appearance. In winter, therefore, an army of Ts'e extinguished T'an, which had behaved so improperly. The viscount fled to Keu, having formerly made a covenant with *the lord of* it.'

Eleventh year.

一章 十有一年、春、王正月。

二章 夏、五月、戊寅、公敗宋師于鄑。

三章 秋、宋大水。

四章 冬、王姬歸于齊。

左傳曰、十一年、夏、宋爲乘丘之役故、侵我、公禦之、宋師未陳而薄之、敗諸鄑。凡師敵未陳、曰敗某師、皆陳曰戰、大崩曰敗績、得儁曰克、覆而敗之、曰取某師、京師敗、曰王師敗績于某、

秋、宋大水、公使弔焉、曰、天作淫雨、害于粢盛、若之何不弔。對曰、孤實不敬、天降之災、又以爲君憂、拜命之辱。臧文仲曰、宋其興乎、禹湯罪己、其興也悖焉、桀紂罪人、其亡也忽焉、且列國有凶、稱孤、禮也、言懼而名禮、其庶乎。既而聞之曰、公子御說之辭也、臧孫達曰、是宜爲君、有恤民之心。

冬、齊侯來逆共姬。

㊂乘丘之役、公以金僕姑射南宮長萬、公右歂孫生搏之、宋人請之、宋公靳之、曰、始吾敬子、今子、魯囚也、吾弗敬子矣。病之。

XI. 1 It was the [duke's] eleventh, year, the spring, the king's first month.

2 In summer, in the fifth month, on Mow-yin, the duke defeated an army of Sung at Tsze.

3 In autumn, there were great floods in Sung.

4 In winter, a daughter of the king went to her home in Ts'e.

Par. 2. Tsze was in Loo,—in dep. of Yen-chow; difft. from the Tsze in I. 8. The Chuen says:—'Because of the action at Shing-k'ëw, Sung now made an incursion into our State. The duke withstood the enemy; and pressing on them before they were formed in order of battle, he defeated them at Tsze.' Then follows an explanation of various military terms:—'In all military expeditions, *when an action is forced* before the enemy's army is drawn up, the text says,..."defeated such and such an army." When both sides are drawn up, it is said,..."fought," "a battle was fought." When there has been a great overthrow, the style is,..."disgracefully defeated." When any one of extraordinary valour is taken, it is said,..."vanquished *so and so*." When the defeat is utter, it is said, "took such and such an army." When the army of the capital is defeated, it is said, "The king's army was disgracefully defeated in such and such a place."'

Par. 3. Comp. II. 1. 5. The Chuen says:—'In autumn, there were great floods in Sung, and the duke sent a messenger with his condolences, saying, "Heaven has sent down excessive rains, to the injury of the millet for sacrifice. I feel that I must condole with you." The answer was, "I am as an orphan, and must confess my want of reverence, for which Heaven has sent down this plague. And moreover I have caused *you* sorrow, and beg to acknowledge the condescension of your message." Tsang Wăn-chung said, "Sung must be going to flourish. Yu and T'ang took the blame on themselves, and they prospered grandly. Këeh and Chow threw the blame on others, and their ruin came swiftly. Moreover when a State meets with calamity, it is the rule for the prince to call himself an orphan. With language showing anxious fear, and using the right name, Sung cannot be far from prosperity." Afterwards it was known that the answer was in the words of duke *Chwang's* son Yu-yueh, and then Tsang Sun-tah said, "This man deserves to be ruler. He has a heart of pity for the people."'

Par. 4. See on I. 3,4,7. Like his predecessor, duke Hwan of Ts'e had sought a royal bride; and the arrangements for the marriage had, as before, been put under the management of the marquis of Loo. Tso-she says that 'the marquis of Ts'e came to meet *his bride*, Kung Ke,' where Kung (共=恭) is the honorary title by which the lady was known after her death.

[The Chuen adds here:—'In the action at Shing-k'ëw, [in the 10th year] the duke with *his arrow called* Kin Puh-koo [金僕姑 might be translated "Steel Servant-lady," but the last two characters are often written difftly.] shot Nan-kung Chang-wan, after which the spearman on the right, Chuen-sun, took him prisoner. He was subsequently released at the request of the people of Sung, but the duke of Sung ridiculed him, saying, "Formerly, I respected you; but since you have been the prisoner of Loo, I respect you no more." This annoyed Ch'ang-wan.']

Twelfth year.

十有二年、春、王三月、紀叔姬歸于酅。夏四月。秋八月、甲午、宋萬弒其君捷、及其大夫仇牧。冬十月、宋萬出奔陳。

左傳曰、十二年、秋、宋萬弒閔公于蒙澤、遇仇牧于門、批而殺之、遇大宰督于東宮之西、又殺之、立子游、羣公子奔蕭、公子御說奔亳、南宮牛、猛獲、帥師圍亳。冬、十月、蕭叔大心、及戴、武、宣、穆、

莊之族、以曹師伐之、殺南宮牛于師、殺子游于宋、立桓公。猛獲奔衛、南宮萬奔陳、以乘車輦其母、一日而至。宋人請猛獲于衛、衛人欲勿與、石祁子曰、不可、天下之惡、一也、惡于宋、而保之于我、保之何補、得一夫而失一國、與惡而棄好、非謀也。衛人歸之。亦請南宮萬于陳、以賂、陳人使婦人飲之酒、而以犀革裹之、比及宋、手足皆見、宋人皆醢之。

XII. 1 In the [duke's] twelfth year, in spring, in the king's first month, duke [Yin's] third daughter, [who had been married to the marquis] of Ke, went [from Loo] to Hwuy.

2 It was summer, the fourth month.

3 In autumn, in the eighth month, on Këah-woo, Wan of Sung murdered his ruler Tsëeh, and his great officer K'ëw-muh.

4 In winter, in the tenth month, Wan of Sung fled to Ch'in.

Par. 1. The marriage of this lady, such as it was, was entered in I. vii. 1;—see the note on which par. We have seen in what circumstances the marquis of Ke finally abandoned his State (IV. 4), leaving his wife-proper unburied. It would seem that the lady in the text had then returned to Loo; but as the marquis' brother had been admitted into Ts'e with the city of Hwuy (III. 4), and there maintained the sacrifices to his ancestors, she considered that as her home, and now proceeded to it. Her husband was probably by this time among the departed chiefs, who had their shrines in the ancestral temple. Her conduct, from a Chinese point of view, was specially virtuous. The force of 歸 here='went to her home.'

Par. 3. The Chuen says:—'Wan of Sung murdered duke Min in Mung-tsih; and, meeting K'ëw-muh in the gate, he killed him with a slap of his hand. He then met the chief minister, Tuh, [see II. ii. 1] on the west of the eastern palace, and also killed him. He raised Tsze-yëw to the dukedom, while all the sons of former dukes fled to Sëaou, except Yu-yueh [see the Chuen on XI. 3], who fled to Poh, to besiege which Nan-kung Nëw and Măng-hwoh led a force.'

The Wan here is, of course, the Nan-kung Chang-wan of the Chuen at the end of last year, the Chang (長) there being probably his designation. K'ëw-muh was the name of the officer who was killed, and some critics, thinking it necessary to account for his being mentioned merely by his name, say there was nothing good about him worthy of commendation. The par. is one in point to show the futility of looking for praise or blame in such matters. The murderer is here mentioned by his name, and so also is the officer who died in attempting to punish him for his deed.

Par. 4. The Chuen is:—'In the 10th month, Shuh Ta-sin of Sëaou, and the descendants of the dukes Tae, Woo, Seuen, Muh, and Chwang, with an army of Ts'aou, attacked *the force that was besieging Poh*. They killed Nan-kung Nëw in the fight, and afterwards killed Tsze-yëw in the capital, raising duke Hwan [the Yu-yueh mentioned in two previous Chuen] in his place. Măng-hwoh fled to Wei, and Nang-kung Wan to Ch'in. Wan took his mother with him in a carriage [a barrow] which he himself pushed along, accomplishing all the journey [more than 70 miles] in one day. The people of Sung requested Wei to deliver up Măng-hwoh to them; and when there was an unwillingness to do so, Shih K'e-tsze said, 'Refuse him not. Wickedness is the same all under heaven. If we protect the man who has done wickedly in Sung, of what advantage will our protecting him be? To gain a fellow and lose a State; to favour wickedness and cast away friendship, is not wise counsel." On this the people of Wei gave Hwoh up. Sung also requested Nan-king Wan from Ch'in, offering a bribe at the same time. The people of Ch'in employed a woman to make him drunk, and then bound him up in a rhinoceros' hide. By the time that he reached Sung, his hands and feet appeared through the hide. The people of Sung made pickle both of him and Măng-hwoh.'

Thus Chang-wan paid the penalty of his guilt; but as we learn this only from the Chuen, and it is not said in the text 宋人殺萬, the critics have much to say on the condemnation of the people of Sung, which the silence of the text implies! Then it does not mention the burial of duke Min (閔公), whom Wan murdered, and that is understood to indicate Confucius' disapproval of him! It is surprising that the K'ang-he editors should not have been able to emancipate themselves from the bondage in which the early interpreters of the Ch'un Ts'ëw were held.

Thirteenth year.

一章 十三年、春、齊侯、宋人、陳人、蔡人、邾人、會于北杏。二章 夏、六月、齊人滅遂。三章 秋、七月。四章 冬、公會齊侯、盟于柯。

左傳曰、十三年、春、會于北杏、以平宋亂、遂人不至。夏、齊人滅遂而戍之。冬、盟于柯。始及齊平也。㊀宋人背北杏之會。

XIII. 1 In the [duke's] thirteenth year, in spring, the marquis of Ts'e, an officer of Sung, an officer of Ch'in, an officer of Ts'ae, and an officer of Choo, had a meeting at Pih-hăng.

2 In summer, in the sixth month, an army of Ts'e extinguished Suy.

3 It was autumn, the seventh month.

4 In winter, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Ts'e, when they made a covenant at Ko.

Par. 1. Pih-hăng was in Ts'e,—in the pres. dis. of Tung-o, dept. Yen-chow. The meeting here was called by the marquis of Ts'e, as Tso-she says, 'to settle the disorder of Sung.' But it has a greater historical interest as the first of the gatherings of princes of States under the presidency of one of their number, who was acknowledged, or wished to be acknowledged, as a sort of viceroy. Hwan of Ts'e was the first to attain to this position, and his leadership dates, according to many, from this year, B. C. 680, though it could hardly be said to be generally recognized till two years later. Whether he had the king's commission to undertake the pacification of Sung does not clearly appear.

Kuh-lëang reads 齊人 instead of 齊侯, though he believes that the marquis is really intended, and that the duke of Sung and the lords of Ch'in, Ts'ae, and Choo were the other 人, or 'men' present at the meeting, the calling them 'men' and denuding them of their titles being the device of Confucius to condemn their whole proceeding! The K'ang-he editors, maintaining the received text of 侯, yet agree with Kuh in interpreting all the other 人 of the princes. Of course, if the reading 侯 be retained, there can be no censure in the 人, as applied to the other princes, for Hwan was the greatest sinner of them all; and to interpret the word as='people,' to indicate that the presidency of the States was now given by a kind of 'general consent' to Hwan, which is the view of Soo Ch'eh (蘇轍) and many others, only mystifies the whole subject. We must take 人 as in the translation;—see I. i. 5, II. xi. 1, *et al.*;—as yet the other princes distrusted Ts'e, and only sent officers to the conference.

Par. 2. Suy was a small State, within the limits of Loo, and near to Shing (郕), whose chiefs had the surname of Kwei (嬀), as being descended from Shun. Its chief town was 30 *le* to the north-west of the pres. dis. city of Ning-yang, dep. Yen-chow. Tso-she says that 'no officer had been sent from it to the meeting at Pih-hăng, and in the summer, a force from Ts'e extinguished it, and occupied it with a body of men on guard.' As to the translation of 人 here by 'army,' see on I. ii. 2.

Par. 3. See I. vi. 3; *et al.*

Par. 4. Ko was in Ts'e,—in pres. dis. of Tung-o, dept. Yen-chow. Tso-she says that 'this covenant was the first step to peace between Loo and Ts'e.' Kung-yang relates a story in connection with it, which has obtained general currency and belief:—'When duke Chwang was about to meet with Hwan, the officer Ts'aou [the Ts'aou Kwei of the Chuen on X. 1] advanced to him and said, "What is your feeling, O marquis, *in view of this meeting?*" The duke said, "It were better for me to die than to live." "In that case," said Ts'aou, "do you prove yourself a match for the ruler, and I will prove myself a match for his minister."

"Very well," replied the duke; and the meeting was held. When the duke ascended the altar, Ts'aou followed him with his sword in his hand. Kwan Chung advanced, and said, "What does the marquis require?" Ts'aou replied, "Our cities are overthrown, and our borders oppressed. Does your ruler not consider it?" "What then does he require?" the other repeated, and Ts'aou said, "We wish to ask the *restitution of the* country on the north of the Wăn." Kwan Chung looked at Hwan, and said, "Does your lordship grant the request?" The marquis said, "Yes." Ts'aou then requested a covenant, and duke Hwan descended from the altar, and made a covenant. When this was done, Ts'aou threw away his sword, and took his leave. A forced covenant *like this* might have been disregarded, but duke Hwan did not break it. The officer Ts'aou might have been regarded as his enemy, but duke Hwan did not resent his conduct. The good faith of duke Hwan began from this covenant at Ko to be acknowledged throughout the kingdom.'

[The Chuen adds here:—'The people of Sung renounced *the engagements at* the meeting of Pih-hăng.']

Fourteenth year.

一經 十有四年、春、齊人、陳人、曹人、伐宋。

二章 夏、單伯會伐宋。

三章 秋、七月、荆入蔡。

四章 冬、單伯會齊侯、宋公、衞侯、鄭伯、于鄄。

左傳曰、十四年、春、諸侯伐宋、齊請師于周。夏、單伯會之、取成于宋、而還。

鄭厲公自櫟侵鄭、及大陵、獲傅瑕、傅瑕曰、苟舍我、吾請納君。與之盟而赦之、六月、甲子、傅瑕殺鄭子、及其二子、而納厲公。初內蛇與外蛇、鬬于鄭南門中、內蛇死、六年而厲公入。公聞之、問于申繻曰、猶有妖乎。對曰、人之所忌、其氣燄以取之、妖由人興也、人無釁焉、妖不自作、人棄常、則妖興、故有妖。厲公入、遂殺傅瑕、使謂原繁曰、傅瑕貳、周有常刑、既伏其罪矣、納我而無二心者、吾皆許之上大夫之事、吾願與伯父圖之、且寡人出、伯父無裏言、入又不念寡人、寡人憾焉。對曰、先君桓公命我先人典司宗祏、社稷有主、而外其心、其何貳如之、苟主社稷、國內之民、其誰不爲臣、臣無二心、天之制也、子儀在位十四年矣、而謀召君者、庸非貳乎、莊公之子、猶有八人、若皆以官爵行賂勸貳、而可以濟事、君其若之何、臣聞命矣。乃縊而死。

蔡哀侯爲莘故、繩息嬀以語楚子、楚子如息、以食入享、遂滅息、以息嬀歸、生堵敖、及成王焉、未言、楚子問之、對

曰、吾一婦人、而事二夫、縱弗能死、其又奚言。楚子以蔡侯滅息、遂伐蔡。秋、七月、楚入蔡。君子曰、商書所謂惡之易也、如火之燎于原、不可鄉邇、其猶可撲滅者、其如蔡哀侯乎。冬、會于鄄。宋服故也。

XIV. 1 In the [duke's] fourteenth year, in spring, an army of Ts'e, an army of Ch'in, and an army of Ts'aou, invaded Sung.

2 In summer, the earl of Shen joined in the invasion of Sung.

3 In autumn, in the seventh month, King entered [the capital of] Ts'ae.

4 In winter, the earl of Shen had a meeting with the marquis of Ts'e, the duke of Sung, the marquis of Wei, and the earl of Ch'ing, at Keuen.

Par. 1. This invasion was in consequence of the fact mentioned in the last Chuen. Hoo Gan-kwoh says that the 人 here indicates that 'the leaders were of inferior rank and the forces few,' but the K'ang-he editors demur to such a canon as applicable to all cases of the use of 人. He adds that for 20 years the marquis of Ts'e did not send out a 'great officer' in command of a military expedition, being occupied with consolidating the power of the State for the great object of his ambition; but this assertion they show to be false. No doubt, the 人 here indicates that the princes of the States named did not themselves command the forces. I translate the term by 'army.'

Par. 2. The earl of Shen,—see on I. 3. Tso-she simply says:—'In summer, the earl of Shen joined them [the armies in the above par.], received the submission of Sung, and returned.' The marquis of Ts'e, as Too says, had requested the aid of the king to coerce Sung to the acknowledgement of its engagements; and the result was this mission of the earl of Shen. It was an important move of the marquis to obtain the royal sanction to his claim to be the leader of the princes.

[The Chuen gives here a long narrative about the affairs of Ch'ing:—'Duke Le [see II. xv. 9] of Ch'ing stole into the country from Leih; and at Ta-ling, he captured Foo Hëa, who said, "If you let me go, I will undertake to effect your restoration." The duke, accordingly, made a covenant with him, and forgave him. In the sixth month, on Këah-tsze, Hëa killed the actual earl [the text simply is 鄭子, "a son of Ch'ing"] and his two sons, and restored duke Le.

'Before this, two serpents, one inside and one outside, had fought together in the southern gate of the capital, till the inside one was killed. It was six years after this when duke Le entered. The duke [of Loo] heard of the circumstance, and asked Shin Seu, saying, "*Has Tuh's restoration come from* that supernatural appearance?" The answer was, "When men are full of fear, their breath, as it were, blazes up, and brings such things. Monsters and monstrous events take their rise from men. If men afford no cause for them, they do not arise of themselves. When men abandon the constant course *of virtue*, then monstrosities appear. Therefore it is that there are monsters and monstrous events."

'When duke Le had entered Ch'ing, he put Foo Hëa to death, and sent a message to Yuen Fan [see the Chuen, after I. v. 2. Fan had taken a principal part in the establishing of Tsze-e], saying, "Foo Hëa was divided in his allegiance to me, and for such a case Chow has its regular penalty;—he has suffered for his crime. To all who restored me and had no wavering in their allegiance, I promised that they should be great officers of the first class; and now I wish to consider the matter with you, uncle. When I fled from the State, you had no words to speak for me in it; now that I have *re*-entered, you again have no thought about me:—I feel displeased at this." Yuen Fan replied, "Your ancestor, duke Hwan, gave command to my ancestor to take charge of the stone-shrines in the ancestral temple. While the altars of the land and grain had their lord [in the ruling earl], what greater treachery could there have been than to turn one's thoughts to another out of the State? So long as he presided over those altars, among all the people of the State, who was there that was not his subject? That a subject should not have a double heart is the law of Heaven. Tsze-e held the earldom for fourteen years;—did not those who took measures to call in your lordship show a divided allegiance? Of the children of duke Chwang, *your father*, there are still 8 men; if they were all to proffer offices, dignities, and other bribes, so as thereby to accomplish their object, what would become of your lordship? But I have heard your commands." And forthwith he strangled himself.']

Par. 3. King,—see X. 5. The Chuen says:—'The marquis Gae [Hëen-woo of X. 5] of Ts'ae, *in revenge* for *the defeat at* Sin, talked with the viscount of Ts'oo admiringly about the *lady* Kwei, *wife of the marquis* of Seih. The viscount went to

Seih, and entered the city with the appliances of a feast to entertain the marquis, and took the opportunity to extinguish the State. He *also* took the marquis's wife back with him to Ts'oo, where she bore to him Too-gaou and *another son, who was afterwards* king Ch'ing; but *all this time* she never spake a word. The viscount asking the reason of her silence, she replied, "It has been my lot to serve two husbands. Though I have not been able to die, how should I venture to speak?" The viscount, considering that the marquis of Ts'ae had been the occasion of his extinguishing Seih, proceeded to invade Ts'ae [to please the lady]; and in autumn, in the 8th month, Ts'oo entered *the capital of* Ts'ae. The superior man may say that in the case of the marquis Gae of Ts'ae we have an illustration of what is said in the Books of Shang [Shoo, IV. vii. Pt. i. 12] about the easy progress of wickedness, that it is "like a fire blazing out in a plain, which cannot be approached, and still less can be beaten out."'

Par. 4. Keuen was in Wei,—in the pres. dep. of Tung-ch'ang (東昌), Shan-tung, 20 *le* to the east of the city of Puh Chow (濮州). Tso-she says that this meeting was held 'because of the submission of Sung.' From this time, the position of the marquis of Ts'e may be said to have been fully acknowledged by all the States of what was the then 'China proper.' The presence of the earl of Shen, the king's representative, gave the royal sanction to his claim to be the leader of the other princes, and the lords of Sung, Wei, and Ch'ing, who had formerly resented his ambition and stood aloof from him, now gave in their adhesion.

Fifteenth year.

一章 十有五年、春、齊侯、宋公、陳侯、衞侯、鄭伯、會于鄄。

二章 夏、夫人姜氏如齊。

三章 秋、宋人、齊人、邾人伐郳。

四章 鄭人侵宋。

五章 冬、十月。

左傳曰、十五年、春、復會焉。齊始霸也。秋、諸侯爲宋伐郳。鄭人間之而侵宋。

XV. 1 In the [duke's] fifteenth year, in spring, the marquis of Ts'e, the duke of Sung, the marquis of Ch'in, the marquis of Wei, and the earl of Ch'ing, had a meeting at Keuen.

2 In summer, [duke Hwan's] wife, the lady Këang, went to Ts'e.

3 In autumn, a body of men from Sung, one from Ts'e, and one from Choo, invaded E.

4 A body of men from Ch'ing made an inroad into Sung.

5 It was winter, the tenth month.

Par. 1. We have the same princes here, as in the meeting at the same place a month or two before, with the addition of the marquis of Ch'in. Tso-she says that that now 'for the first time Ts'e was *pa*, or leader of the States,' which is true in so far as the representative of the king had returned to Chow, and without his presence, the other princes acknowledged the authority of Hwan. The earl of Ch'ing here, and at the previous meeting, was, of course, Tuh, or duke Le.

Par. 2. Here again the restless and unprincipled Wăn Këang appears. What now took her to Ts'e we do not know, but her going there was contrary to rule. The daughter of one State, married into another, might at certain times revisit her parents; but, after their death, she could only send a minister to ask after the welfare of her brothers and other relatives.

Par. 3. For 郳 here Kung-yang has 兒. It is the same as 郳 in V. 3, and was afterwards

known as 'little Choo (小邾).' Tso-she says that 'the princes invaded E in the interest of Sung.' Sung is entered before Ts'e, as being the principal party in the expedition, which moreover was a small one. There is nothing in this circumstance inconsistent, as some think, with the presidency of the marquis of Ts'e.

Par. 4. While Sung was engaged with the expedition against E, Ch'ing took advantage of the opportunity to make a raid upon it (Tso-she says, 間之而侵宋). Tuh of Ch'ing owed his first elevation to the earldom to Sung, and subsequently the position which he maintained in Leih; but he had never been really on good terms with duke Chwang; and now that he was dead, and the ruling duke had his hands full, he took the opportunity to make the inroad in the text. His doing so was contrary to the obligations under which both Sung and Ch'ing stood to Ts'e.

Sixteenth year.

一章 十有六年、春、王正月。

二章 夏、宋人、齊人、衞人、伐鄭。

三章 秋、荊伐鄭。

四章 冬、十有二月、會齊侯、宋公、陳侯、衞侯、鄭伯、許男、滑伯、滕子、同盟于幽。

五章 邾子克卒。

左傳曰、十六年、夏、諸侯伐鄭、宋故也

㈡鄭伯自櫟入、緩告于楚。秋、楚伐鄭、及櫟。爲不禮故也。

㈢鄭伯治與于雍糾之亂者、九月、殺公子閼、刖强鉏、公父定叔出奔衞、三年而復之、曰、不可使共叔無後于鄭。使以十月入、曰、良月也、就盈數焉。君子謂强鉏不能衞其足。

㈣冬、同盟于幽。鄭成也。

㈤王使虢公命曲沃伯、以一軍爲晉侯。

㈥初、晉武公伐夷、執夷詭諸、蔿國請而免之、既而弗報、故子國作亂、謂晉人曰、與我伐夷、而取其地。遂以晉師伐夷、殺夷詭諸、周公忌父出奔虢、惠王立而復之。

XVI. 1 It was the [duke's] sixteenth year, the spring, the king's first month.

2 In summer, a body of men from Sung, one from Ts'e, and one from Wei, invaded Ch'ing.

3 In autumn, King invaded Ch'ing.

4 In winter, in the twelfth month, [the duke] had a meeting with the marquis of Ts'e, the duke of Sung, the mar-

quis of Ch'in, the marquis of Wei, the earl of Ch'ing, the baron of Heu, the earl of Hwah, and the viscount of T'ăng, when they made a covenant together in Yëw.

5 K'ih, viscount of Choo, died.

Par. 2 This expedition was 'on account of Sung,'—to punish Ch'ing for its inroad on Sung in the previous autumn. Sung, as in the attack on E, commanded in the expedition, and its men are therefore mentioned before those of Ts'e.

Par. 3. Ts'oo or King here takes another step in advance, and comes more threateningly near to the States of the 'Middle kingdom.' Ch'in, Ts'ae, Heu, and Ch'ing had all to bear the brunt of its ambitious inroads; and from this time Ch'ing especially became the field of contention between it and Ts'e with the other Powers dominating in the north. The reason for its present invasion of Ch'ing is given by Tso-she:—'When the earl of Ch'ing entered the State from Leih [see the Chuen after XIV. 2], he was dilatory in announcing the thing to Ts'oo, in consequence of which Ts'oo this autumn invaded Ch'ing, and penetrated as far as Leih:—because of the earl's want of the proper courtesy.'

[The Chuen adds:—'The earl of Ch'ing set himself to deal with those who had taken part in the disturbances connected with the death of Yung Këw [see the Chuen on II. xv. 4]. In the 9th month he put to death the Kung-tsze Oh [there must be a mistake here either of the name 閼, or of 公子 for 公孫] and cut off the feet of K'ëang-ts'oo [these men had been partizans of Chae Chung]. Kung-foo Ting-shuh [公父 is the clan-name; 叔, the designation; 定 the hon. title] fled to Wei, but after 3 years the earl restored him, saying, "Kung-shuh [brother of duke Chwang, the Kung-shuh Twan of the Chuen, I. i. 3. He was grandfather to this Kung-foo Ting-shuh] must not be left without posterity in Ch'ing." He made him enter the city in the 10th month, saying that it was "a good month," with reference to *ten* as the completion of the numerals. The superior man may say that K'ëang-ts'oo was not able to defend his feet [a poor joke on his punishment; meaning that he should have fled from the State].

Par. 4. This was no doubt an important gathering, and might be called the inauguration of the marquis of Ts'e's presidency. We have here the phrase 同盟 'they covenanted *together*,' which has not occurred before; and the critics make great efforts to determine its meaning. Kung makes it = 同欲, 'covenanted with a common desire;' to which Kuh-lëang adds that the common object was 'to honour Chow.' Tso-she says that the meeting was held with reference to the settlement of the affairs of Ch'ing and its submission (鄭成), which makes Too define the phrase as = 服異, 'the submission of all who had had a different mind,' *i.e.*, had been unwilling to acknowledge the authority of Ts'e. Where the meaning is thus undetermined, the safe plan is to keep to a literal rendering. The contracting parties were numerous; they united in acknowledging the presidency of the marquis of Ts'e, and undertook with him to support the House of Chow. Yëw, where the meeting was held, was in Sung,—in the pres. dis. of K'aou-shing (考城), dep. Kwei-tih. Kung-yang reads 公 before 會, and certainly we must understand that it was duke Chwang himself who was present on the part of Loo. Too, indeed, supposes that the absence of any subject before 會 indicates that the representative of Loo was some officer of inferior rank (微者); while Hoo Gan-kwoh and others, believing that the duke was present, think that the 公 was purposely left out to conceal the fact.

Up to this par., Wei has always taken precedence of Ch'in, where their marquises were mentioned together, but here and subsequently Ch'in is enumerated first. It is supposed that the marquis of Ts'e made this arrangement in honour of Shun, whose descendants held Ch'in, and to mark his sense of the importance of the State as a bulwark, though small in itself, against the encroachments of Ts'oo. Hwah here is difft. from the small State of the same name in III. 5. This was an earldom, whose descendants had the Chow surname of Ke (姬). Its chief town was Fei (費), 20 *le* south of the pres. dis. city of Yen-sze, dep. Ho-nan. Between 許男 and 滑伯, Kung and Kuh both have 曹伯.

Par. 5. This K'ih was the name of E-foo, lord of Choo, who appears in I. i. 2. At that time Choo was only a State attached to Loo. Here its chief appears as a viscount. The only reasonable account of this is that given by Too Yu, that the marquis of Ts'e had obtained from the king a patent of nobility for Choo. Kuh-lëang seems to think, absurdly enough, that the ennobling was from the pencil of Confucius!

[The Chuen here calls our attention to the affairs of Tsin:—'The king sent the duke of Kwoh to confer on the earl of K'ëuh-yuh the title of marquis of Tsin,—to maintain only one army.'

'Before this, duke Woo of Tsin had attacked E, and captured Kwei-choo [E was in Chow; and the city held by Kwei-choo, a great officer of the court], whom, however, he let go on the petition of Wei Kwoh. But for this service, Kwoh got no acknowledgment, and he therefore raised an insurrection, and said to the people of Tsin, "Attack E with me, and take its territory." Accordingly he attacked it with an army of Tsin, and killed Kwei-choo. Ke-foo, duke of Chow, fled to *the State of* Kwoh, and it was not till after the accession of king Hwuy that he was restored.']

Seventeenth year.

一章十有七年、春、齊人執鄭詹。二章夏、齊人殲于遂。三章秋、鄭詹自齊逃來。四章冬、多麋。

左傳曰、十七年、春、齊人執鄭詹。鄭不朝也。夏、遂因氏、頜氏、工婁氏、須遂氏、饗齊戍、醉而殺之、齊人殲焉。

XVII. 1 In the [duke's seventeenth year, in spring, the people of Ts'e made Chen of Ch'ing prisoner.

2 In summer, the men of Ts'e in Suy were all slaughtered.

3 In autumn, Chen of Ch'ing made his escape from Ts'e [to Loo].

4 In winter there were many deer.

Par. 1. This Chen (Kung has 瞻) was chief minister to Tsze-e earl of Ch'ing, when Tuh succeeded in regaining the State;—see the Chuen after XIV. 2. He had consented to the murder of Tsze-e by Foo Hëa, and duke Le had retained him in his office. It is not clear why Ts'e seized him at this time. Tso-she says it was because Ch'ing had not been to the court of Ts'e. Kung-yang thinks it was because he was a worthless, artful man. The 齊人 seems to indicate that for whatever reason he was seized, the act met with general approval.

Par. 2. The extinction of Suy by Ts'e was related in XIII. 2, where the Chuen adds that Ts'e stationed men in guard over the territory. A sufficient number of the people, it appears, had been left to deal with the guards of Ts'e in the way here described. The Chuen says:—"The Suy clans of Yin, Ling, Kung-low, and Seu-suy feasted the guards of Ts'e, made them drunk, and killed them;—the men of Ts'e were all slaughtered." For 殲 Kung-yang has 瀸, with the same meaning. Too Yu takes it in the sense of—'made a complete end of themselves,' attributing their slaughter to their own carelessness. The translation inverts the order of the text, in order to bring out the historical meaning.

Par. 3. The 來 implies, of course, that it was to Loo that Chen came; and this brought on Loo the anger of Ts'e.

Par. 4. The *me* was a species of deer;—see Mencius I. Pt. I. ii. 1. It is described as a species of the *luh* (鹿), by which latter term is meant the axis deer. But the *me* is larger and of a dark greenish colour; it is fond of marshy places, and is said to shed its horns about the time of the winter solstice. I think it must be our red deer, or a variety of it. These creatures appeared in such numbers, as to be a plague. So thinks Too; others think it is only the unusualness of their appearing that is recorded.

Eighteenth year.

一章十有八年、春、王三月、日有食之。二章夏、公追戎于濟西。三章秋、有蜮。四章冬、十月。

㈠左傳曰、十八年、春、虢公、晉侯朝王、王饗醴、命之宥、皆賜玉五瑴、馬三匹、非禮也。王命諸侯、名位不同、禮亦異數、不以禮假人。㈡虢公、晉侯、鄭伯、使原莊公逆王后于陳、陳嬀歸于京師、實惠后。

夏、公追戎于濟西。不言其來、諱之也。

秋、有蜮。爲災也。

㈢初、楚武王克權、使鬭緡尹之、以叛、圍而殺之、遷權于那處、使閻敖尹之。及文王卽位、與巴人伐申、而驚其師、巴人叛楚、而伐那處、取之、遂門于楚。閻敖游涌而逸、楚子殺之、其族爲亂、冬、巴人因之以伐楚。

XVIII. 1 In the [duke's] eighteenth year, in spring, in the king's third month, the sun was eclipsed.

2 In summer, the duke pursued the Jung to the west of the Tse.

3 In autumn there were *yih*.

4 It was winter, the tenth month.

Par. 1. The eclipse which is here intended took place on April 6th, B. C. 675, on the day Jin-tsze (壬子), the 1st of the 5th month. There is in the text therefore an error of one month, even if we suppose another intercalary. It will be observed that the record is imperfect, the day of the eclipse not being given.

[The Chuen relates here:—'This spring, the duke of Kwoh and the marquis of Tsin appeared at the king's court. The king feasted them, supplying them with new, sweet, spirits, and conferring gifts on them to encourage their festivity. To each of them he gave five pairs of jade ornaments and three horses;—which was contrary to propriety. When the king bestows his favours on the princes, as their titles and rank are different, so also should his offerings be. He does not take the offerings of one, and, as it were, lend them to another.'

'The duke of Kwoh the marquis of Tsin, and the earl of Ch'ing, sent duke Chwang of Yuen to meet the king's bride in Ch'in, who came accordingly to the capital. She became queen Hwuy.']

Par. 2. Tso says that the coming from the pursuit of the Jung is not mentioned and is in fact concealed; but surely it is implied in that pursuit of them. The Jung,—see I. ii. 1. The Tse,—see the Shoo, III. Bk. I. Pt. i. 20.

Par. 3. I cannot tell what the *yih* was or is;—see the She, II. v. V. 8. The Shwoh-wăn defines it as 短狐 'a short fox,' but that is merely another name for the creature. Too Yu gives the same name, and adds:—'It spurts out sand on men from its mouth.' The Pun-ts'aou calls it 'the archer.' The K'ang-he dict. quotes another account of it, that it is like a turtle, has three feet, is produced in the southern Yueh, and is also called 'the shadow-shooter,' because, being in the water and a man being on the shore, it can kill him by darting at his shadow. The same account adds that, acc. to some, it spurts sand on people, which penetrates their skin, and produces such an irritation, that it becomes quite a plague. These statements lead us to think of some kind of fly, produced from the water, and inflicting a painful bite. It was peculiar to the country south of Loo, and its appearing there in great numbers this autumn made the thing be recorded.

This perhaps is the proper explanation of the par.; but many critics consider that some kind of locust is intended, and that instead of 蜮 we should read—some say 蟘, some say 螣. This view is ingeniously supported by Wang Taou. A third view, that Chen of Ch'ing, who had taken refuge in Loo from Ts'e, (XVII. 3), is intended, as a cheat and deceiver, [蜮 being intended to suggest 惑], must be at once rejected.

[To the last par. the Chuen appends:—'Before this, king Woo of Ts'oo had conquered K'euen, and entrusted the government of it to Tow Min, who held it and rebelled. The king besieged K'euen, *took it*, and put Min to death, removing *also* the people to Na-ch'oo, where he put them under the charge of Yen Gaou. When king Wăn succeeded to Woo, he invaded Shin along with the people of Pa, when he so frightened the army of Pa, that the people revolted from Ts'oo, attacked Na-ch'oo, took it, and advanced to attack the gate of the capital. Yen Gaou made his escape from them by swimming across the Yung, but the viscount of Ts'oo put him to death. His kindred in consequence raised an insurrection; and this winter, the people of Pa took advantage of their movement to invade Ts'oo.']

Nineteenth year.

一章 十有九年、春、王正月。

二章 夏、四月。

三章 秋、公子結媵陳人之婦于鄄、遂及齊侯、宋公盟。

四章 夫人姜氏如莒。

五章 冬、齊人、宋人、陳人、伐我西鄙。

㊀左傳曰、十九年、春、楚子禦之、大敗于津、還、鬻拳弗納、遂伐黃、敗黃師于踖陵、還及湫、有疾、夏、六月、庚申、卒。鬻拳葬諸夕室、亦自殺也、而葬于絰皇。初、鬻拳強諫楚子、楚子弗從、臨之以兵、懼而從之、鬻拳曰、吾懼君以兵、罪莫大焉、遂自刖也。楚人以爲大閽、謂之大伯、使其後掌之。君子曰、鬻拳可謂愛君矣、諫以自納于刑、刑猶不忘納君于善。

㊀初、王姚嬖于莊王、生子頹、子頹有寵、蔿國爲之師、及惠王卽位、取蔿國之圃以爲囿。邊伯之宮近于王宮、王取之。王奪子禽祝跪、與詹父田、而收膳夫之秩、故蔿國、邊伯、石速、詹父、子禽祝跪、作亂、因蘇氏。

㊀秋、五大夫奉子頹以伐王、不克、出奔溫、蘇子奉子頹以奔衛、衛師燕師伐周、冬、立子頹。

XIX. 1 It was the [duke's] nineteenth year, the spring, the king's first month.

2 It was summer, the fourth month.

3 In autumn, Këeh, a son of duke [Hwan], was escorting to Keuen a daughter to accompany to the harem the wife of an officer of Ch'in, when he took occasion to make a covenant with the marquis of Ts'e and the duke of Sung.

4 [Duke Hwan's] wife, the lady Këang went to Keu.

5 In winter, a body of men from Ts'e, a body from Sung, and one from Ch'in, invaded our western borders.

Parr. 1, 2. See I. vi. 7: *et al.* [After par. 1, the last Chuen is continued:—'In spring, the viscount of Ts'oo met them, and sustained a great defeat at Tsin; and on his return to *the city*, Yuh-k'euen [the porter of the gate] refused to admit him. On this he proceeded to attack Hwang, and defeated its army at Tsëoh-ling. As he was returning, he fell ill at Tsëaou, and died in summer, on Kăng-shin, in the 6th month. Yuh-k'euen buried him in Seih-shih after which he killed himself, and was buried in T'ëeh-hwang.

'Before this, Yuh-k'euen had addressed a vehement remonstrance to the viscount, and when

the viscount would not follow it, he proceeded to threaten him with a weapon, for fear of which the other adopted his advice. Yuh-k'euen said, "I have frightened my ruler with a weapon; no crime could be greater." He then cut off his own feet. The people of Tsoo made him their grand porter, and styled him T'ae-pih, making the office also hereditary to his descendants. The superior man will say that Yuh-k'euen loved his prince. He remonstrated with him till he led himself to a severe punishment; and after that punishment, he still did not forget to urge on his prince to what was good.']

Par. 3. 媵者送女之稱, '*Ying* is the name used for escorting a young lady.' There is much difference of opinion about the par. Who the lady was, and who 'the man of Ch'in,' was, are questions greatly agitated. My own view in the translation is that defended by the K'ang-he editors, and I will give their note on the passage:—'Kung and Kuh both think that the young lady was a daughter of the House of Loo, who was being escorted to the harem of the wife of the marquis of Ch'in. Hoo is of opinion that "the man of Ch'in" was not the marquis, but some one of inferior rank. Ch'ing E, however, thinks that some great House of Keuen was marrying a daughter to an officer of Ch'in, and that Këeh is here escorting a daughter of his own by a concubine to go and accompany her to her harem. Now, according to K'ung Ying-tah, ladies intended for such a duty were escorted to the State from which the wife proper was to be married, that they might follow her from thence; and the words of the text, 于鄄, "to Keuen" seem to determine in favour of Ch'ing's interpretation. Ying-tah, indeed, to meet the view of Kung and Kuh, says that Keuen belonged to Wei; that Ch'in was marrying a lady of the House of Wei; that Këeh was escorting his charge to Wei; and that when he got to Keuen, he halted with her, and made a covenant, as related. But if the case had been thus, we should have read 至鄄, 'when he came to Keuen,' and not 于鄄. That phrase shows that all the escorting was to Keuen.'

With regard to the action of Këeh's leaving or delaying the object of his journey, and making a covenant with Ts'e and Sung, of course he had no authority for it from duke Chwang. Great officers, however, had a discretionary power in such matters. If they could do good service to their State by taking occasion from the circumstances in which they found themselves to undertake a political office, they might do so:—but at their own risk.

Par. 4. Wăn Këang was a Messalina. The stories told in the "History of the States" of this and a subsequent visit to Keu are very filthy.

[The Chuen has here a narrative about troubles at court:—'Before this, a lady Yaou had been a favourite with king Chwang, and bore him a son, called Tsze-t'uy, who also was a favourite, and had for his tutor Wei Kwoh. When king Hwuy succeeded to the throne, he took the garden of Wei Kwoh to make a park for himself. As the mansion of Pëen Pih was near to the royal palace, he *also* appropriated it; and he took their fields *as well* from Tsze-k'in, Chuh Kwei, and Chen-foo, keeping back *moreover* the allowances of his cook.' Because of these things, Wei Kwoh, Pëen Pih, Shih Suh [the cook], Chen-foo, Tsze-k'in, and Chuh Kwei raised an insurrection, and allied themselves with the Soo clan.'

'In autumn, the five great officers raised the standard of Tsze-t'uy to supersede the king; but they were unsuccessful, and fled to Wun, while the chief of the Soo clan fled to Wei with Tsze-t'uy. Then an army of Wei and one of Yen attacked Chow, and in winter placed Tsze-t'uy on the throne.']

Par. 5. The reasons for this confederation against Loo were, probably, its reception of Chen of Ts'ing, when he fled from Ts'e, (XVII. 3), and something connected with the proceedings of Këeh, in the autumn of this year.

Twentieth year.

一章 二十年、春、王二月、夫人姜氏如莒。

二章 夏、齊大災。

三章 秋、七月。

四章 冬、齊人伐戎。

(一)左傳曰、二十年、春、鄭伯和王室、不克、執燕仲父。夏、鄭伯遂以王歸、王處于櫟。秋、王及鄭伯入于鄔。遂入成周、取其寶器而還。冬、王子頹享五大夫、樂及徧舞、鄭伯聞之、見虢叔曰、寡人聞之、曰、哀樂失時、殃咎必至、今王子頹歌舞不倦、樂禍也、夫司寇行戮、君爲之不舉、而況敢樂禍乎、奸王之位、禍孰大焉、臨禍忘憂、憂必及之、盍納王乎。虢公曰、寡人之願也。

XX. 1 In the [duke's] twentieth year, in spring, in the king's second month, [duke Hwan's] wife, the lady Këang, went to Keu.

2 In summer, there was a great disaster from fire in Ts'e.

3 It was autumn, the seventh month.

4 In winter, a body of men from Ts'e smote the Jung.

Par. 1. See on the 4th par. of last year.

[The Chuen here resumes the narrative introduced after par. 4 of last year:—'This spring, the earl of Ch'ing attempted to harmonize the royal House, but without success; but he seized Chung-foo of Yen. In summer, he brought the king back with him, who took up his residence in Leih. In autumn, the king and the earl entered into Woo, from which they surprised Ch'ing-chow, brought away the valuable articles from it, and returned *to Leih*. In winter, king *Chwang's* son T'uy feasted the five great officers, when all the *royal* music and pantomimic dances were performed. The earl of Ch'ing heard of it, and said to Shuh of Kwoh, "This I have heard, that when sorrow or joy is unseasonable, calamity is sure to come. Now king *Chwang's* son T'uy is singing and dancing as if he were never tired;—it is being joyous over calamity. When the minister of Crime executes the penalty of death, the ruler does not have his table fully spread;—how much less would he dare to be joyous over calamity! What calamity could be greater than to take violent possession of the king's throne? When one, in a time of calamity, forgets to be sorrowful, sorrow is sure to come to him. Why should we not restore the king?" The duke of Kwoh said, "It is what I desire *to do*."]

Par. 2. See II. xiv. 4. Kung-yang, indeed, says that 大災=大瘠, 'great emaciation;' *i.e.*, there was a great plague affecting people's health in Ts'e. But this meaning of 災 cannot be applied to the other passages in the Classic where the term occurs.

Par. 4. Kuh-lëang has 我 instead of 戎. The two characters might easily be confounded; but the received reading is to be followed. Loo had been troubled with these Jung two years before;—the attack on them now by Ts'e was probably intended to conciliate Loo. The marquis of Ts'e had certainly been rather remiss in his position of *pa*. He ought not to have allowed Ch'ing to take the lead in supporting king Hwuy against the rebels in Chow.

Twenty-first year.

一章 二十有一年、春、王正月。

二章 夏、五月、辛酉、鄭伯突卒。

三章 秋、七月、戊戌、夫人姜氏薨。

四章 冬、十有二月、葬鄭厲公。

左傳曰、二十一年、春、胥命于弭、夏、同伐王城、鄭伯將王自圉門入、虢叔自北門入、殺王子頹、及五大夫、鄭伯享王于闕西辟、樂備。王與之武公之畧自虎牢以東。原伯曰、鄭伯效尤、其亦將有咎。五月、鄭厲公卒。王巡虢守、虢公爲王宮于玤、王與之酒泉、鄭伯之享王也、王以后之鞶鑑予之、虢公請器、王予之爵、鄭伯由是始惡于王。冬、王歸自虢。

XXI. 1 It was the [duke's] twenty-first year, the spring, the king's first month.

2 In summer, in the fifth month, on Sin-yëw, Tuh, earl of Ch'ing, died.

3 In autumn, in the seventh month, on Mow-seuh, [duke Hwan's] wife, the lady Këang, died.

4 In winter, in the twelfth month, there was the burial of duke Le of Ch'ing.

Par. 2. Continuing the Chuen after the 1st par. of last year, Tso-she says:—"In the *duke's* 21st year, *accordingly*, in spring, they [the earl of Ch'ing and Shuh of Kwoh] pledged each other at Me; and in summer, they together attacked the royal city. The earl entered, along with the king, at the south gate, and Shuh of Kwoh entered at the northern, when they killed Tsze-t'uy and the five great officers. The earl of Ch'ing feasted the king in the apartment on the west of the gateway with the representations of the penal code. There was a complete service of music, and the king gave him what had formerly been granted to duke Woo,—all the territory eastward from Hoo-laou. The earl of Yuen said, "The earl of Ch'ing is following the bad example *which he condemned in Tsze-t'uy*. He also will meet with calamity." In the 5th month, duke Le of Ch'ing died.'

On Tuh who here passes off the stage, Chang Hëah (張洽 ; a writer of the 13th cent.) says —'Tuh was only the son of duke Chwang by a concubine, yet after his father's death he snatched the earldom from Hwuh; and tho' driven out for a time by Chae Chung, he entered again into Leih, and in the end made himself master of the State. Thus it is that we have no statement of Hwuh, We, and E's holding the earldom, because they could not keep it, and the different style about Tuh is understood to indicate that, first and last, he was able to maintain himself. Here then was a man, a usurper and a fratricide, and the Ch'un Ts'ëw calls him ruler from his beginning to his end, and records moreover, however, how he died in his dignity:—it is in this way that it shows how mean men are permitted to get their wills, rebellious villains come to a good end, the royal laws have no course, and the world is thrown all into confusion!'

Par. 3. The reader is not sorry to have done with Wăn-këang.

[The last Chuen is here completed:—'The king made a progress of survey of the fief of Kwoh, when the duke made a palace for him in Pung. The king granted to Kwoh the territory of Ts'ëw-ts'euen. When the earl of Ch'ing feasted the king, the king had given him a queen's large girdle with the mirror in it. The duke of Kwoh *now* begged for something, and the king gave him a drinking cup. This was the first occasion of the hatred which the earl of Ch'ing [duke Wăn, son of Tuh] cherished against the king. In winter, the king returned from Kwoh.]

Par. 4. Something had occurred to make the burial be delayed beyond the regular time.

Twenty-second year.

一章 二十有二年、春、王正月、肆大眚。

二章 癸丑、葬我小君文姜。

三章 陳人殺其公子御寇。

四章 夏五月。

五章 秋七月、丙申、及齊高傒盟于防。

六章 冬、公如齊納幣。

左傳曰、二十二年、春、陳人殺其大子御寇。陳公子完、與顓孫奔齊、顓孫自齊來奔。齊侯使敬仲爲卿。辭曰、羈旅之臣、幸若獲宥、及于寬政、赦其不閑于教訓、而免于罪戾、弛于負擔、君之惠也、所獲多矣、敢辱高位、以速官謗、請以死告。詩云、翹翹車乘、招我以弓、豈不欲往、畏我友朋。使爲工正、飲桓公酒、樂、公曰、以火繼之。辭曰、臣卜其晝、未卜其夜、不敢。君子曰、酒以成禮、不繼以淫、義也、以君成禮、弗納于淫、仁也。初、懿氏卜妻敬仲、其妻占之、曰、吉、是謂鳳皇于飛、和鳴鏘鏘、有嬀之後、將育于姜、五世其昌、竝于正卿、八世之後、莫之與京。陳厲公蔡出也、故蔡人殺五父而立之、生敬仲、其少也、周史有以周易見陳侯者、陳侯使筮之、遇觀之否、曰、是謂觀國之光、利用賓于王、此其代陳有國乎、不在此、其在異國、非此其身、在其子孫、光遠而自他有耀者也。坤、土也、巽、風也、乾、天也、風爲天于土上、山也、有山之材、而照之以天光、于是乎居土上、故曰觀國之光、利用賓于王、庭實旅百、奉之以玉帛、天地之美具焉、故曰利用賓于王、猶有觀焉、故曰其在後乎、風行而著于土、故曰其在異國乎、若在異國、必姜姓也、姜、大嶽之後也、山嶽則配天、物莫能兩大、陳衰、此其昌乎。及陳之初亡也、陳桓子始大于齊、其後亡也、成子得政。

XXII. 1 In his twenty-second year, in spring, in the king's first month, [the duke] pardoned [all] inadvertent offences however great.

2 On Kwei-ch'ow we buried our duchess, Wăn Këang.

3 The people of Ch'in put to death Yu-k'ow, son of their marquis.

4 It was summer, the fifth month.

5 In autumn, in the seventh month, on Ping-shin, the duke made a covenant with Kaou He of Ts'e in Fang.

6 In winter, the duke went to Ts'e, and presented the marriage-offerings of silk.

Par. 1. In the Shoo, II. i. 11, we read that it was a rule with Shun, 眚災肆赦, 'that inadvertent offences, and those caused by misfortune, were to be pardoned,' and how far he carried it, we learn from ii. 12, 宥過無大, 'You pardon inadvertent offences, however great.' Chwang, therefore, appears here to have done nothing more than was sanctioned by the example of Shun. I do not know why the critics should find such fault with him as they do. Kuh-lëang followed by Këa Kwei, thinks the grace was done at this time, as some atonement for the wickedness of Wăn Këang, the duke's mother, who was about to be buried! For 眚 Kung has 省.

Par. 2. 我小君,—see Ana. XVI. xiv. According to the rule laid down there 寡小君, was the style for the wife of the prince of a State used by the people in speaking of her to the people of other States. 我 takes the place of 寡, as the entry here is in the annals of Loo itself. The marquis being styled *duke* after death, I have styled his wife *duchess*. Këang, we know, was her surname, as being of the House of Ts'e; Wăn was the honorary title given to her on account of her beauty and accomplishments, no account being taken of her extraordinary wickedness.

Par. 3. For 御 Kung and Kuh read 禦. The real killer of Yu-k'ow was his father,—'duke Seuen,' the reason for the deed being unknown. It is supposed that the statement in the text is according to the form in which the announcement was made to Loo,—to conceal the nature of the affair.

The Chuen says:—'In spring, the people of Ch'in killed the *marquis's* eldest son, Yu-k'ow, on which the Kung-tsze Hwan and Chuen-sun fled to Ts'e, and the latter thence to Loo. The marquis of Ts'e wanted to make King-chung [the designation of the Kung-tsze Hwan] one of his high ministers, but he declined, saying, 'Your subject is here an exile. I am fortunate if I obtain your forgiveness, and enjoy the advantage of your indulgent government. That you pardon my want of practice in the lessons of instruction, and hold me guiltless of crime, and remove me from a life of toil:—this is your lordship's kindness. What I obtain is much,—should I dare to disgrace a high position, and so accelerate the slanders of other officers? Let me die if I do not decline *the honour you propose*. The ode says [this ode is not in the She],

> 'From that distant chariot,
> They call me with the bow?
> Do I not wish to go?
> But I am afraid of my friends.'"

The marquis then made him superintendent of all the departments of labour. *One day* he was entertaining the marquis at his house, who became joyous over the spirits, and said, "Let us continue it with lights." But he refused, saying, "I divined about the day; but I have not divined about the night;—I dare not do it."

'The superior man will say, "In drinking there should be the complete observance of the rules; but not to carry it on to excess was righteousness. Completely to observe the rules with his prince, and then not to allow him to go to excess, was truly virtuous."

'At an earlier time, the *great officer* E consulted the tortoise-shell about giving his daughter in marriage to King-chung. His wife sought the meaning of the indication, and said. "It is fortunate. The oracle is

> 'The male and female phœnix fly
> together,
> Singing harmoniously with gem-like
> sounds."

The posterity of this scion of the Kwei [surname of the House of Ch'in] will be nourished among the Këang [surname of the House of Ts'e]. In five generations they will be prosperous, and the highest ministers in Ts'e; in eight, there will be none to compare with them for greatness."

'Duke Le of Ch'in was the son of a daughter of the House of Ts'ae. In consequence, the people of Ts'ae put to death Woo-foo [the same who is called T'o of Ch'in. See II. vi. 4, and note], and raised him to the marquisate. He begat King-chung, during whose boyhood there came one of the historiographers of Chow to see the marquis of Ch'in, having with him the Chow Yih. The marquis made him consult it by the milfoil *on the future of the boy*, when he found the diagram Kwan [䷓], and then by the change of manipulation, the diagram P'ei [䷋]. "Here," he said, "is the deliverance;"—'We behold the light of the State. This is auspicious for one to be the king's guest. [See the Yih on the 4th line, counting from the bottom, of the diagram Kwan].' Shall this boy in his generation possess the State of Ch'in? or if he do not possess this State, does it mean that he shall possess another? Or is the thing foretold not of his own person, but of his descendants? The light is far off, and its brightness appears reflected from something else. K'wăn [☷] represents the earth; Sun [☴], the top part of the diagram Kwan], wind; K'ëen [☰], heaven; Sun becoming K'ëen over earth [as in the diagram P'ĕi], represents mountains, *Thus the boy* has all the treasures of mountains, and is shone on by the light of heaven:—he will dwell above the earth. Hence it is said, "We behold the light of the State. This is auspicious for him to be the king's guest." A king's guest fills the royal courtyard with the display of all the productions *of his State*, and the offerings of gems and silks,—all excellent things of heaven and earth; hence it is said—'It is auspicious for him to be the king's guest.'

'"But there is still that word—'behold,' and therefore I say the thing perhaps is to be hereafter. And the wind moves and appears upon the earth;—therefore I say it is to be perhaps in another State. If it be in another State, it must be in that of the Këang;—for the Këang are the descendants of the Grand-mountain [Yaou's chief minister]. But the mountains stand up as it were the mates of heaven. There cannot be two things equally great; as Ch'in decays, this boy will flourish."

'When Ch'in received its first great blow [B C. 533], Ch'in Hwan [the representative of the Kung-tsze Hwan in the 5th generation] had begun to be great in Ts'e. When it finally perished [B. C. 477], the officer Ch'ing was directing the government of that State.'

[The descendants of the Kung-tsze Hwan became the T'eeu family (田氏), which gradually encroached on the authority of the House of Këang, and ended by superseding it in the possession of the State of Ts'e. The farrago of the Chuen is intended to show how all this was prognosticated beforehand. I call it *a farrago*, for it is no plainer in the original nor in the Manchu version, than it is in my translation.]

Par. 4. In an entry like this, giving merely the season and a month of it, the month ought

to be the first of the season. Such is the rule observed throughout the Ch'un Ts'ëw, excepting in this passage. Many of the critics hold that 五 is a mistake for 四; but I prefer to think, with Sun Fuh and others, that the par. is imperfect, there remaining only the commencement of it, and that characters containing the account of some event have been lost. It is difficult to believe that some have held that Confucius purposely made the summer commence with the 5th month, to indicate his indignation at the marriage, which began to be gone about this year, of duke Chwang to the daughter of the man who murdered his father! Yet this is the view propounded by Ho Hëw. And the K'ang-he editors think it worthy of being preserved, and call special attention to it!

Par. 5. Fang,—see I. ix. 6. There were reasons for this covenant on both sides; and though Ts'e had attacked Loo in the end of the duke's 19th year, it had since then smitten the Jung to propitiate Loo. Kung-yang thinks that the 'covenanter' on the part of Loo was 'an inferior person (微者);' but we must understand 公 before 及. Chaou K'wang (趙匡) lays down a correct rule:—凡盟,不日內,皆指公也, 'In all accounts of covenants, where the agent of Loo is not specified, the duke is meant.'

Par. 6. The presenting of silks was the fourth step in treaties of marriage, on the part of the intending husband;—it was called 納徵. But when the prince of a State was a party concerned, these gifts were to be sent by a great officer. For the marquis himself to go to Ts'e with them was 'contrary to rule,' which he violated in another respect,—arranging for his marriage so soon after his mother's death. There must have been reasons for his urgency which we do not know. The common belief is that this marriage had been arranged for by Wăn Këang immediately after the young lady's birth, about 20 years before this, and that before her death she had insisted on Chwang's fulfilling the engagement immediately, without reference to that event, he having already delayed so long, unwilling to marry the daughter of his father's murderer. But he had not continued single all that time,—as we learn from the events of his 32d year. The marriage he now proceeded to enter into was an evil one for him. The lady was hardly better than her aunt, his mother, had been.

Twenty-third year.

一章 二十有三年、春、公至自齊。

二章 祭叔來聘。

三章 夏、公如齊觀社。

四章 公至自齊。

五章 荆人來聘。

六章 公及齊侯遇于穀。

七章 蕭叔朝公。

八章 秋、丹桓宮楹。

九章 冬、十有一月、曹伯射姑卒。

十章 十有二月、甲寅、公會齊侯、盟于扈。

左傳曰、二十三年、夏、公如齊觀社。非禮也。曹劌諫曰、不可。夫禮所以整民也。故會以訓上下之則、制財用之節、朝以正班爵之義、帥長幼之序、征伐以討其不然、諸侯有王、王有巡守、以大習之、非是、君不舉矣、君舉必書、書而不法、後嗣何觀。

㊀晉桓莊之族偪、獻公患之、士蔿曰、去富子、則羣公子可謀也已。公曰、爾試其事。士蔿與羣公子謀、譖富子而去之。

秋、丹桓宮之楹。

XXIII. 1 In his twenty-third year, in spring, the duke arrived from Ts'e.

2 Shuh of Chae came to Loo with friendly inquiries.

3 In summer, the duke went to Ts'e to see [the service at] the altar to the Spirits of the land.

4 The duke arrived from Ts'e.

5 An officer of King came to Loo with friendly inquiries.

6 The duke and the marquis of Ts'e met at Kuh.

7 Shuh of Sëaou paid a court visit to the duke.

8 In autumn, the duke painted red the pillars of [duke] Hwan's temple.

9 In winter, in the eleventh month, Yih-koo, earl of Ts'aou died.

10 In the twelfth month, on Keah-yin, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Ts'e, when they made a covenant at Hoo.

Par. 1,4. See II. ii. 9. Chang Hëah observes here, that the practice, intimated in the 至, of announcing the return to the capital in the ancestral temple was after the example of the earliest sovereigns of the Shoo, and refers to II.i.10 of that Book, where it is related that Shun, on returning after the close of his tours of inspection, 'went to the temple of the Cultivated ancestor, and offered a sacrifice.'

Par. 2. By Chae Shuh we are to understand either the earl of Chae, or one of his brothers. He, or his father, is called 'duke of Chae,' in II. viii. 6, as being one of the king's three principal ministers. If the earl himself be here intended, as is most likely, the 叔 is his designation. From the form of the par., difft. from II. viii. 2, and others, we conclude that this visit was unauthorized, and undertaken for some private end,—was, as the phrase is, 'contrary to rule.'

Par. 3. This act of the duke was of the same kind as that of Yin in going to see the fishermen at T'ang;—I. v. 1. There was something remarkable about the sacrifice in Ts'e which attracted visitors. Woo Ch'ing says:—'The *Shay* (社) was an ordinary thing,—the sacrifice offered by princes to the Spirits of the land within their States; other princes did not go to witness it. But it was a custom in Ts'e to take the opportunity of this sacrifice to assemble its armies, and make a boastful display of their majesty and numbers, assembling others to witness it. It was this which afforded a pretext to the duke for going at this time to Ts'e. The Chuen has:—'When the duke was taking this step, which was contrary to rule, Ts'aou Kwei remonstrated with him, saying, "Do not go. The rules of ceremony are all designed for the right adjustment of the people. Hence there are meetings *of the princes* [at the royal court], to inculcate the duties severally incumbent on the high and low, and to lay down the amount of contributions which are to be severally made. There are court visits, to rectify the true position of the different ranks of nobility, and to arrange the order of the young and the old. There are punitive expeditions, to punish the disobedient. The princes have their services on the king's behalf, and the king has his tours of inspection among the princes;—when those meetings and visits are observed on a grand scale. Excepting on such occasions, a prince does not move *from his own State*. The ruler's movements must be written down. If there be written *concerning you* what was not according to the laws, how will your descendants look at it?"'

[The Chuen adds here the following, about the affairs of Tsin:—'In Tsin, the circle of families descended from Hwan and Chwang [Hwan is the Hwan-shuh, or "Grand Success,"

of the Chuen appended to the 2d year of Hwan, where earl Chwang is also mentioned] began to press on duke Hëen, [the marquis at this time], who was distressed by them. Sze Wei said to him, "Let us do away with the officer Foo, [Some take 去富子 as meaning—"Let us do away with the wealthy among them"] and then all the other descendants of the two princes may be dealt with." The duke asked him to attempt the thing, when Wei consulted with all the others, calumniated Foo to them, and then took him off.']

Par. 5. With this commenced Ts'oo's intercourses of courtesy with Loo, and indeed with any part of China proper.

Par. 6. Kuh,—see VII.4. This was but a hurried meeting; but it serves to show how anxious duke Chwang was to get his marriage treaty carried through.

Par. 7. Shuh of Sëaou is the same as Shuh Ta-sin of Sëaou, mentioned in the Chuen on XII.4. Up to that time he had merely been a great officer of Sung, holding the city of Sëaou; but because of the services he then rendered in the troubles of the State, duke Hwan erected Sëaou into a Foo-yung or attached territory, of which this Shuh and his descendants were the lords. Here we find him paying a visit to the duke of Loo. The par. is not in the usual form, 蕭叔來朝, because the visit was paid at Kuh, and not at the court of Loo. The city of Sëaou was in the pres. dept. of Seu-chow (徐州), 10 *le* north from the dis. city of Sëaou.

Par. 8. According to rule, the pillars were required to be of a very dark colour, nearly black. The painting them red, it is understood, was to dazzle the young wife who would soon be appearing in the temple, and to propitiate the spirit of Hwan, when the daughter of his murderer should be presented as the wife of his son!

Par. 10. Hoo was in Ch'ing,—in the northwest of the pres. district of Yuen-woo (原武), dep. Hwae-k'ing. It is supposed the meeting had reference to the impending marriage.

Twenty-fourth year.

一章 二十有四年、春、王三月、刻桓宮桷。

二章 葬曹莊公。

三章 夏、公如齊逆女。

四章 秋、公至自齊。

五章 八月、丁丑、夫人姜氏入。

六章 戊寅、大夫宗婦覿用幣。

七章 大水。

八章 冬、戎侵曹、曹羈出奔陳、赤歸于曹。

九章 郭公

左傳曰、二十四年、春、刻其桷。皆非禮也。御孫諫曰、臣聞之、儉、德之共也、侈、惡之大也、先君有共德、而君納諸大惡、無乃不可乎。

秋、哀姜至、公使宗婦覿、用幣。非禮也。御孫曰、男贄、大者玉帛、小者禽鳥、以章物也、女贄不過榛栗棗脩、以告虔也、今男女同贄、是無別也、男女之別、國之大節也、而由夫人亂之、無乃不可乎。

㊂晉士蔿又與羣公子謀、使殺游氏之二子、士蔿告晉侯曰、可矣、不過二年、君必無患。

XXIV. 1 In the duke's twenty-fourth year, in spring, in the king's third month, he carved the rafters of [duke] Hwan's temple.

2 There was the burial of duke Chwang of Ts'aou.

3 In summer, the duke went to Ts'e to meet his bride.

4 In autumn, the duke arrived from Ts'e.

5 In the eighth month, his wife, the lady Këang, entered [the capital].

6 On Mow-yin, the great officers belonging to the ducal House, and their wives, had an interview with her, and presented offerings of silks.

7 There were great floods.

8 In winter, the Jung made an inroad into Ts'aou, when Ke of Ts'aou fled to Ch'in, and Ch'ih returned to Ts'aou.

9 The duke of Kwoh—

Par. 1. This act was of the same nature as the painting the pillars in par. 8 of last year. Tso-she says:—'This was another act contrary to rule. Yu-sun [the designation of K'ing (慶), a great officer, the master of the Workmen. See the 國語, 魯語上, 3d art.] remonstrated, saying, "Your subject has heard that economical moderation is the reverence of virtue, and that extravagance is one of the greatest of wickednesses. Our former ruler possessed that reverent virtue, and you are *as it were* carrying him on to that great wickedness;—is not this what should not be?"' Kuh-lëang tells us that the rule for the rafters of the temple of a son of Heaven was that they should be hewn, and rubbed smooth, and then polished bright with a fine stone, while in that of the prince of a State the rafters were only hewn, and rubbed smooth, and in that of a great officer they were simply hewn.

Parr. 3, 4. The duke went himself, acc. to the ancient custom, to meet his bride, and then on his return, announced his arrival in the ancestral temple, which was also according to rule.

Par. 5. On this par. Maou K'e-ling says:—'As the duke met the lady Këang in person, he ought to have entered with her on the same day. As to the reason of their entering on different days, Kung-yang (as expounded by Too Yu) thinks that as Măng Jin [the duke's earlier mistress of the harem], was in the palace, Këang was unwilling to enter, and must have made the duke agree to remove Măng Jin, while she herself came leisurely on. And so also it was that, when she entered the *capital* on the day Ting-ch'ow, she did not immediately present herself in the ancestral temple; but it was the next day, Mow-yin, when she repaired thither, and the ceremony of giving audience to the wives of the great officers who were related to the duke by consanguinity, was gone through.' Here surely is an example where the rule about the meaning of 入, mentioned on I. ii. 2, cannot be applied. Where was the hostility here on the part of the 'enterer,' or the 'unwillingness to receive' on the part of the 'entered?' Yet Kuh-lëang would make it out that the term indicates a kind of horror in the temple at the entrance of the daughter of the man who had murdered duke Hwan!

Par. 6. 宗婦=同姓大夫之婦, 'the wives of great officers of the same surname as the duke.' Many of them would have received other clan-names, but they were all Kes (姬). 初見用贄曰覿. 'The first interview, when introductory presents were used, was called 覿.' The 幣, used pro-

perly of gifts of silks, may also comprehend other offerings,—such as gems. The interview spoken of took place in the ancestral temple, on the new wife's first appearance there, nearly equivalent to our celebration of a marriage in a church. The great officers were there officially, and at such a time their wives accompanied them. In the compendious style of the narrative of the paragraph, the student may think that only the wives are spoken of, but we must take 大夫 as in apposition with 宗婦, and not under its regimen. This appears clearly from the Chuen:—'In autumn, when Gae Këang arrived, the duke made the wives of the great officers, at their first interview, offer silks and gems;—which was contrary to rule. Yu-sun said, "The offerings of males are, the greatest of them, gems and silks, and the lesser, birds and animals [that 禽 sometimes = 獸, see the 隨園隨筆, 卷八],—the different things illustrating their rank. But the offerings of women, are only nuts, dates, and pieces of dried flesh,—to show their respect. Now males and females use the same offerings;—there is no distinction between them. But the distinction between males and females is a grand law of the State, and that it should be confounded by the duchess surely is what should not be."'

[The Chuen continues here the narrative after par. 3 of last year about the affairs of Tsin:—'Sze Wei of Tsin again took counsel with all the *other* scions of the ruling House, and got them to put to death the two sons of the Yëw family, He announced the fact to the marquis, saying "Things are in progress. It will not take more than two years to relieve you of all trouble."']

Par. 7. See on II. 1, 5.

Par. 8. Ke here is said by Too Yu to have been 曹世子, 'the heir-son of Ts'aou.' He must therefore have succeeded to his father in the end of the last year (see XXIII. 9), and he is here mentioned without any title because of his weakness and incompetency to 'hold his own.' Too also says that Ch'ih was duke He, who follows, in the list of lords of Ts'aou, after duke Chwang. But the Historical Records say that He's name was E (夷), and make no mention of any Ch'ih. We have not the information necessary fully to elucidate the paragraph. Kung-yang reads—赤歸于曹郭公, joining on the two characters of the next par., and understanding the whole thus:—There was a duke of Kwoh whose name was Ch'ih. He had lost his own territory, and now finding Ts'aou without a lord, he entered and took possession of it!

Par. 9. This paragraph is plainly incomplete, unless we suppose that 公 should be 亡, and then the meaning would be 'Kwoh perished.' Compare 梁亡, in V. xix. 7.

The latter way of dealing with the par. is adopted by many, and in support of it a passage is quoted by Maou from the writings of the philosopher Kwan, the marquis of Ts'e's prime minister [This is a mistake. The passage is in Lëw Hëang's 新序, 卷三]:—'Duke Hwan of Ts'e went to Kwoh, and asked an old man how the State had come to ruin. The reply was. "It was because our lord loved the good and hated the evil." "According to your words," said the duke "he was a worthy prince. How could he come to ruin?" The old man answered, "He loved the good, but he was unable to employ them. He hated the bad, but he was unable to put them away. Therefore it was the State perished."

Possibly, we ought to read 郭亡; but even then, it is not known where this Kwoh was.

Twenty-fifth year.

一章 二十有五年、春、陳侯使女叔來聘。

二章 夏、五月、癸丑、衞侯朔卒。

三章 六月、辛未、朔、日有食之、鼓用牲于社。

四章 伯姬歸于杞。

五章 秋、大水、鼓用牲于社、于門。

六章 冬、公子友如陳。

左傳曰、二十五年、春、陳女叔來聘、始結陳好也。嘉之、故不名。夏、六月、辛未朔、日有食之、鼓用牲于社、非常也。唯正月之朔、慝未作、日有食之、于是乎用幣于社、伐鼓于朝。秋、大水、鼓用牲于社、于門。亦非常也。凡天災、有幣無牲、非日月之眚不鼓。晉士蔿使羣公子盡殺游氏之族、乃城聚而處之。冬、晉侯圍聚、盡殺羣公子。

XXV. 1 In the [duke's] twenty-fifth year, in spring, the marquis of Ch'in sent Joo Shuh to Loo with friendly inquiries.

2 In summer, in the fifth month, on Kwei-ch'ow, Soh, marquis of Wei, died.

3 In the sixth month, on Sin-we, the first day of the moon, the sun was eclipsed, when we beat drums, and offered victims at the altar of the land.

4 The duke's eldest daughter went to her home in Ke.

5 In autumn, there were great floods, when we beat drums, and offered victims at the altar of the land, and at the [city] gates.

6 In winter, duke [Hwan's] son Yëw went to Ch'in.

Par. 1. 女 is read as 汝, *Joo*, the clan-name of a family of Ch'in, connected with the ruling house. 叔 is the individual's designation. Tso-she says that now 'first was a contract of friendship made with Ch'in;' meaning first since the invasion of the western borders of Loo by Ch'in in the duke's 19th year. He adds that the designation of the messenger is used and not the name, to express commendation of his mission; but such a canon for the use of names, &c., is without foundation. And so is the rule insisted on by Kuh-lëang, that the designation shows that Joo's official appointment in Ch'in had been confirmed by the king.

Par. 2. Soh;—see II. xvi. 5; III. vi. 2.

Par. 3. This eclipse took place in the morning of the 18th May, B. C. 668. With regard to the ceremonies which are mentioned, the Chuen says they were 'extraordinary,' adding:—'Only on the first day of the moon in the 1st month [*i.e.*, of summer], when no encroachment of the *Yin* influence [on the months of the year] had yet begun, on occasion of an eclipse of the sun, did they present offerings of silk at the altars of the land, and beat drums in the court.' The Chuen, on the 17th year of duke Ch'aou (昭), par. 2, says that 'the king did not have his table spread so liberally as usual, and made drums be beaten at the altars of the land; and that princes of States presented offerings of silk at the altars, and had drums beaten in their courts.' Now in the text the drums are beaten at the altars,—one irregular thing; and victims are offered instead of silks;—another. As to Tso-she's statement that the things he mentions were done only on the 1st month of summer, when the masculine energies of nature were all predominant, it may be doubted whether the 惟 in the sentence 惟正月之朔 is correctly taken by Too Yu (whom I have followed) in the sense of 'only.' The same observances took place, probably, at all eclipses. That in the Shoo, III. iv. 4, in connection with which we have them, was in the 9th month of Hëa.

Par. 4. On the 1st par. of the 27th year, Too observes that 'the eldest Ke' here was duke Chwang's daughter. She must have been so, for any daughter of his father would, long ere this time, have been married away. Many critics dwell on the fact that nothing has been said here about the meeting of the lady, as in the marriage of duke Yin's daughter I. ii. 5. The point is unimportant. The husband was not the marquis of Ke, but his son.

Par. 5. The calamity of 'great floods' has been mentioned several times; but this is the first mention of special deprecatory services on such an occasion. Perhaps the regular ceremonies were now first departed from. The Chuen says:—'The observances here were also extraordinary. On all occasions of calamities from the hand of Heaven, there were offerings of silks, and not of victims. And drums were not beaten, excepting on the presage of calamities by the sun and moon.' Too defines 門 as 國門, 'the city gates,' which is doubtless correct. But the Chuen says nothing about the drumming and sacrificing at them. Kung-yang says it was improper; but I do not know of any authority for his saying so.

[The Chuen, continuing the narrative of the affairs of Tsin, appended to par. 6 of last year, says:—'Sze Wei of Tsin got all *the other* scions of the ruling House to put to death all the branches of the Yëw family, after which he walled Tseu for them to reside in. In winter, the marquis of Tsin besieged Tseu, and slew all the sons of the former marquises.']

Par. 6. This Yëw was an own brother of duke Chwang,—a man of virtue and ability. His visit here to Ch'in was to return the 'friendly inquiries' from that State in the spring.

Twenty-sixth year.

一章 二十有六年、春、公伐戎。

二章 夏、公至自伐戎。

三章 曹殺其大夫。

四章 秋、公會宋人、齊人、伐徐。

五章 冬、十有二月、癸亥、朔、日有食之。

㈠左傳曰、二十六年、春、晉士蔿爲大司空。㈡夏、士蔿城絳、以深其宮。㈢秋、虢人侵晉、冬、虢人又侵晉。

XXVI. 1 In his twenty-sixth year, in spring, the duke invaded the Jung.

2 In summer, the duke arrived from the invasion of the Jung.

3 Ts'aou put to death one of its great officers.

4 In autumn, the duke joined an officer of Sung and an officer of Ts'e in invading Seu.

5 In winter, in the twelfth month, on Kwei-hae, the first day of the moon the sun was eclipsed.

Parr. 1,2,4. The 1st and 4th paragraphs are probably both descriptive of operations against the Jung. Accepting the position of the Jung which most troubled Loo as given correctly in the note on I. ii. 1, they were within the limits of the ancient Seu-chow of Yu,—see the Shoo III. i. Pt. i. 28; and though the State of Seu in the time of the Ch'un Ts'ëw was not so extensive as the old Seu-chow, the Jung, we may conclude, found sympathy and support from it. We know that the Jung of Seu were a thorn in the State of Loo from its commencement;—see the Shoo, V. xxix. 1. Dukes Yin and Hwan kept on good terms with them (I. ii. 1,4 : II. ii. 8); but hostile relations prevailed in the time of Chwang [XVIII. 2). Ts'e attacked the Jung on behalf of Loo in his 20th year; but we find them here still unsubdued. That the marquis of Loo should join officers of Sung and Ts'e in the expedition against Seu seems to show that Loo was principally interested in it.

The lords of the State of Seu were viscounts, whose chief town was 80 le north from the pres. Sze-chow (泗州) in Gan-hwuy. They professed the same ancestry as the State of Ts'in (秦), and were of course Yings (嬴).

[To parr. 1,2. The Chuen appends:—'In spring, Sze Wei of Tsin became grand minister of Works, and in summer, he *enlarged* the walls of Këang, so as to secure a greater depth for the palace.']

Par. 3. Tso-she says nothing on this par. We do not know who the officer put to death was, nor what was the offence charged against him; and the par. should be left in this obscurity, like the 8th of the 24th year, also relating to the affairs of Ts'aou.

[To par. 4, the Chuen appends:—'In autumn, a body of men from Kwoh made an incursion into Tsin, ; and in winter, another body did the same.']

Par. 5. This eclipse took place in the morning of the 3d. Nov., B. C. 667.

Twenty-seventh year.

一章 二十有七年、春、公會杞伯姬于洮。

二章 夏六月、公會齊侯、宋公、陳侯、鄭伯、同盟于幽。

三章 秋、公子友如陳、葬原仲。

四章 冬、杞伯姬來。

五章 莒慶來逆叔姬。

六章 杞伯來朝。

七章 公會齊侯于城濮。

左傳曰、二十七年、春、公會杞伯姬于洮。非事也。天子非展義、不巡守、諸侯非民事、不擧、卿非君命、不越竟。

夏、同盟于幽。陳鄭服也。

秋、公子友如陳、葬原仲。非禮也、原仲、季友之舊也。

冬、杞伯姬來。歸寧也。凡諸侯之女、歸寧曰來、出曰來歸、夫人歸寧曰如某、出曰歸于某。

(÷)晉侯將伐虢、士蔿曰、不可、虢公驕、若驟得勝于我、必棄其民、無衆而後伐之、欲禦我、誰與、夫禮樂慈愛、戰所畜也、夫民、讓事樂和、愛親哀喪、而後可用也、虢弗畜也、亟戰將饑。

(÷)王使召伯廖賜齊侯命、且請伐衞、以其立子頹也。

XXVII. 1 In his twenty-seventh year, in spring, the duke had a meeting with his eldest daughter, [married to the heir] of Ke, in T'aou.

2 In summer, in the sixth month, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Ts'e, the duke of Sung, the marquis of Ch'in, and the earl of Ch'ing, when they made a covenant together in Yëw.

3 In autumn, duke [Hwan's] son, Yëw, went to Ch'in to the burial of Yuen Chung.

4 In winter, the duke's eldest daughter—she of Ke—came [to Loo].

5 K'ing of Keu came to meet the duke's third daughter as his bride.

6 The earl of Ke appeared at our court.
7 The duke had a meeting with the marquis of Ts'e in Shing-puh.

Par. 1. T'aou is said by Too Yu to have been in Loo; and the K'ang-he edition gives its site as 50 *le* to the south of the city of Puh Chow (濮州), dep. Ts'aou-chow. But Keang Yung (江永) observes that Ke lay east from Loo, and that Puh Chow is in what was the western part of the State, so that it is not likely the lady would have crossed Loo to meet her father. He therefore concludes that 洮 is the same as 桃, mentioned in the Chuen under par. 4 of the 7th year of duke Ch'aou, and to be referred to the pres. dis. of Sze-hwuy, dep. Yen-chow. This, no doubt, is the better identification.

Tso-she condemns the meeting, saying:—'There was no proper occasion for it. The son of Heaven *is supposed* to make no tour of inspection unless it be for the publication of righteousness; the prince of a State to make no movement unless it be on the people's business; and a minister not to go beyond the boundaries of the State unless by his ruler's commmand.' Possibly, however, there may have been circumstances which justified it. Ch'oh Urh-k'ang (卓爾康; of the Ming dyn., 1st part of 17th cent.), for instance, supposes that the pride and jealousy of the duke's young Ts'e wife may have rendered a preliminary meeting necessary, before this daughter of the duke could pay the visit of duty mentioned in par. 4.

Par. 2. Comp. XVI. 4. The place of meeting here is the same, and we have also the phrase 同盟, in both para. Tso-she says the covenant was made 'on occasion of the submission of Ch'in and Ch'ing.' Too, in explanation, of the Chuen, refers to the troubles of Ch'in in Chwang's 22d year, when Ts'e received King-chung who had fled from it, and to the fact of the earl of Ch'ing having made a treaty with Ts'oo in the 25th year, so that the loyal affection of the two States to Ts'e might be doubted, but a good understanding was now come to.

Par. 3. Yuen is the clan-name, and Chung the designation, which is here given, because, after the death of a minister, the rule was to mention him by it, and not his name. The Chuen says that the journey of Yĕw was 'contrary to rule,' and adds that Yuen-chung was an old friend of Ke Yĕw. But the journey, acc. to the Chuen on par. 1, was only 'contrary to rule,' if it was made without the prince's authority. Chang Hëah, Woo Ch'ing, and Wang K'ih-hwan, all advocate the view that Ke Yĕw had obtained that sanction; and the K'ang-he editors further add that, if he had not done so, the character 如 would not have been used of his journey.

Par. 4. The Chuen says this visit was 歸寧, 'a return to salute her parents.' Such a visit was due once a year while the parents were alive. The Chuen gives also the following canon:—'When the daughter of the prince of a State comes back to visit her parents, only the word 來 is used; when she returns divorced, the phrase 來歸 is employed. When the wife of a prince goes to visit her parents it is said—如某, "she goes to such and such a State;" when she goes back divorced, it is said—歸於某.'

[There is here a narrative about the affairs of Tsin:—'The marquis of Tsin was going to invade Kwoh, but Sze Wei said to him, "Do not do so now. The duke of Kwoh is arrogant. If he on an occasion has got a victory over us, he will be sure to cast off and neglect his own people. If when he has lost their sympathy, we then attack him, though he may wish to make head against us, who will co-operate with him? Now *the cultivation of* propriety and music, and *the promotion of* kindness and affection, are the means by which a spirit of fighting is produced. When the people are brought to be courteous in all their affairs, to delight in harmony, to love their relatives, and to grieve on the loss of them, then they can be employed to fight. Kwoh does not nourish those conditions, and, frequently engaging in hostilities, its people will come to a condition of famine."']

Par. 5. Here K'ing, a great officer of Keu, comes himself to meet a daughter of the duke, whom he had sought in marriage. A great officer of Loo, of the surname Ke, would have been the agent of the duke in all the preliminary arrangements. That this has not been mentioned does not indicate that there was anything irregular or improper in the transaction.

Par. 6. In II. ii. 5 the lord of Ke has the title of marquis. As he has here only the title of earl, Too Yu concludes that his rank must have been reduced by the king;—which king is not known. It may have been Hwan, Chwang, He, or Hwuy.

[The Chuen adds here:—'The King sent Lëaou, earl of Shaou, to convey to the marquis of Ts'e his appointment of him *to the presidency of the States*, and to ask him to attack Wei, because the *marquis of* it had raised Tsze-t'uy to the throne (See the 2d Chuen appended to XIX. 4).']

Par. 7. Shing-puh was in Wei,—in the pres. dis. of Ts'aou, dep. Ts'aou-chow. It was near to the borders of the State of Ts'aou. Too says this meeting was preliminary to the punishment of Wei, with which the king had charged the marquis of Ts'e. See the last Chuen.

Twenty-eighth year.

一章 二十有八年、春王三月、甲寅、齊人伐衛、衛人及齊人戰、衛人敗績。

二章 夏四月、丁未、邾子瑣卒。

三章 秋、荆伐鄭。

四章 公會齊人、宋人、救鄭。

五章 冬、築郿。

六章 大無麥禾。

七章 臧孫辰告糴于齊。

左傳曰、二十八年春、齊侯伐衛、戰敗衛師。數之以王命、取賂而還。

(一)晉獻公娶于賈、無子、烝于齊姜、生秦穆夫人及大子申生、又娶二女于戎、大戎狐姬、生重耳、小戎子生夷吾。晉伐驪戎、驪戎男女以驪姬、歸生奚齊、其娣生卓子。驪姬嬖、欲立其子、賂外嬖梁五與東關嬖五、使言於公曰、曲沃、君之宗也、蒲與二屈、君之疆也、不可以無主、宗邑無主、則民不威、疆埸無主、則啟戎心、戎之生心、民慢其政、國之患也、若使大子主曲沃、而重耳夷吾主蒲與屈、則可以威民而懼戎、且旌君伐、使俱曰、狄之廣莫、於晉為都、晉之啟土、不亦宜乎。晉侯說之、夏、使大子居曲沃、重耳居蒲城、夷吾居屈、羣公子皆鄙、唯二姬之子在絳、二五卒與驪姬譖羣公子而立奚齊、晉人謂之二五耦。

楚令尹子元欲蠱文夫人、為館于其宮側、而振萬焉、夫人聞之、泣曰、先君以是舞也、習戎備也、今令尹不尋諸仇讎、而於未亡人之側、不亦異乎。御人以告子元、子元曰、婦人不忘襲讎、我反忘之。秋、子元以車六百乘伐鄭、入于桔柣之門、子元、鬬御疆、鬬梧、耿之不比為旆、鬬班、王孫游、王孫喜殿。衆車入自純門、及逵市、縣門不發、楚言而出、子元曰、鄭有人焉、諸侯救鄭、楚師夜遁。

鄭人將弃桐丘、諜告曰、楚幕有烏、乃止。冬、饑、臧孫辰告糴于齊。禮也。築郿、非都也。凡邑有宗廟先君之主曰都、無曰邑、邑曰築、都曰城。

XXVIII. 1 In the [duke's] twenty-eighth year, in spring, in the king's third month, on Keah-yin, an army of Ts'e invaded Wei. The men of Wei and the men of Ts'e fought a battle, when the men of Wei received a disgraceful defeat.

2 In summer, in the fourth month, on Ting-we, So, viscount of Choo, died.

3 In autumn, King invaded Ch'ing.

4 The duke joined an officer of Ts'e and an officer of Sung in relieving Ch'ing.

5 In winter we enclosed Mei.

6 There was a great want of wheat and rice.

7 Tsang-sun Shin represented the case to Ts'e, [and obtained leave] to buy grain there.

Par. 1. 敗績,—see on II. xiii. 1. Tso-she says here:—'In spring, the marquis of Ts'e invaded Wei; defeated the army of Wei in battle; declared the command he had received from the king; took bribes and returned.' It appears from this account that the marquis of Ts'e himself took part, if we ought not to say commanded, in the invasion and defeat of Wei; and hence arises a difficulty in accounting for the first 齊人. Too Yu thinks that the announcement of the affair to Loo was so constructed as to make it appear that only an officer was in charge of the army, and so the shame of accepting bribes might be averted from the marquis. Whatever be thought of this view, it proceeds on the acknowledgment of 齊人 as properly meaning 'an officer of Ts'e,' and does not sanction the idea that the marquis is here purposely called 'a man,' or 'an officer,' to signify the sage's disapprobation of his conduct. But we need not depart from the usual application of 人. The marquis accompanied the army, but he did not command it. This is the view of Maou. Woo Ch'ing thought that the marquis remained in Shing-puh, expecting that a small demonstration would be enough to coerce Wei into submission, whereas the army of Wei rashly provoked a battle. This account of the matter derives confirmation from the 衛人 preceding 齊人 in the second part of the par.

[The Chuen here resumes its account of the affairs of Tsin:—'Duke Hëen of Tsin married a daughter of the House of Këa, who had no child. Afterwards he committed incest with his father's concubine Ts'e Këang, by whom he had a daughter who became wife of *duke* Muh of Ts'in, and a son Shin-săng, whom he, *after his father's death*, acknowledged as his heir. Subsequently he married two ladies from among the Jung, the one of whom, called Hoo Ke of the great Jung, bore Ch'ung-urh, and the other, who was of the small Jung, bore E-woo. When Tsin invaded the Le Jung, their chief, a baron, gave him to wife his daughter, Le Ke, who bore a son called He Ts'e, while her younger sister bore him Ch'oh-tsze. Le Ke became the favourite with the duke, and wished to get her son declared his successor. In order to this, she bribed two officers, who were favourites with him,—Lëang-woo, of the outer court, and another, Woo from Tung-kwan, and got them to speak to the marquis to this effect:—"K'ëuh-yuh contains your lordship's ancestral temple; P'oo and Urh-k'euh are your boundary cities. They should not be without their lords residing in them. If your ancestral city be without its lord, the people will not feel awe; if the others be without their lords, that will lead the Jung to form encroaching projects. When they do so, the people will despise the government as being remiss;—to the harm of the State. If the heir-apparent be put in charge of K'ëuh-yuh, and Ch'ung-urh and E-woo be put in charge, the one of P'oo, and the other of Urh-k'ëuh, this will both awe the people and keep the Jung in fear, and display, moreover, your lordship's effective rule." She made them both say further, "The wide territory of the Teih will in this way be a sort of capital of Tsin. Is it not right thus to extend the country of the State?"

'The marquis was pleased with these suggestions, and in the summer he sent his eldest son to reside in K'ëuh-yuh, Ch'ung-urh to reside in the city of P'oo, and E-woo in K'ëuh. Thus all his other sons were sent away to the borders, and only the sons of Le Ke and her sister were left in Këang. The end was that the two Woo and Le Ke slandered the others, and got He-ts'e appointed heir to the State. The people of Tsin called the two Woo the pair of ploughers.']

Par. 2. This So had been viscount of Choo for 12 years. He was succeeded by his son, Keu-ch'oo (蘧蒢).

Parr. 3, 4. King,—see on X. 5. In par. 4, after 宋人 Kung-yang has 邾婁人. The Chuen has:—'Tsze-yuen, chief-minister of Ts'oo, wished to seduce the widow of *king* Wăn, and made a hall by the side of her palace, where he set on foot exhibitions of dancers. When the lady heard them, she wept, and said, "Our deceased lord by means of these dances practised preparations for war. But now the minister makes no use of them against our enemies, but exhibits them by the side of me, waiting solitary for my death;—is not this strange?" One of her attendants repeated these words to Tsze-yuen, who said, "*She* does not forget *the duty* of surprising our enemies, while I on the contrary have forgotten it."

'In autumn, with 600 chariots, he invaded Ch'ing, and entered *its territory* by the barrier-gate of Këeh-tëeh. He himself, with Tow Yu-këang, Tow Woo, and Kăng-che Puh-pe, led the way with streamers flying; while Tow Pan, Wang-sun Yëw, and Wang-sun He, brought up the rear. All the chariots entered by the Shun gate, and advanced to the market place on the high way. The portcullis gate, *leading to the city*, however, was open, and people were coming out who spoke the dialect of Ts'oo. Tsze-yuen said, "Ah, there are men in Ch'ing!" When the princes came to relieve it, the army of Ts'oo retreated in the night; and when the people of Ch'ing were about to flee to T'ung-k'ëw, their spies brought word that there were birds about the tents of Ts'oo, so they stopped their flight.'

Par. 5. Mei was a town of Loo of no great size,—in the west of pres. Tung-p'ing Chow, dept. T'ae-gan. Kung and Kuh both read 微. Tso-she says: 'Mei was not a city (都). All towns having an ancestral temple, with the Spirit-tablets of former rulers, were called cities (都); those without such a temple were called towns (邑). Walling a town is called *chuh* (築); walling a city is called *shing* (城).' According to this account, it is not said that Mei was now built, but only that it was enclosed, though not with the strong wall which would have served for the defence of a city.

[Tso-she's account of *Too* and *Yih*, cities and towns, is not very clear. Unless the capital of a State were changed, how could there be ancestral temples, with tablets of the former rulers, anywhere but in it? Maou observes that the clans springing from the descendants of the princes would of course have a tablet of the prince to whom they traced their origin in their ancestral temple; and the principal city held by them might be called a *too*. From the Chuen on I. i. 3, it appears that the *too* were of three degrees. The ground of distinction between *cities* and *towns* in England is not in all cases clearly ascertained. There is an interesting coincidence between Tso's statement that an ancestral temple constituted *a city* in China and the view that it is the cathedral of a bishop which constitutes one in England.]

Par. 6. Ying-tah says on this:—'The wheat was ripe in the summer, and the labours with the rice were completed in autumn; but this entry is made under winter, because then there was fully discovered the insufficiency of the harvest in the other seasons.'

Par. 7. Tsang-sun Shin is better known by his designation and hon. title,—Tsang Wăn-chung (文仲). He belonged to a distinguished and loyal family in Loo. We have his great grandfather, Tsang He-pih, in the Chuen on I. v. 1; and his grandfather, Tsang Gae-pih, in that on II. ii. 4. Gae-pih appears again in the Chuen on III. xi. 3, by his surname and name,—Tsang-sun Tah. In that Chuen the name Tsang Wăn-chung occurs, but the text must be corrupt. In Chwang's 6th year, Wăn-chung was but a young boy.

Kung and Kuh both take 告 as = 請, 'to ask leave,' but I prefer to take it as in the translation. Shin's proceeding, Tso-she says, was according to rule. But many critics condemn it, as if he had gone privately, unauthorized. There is a detailed account, however, in the 國語,魯語,上, art. 4, where Wăn-chung recommends the measure to duke Chwang, and obtains leave to go to Ts'e. He took with him valuable offerings to duke Hwan to support his request, who, with the magnanimity proper to him, returned them, while he allowed grain to be sold to Loo.

Kung and Kuh say that there ought to have been no necessity, on one year's dearth, to apply for help to a neighbouring State; and that the prince who had not stores accumulated, sufficient for three years at least, was sure to lose his State. That there was not sufficient provision in the State itself for the emergency shows how inefficient the government of Chwang had been. Where there is no commerce with foreign nations, a kingdom can only provide for the occurrence of bad years by the accumulated superabundance of good ones; but such superabundance requires not only benignant skies, but a good government and a well-ordered, industrious, people as well. It must be long since China had a supply of one year's provisions accumulated in its granaries.

Twenty-ninth year.

一章 二十有九年、春、新延廄。
二章 夏、鄭人侵許。
三章 秋、有蜚。
四章 冬、十有二月、紀叔姬卒。
五章 城諸及防。

左傳曰、二十九年、春、新作延廐。書不時也。凡馬日中而出、日中而入。夏、鄭人侵許。凡師、有鐘鼓曰伐、無曰侵、輕曰襲。秋、有蜚。爲災也。凡物不爲災、不書。冬、十二月、城諸及防。書時也。凡土功、龍見而畢務、戒事也、火見而致用、水昏正而栽、日至而畢。㈩樊皮叛王。

XXIX. 1 In the [duke's] twenty-ninth year, in spring he repaired his stables.

2 In summer, a body of men from Ch'ing made an incursion into Heu.

3 In autumn, there was [a plague of] *fei* insects.

4 In winter, [duke Yin's] third daughter—she of Ke—died.

5 We walled Choo and Fang.

Par. 1. Maou says, 新則修舊之詞, 'the term 新 denotes the repairing of the old.' This seems to be the correct interpretation. Ho Hëw says that the repairing of an old thing is called 新; if additions be made to the old, the character 作 is used; when a thing is made for the 1st time, we say 築. Others, however, will have it that in this case the old stables were removed, and entirely new ones erected. *E.g.* Ch'ing Twan-hëoh (程端學; Yuen dyn.):—新者徹其舊而一新之也. Kuh-lëang says that by 延廏 we are to understand 法廏, the duke's stables.' The special import of 延 is not known. We might translate it 'long;' and Wang Paou (王葆) aptly compares with it the 'long treasury (長府),' mentioned Ana. XI. xiii. 1. As to the character of the transaction, Tso-she observes that 'it was unseasonable. The horses were let out of their stables at the vernal equinox, when the day and night were of equal length, and brought back at the autumnal.' The season of Chow's spring, or Hëa's winter, therefore was not the time to repair the stables.

Par. 2. The Chuen here gives definitions of terms:—'An expedition with bells and drums was called 伐 (an attack or invasion); one without them, 侵 (a stealthy incursion); one made quickly and with a small force, 襲 (a surprise).'

Par. 3. Tso-she says that these *fei* constituted 'a plague;—and that the appearance of *such* creatures was not recorded unless they amounted to a plague.' The canon is probably applicable here, but the appearance of unusual things is also found, where the idea of their being a plague is inadmissible. But what the 蜚 were is much disputed. Lëw Hëang, Ho Hëw, and others, think they were a kind of bug, produced in Yueh, and extraordinary in Loo. More likely is the opinion of others that the *fei* was a kind of locust, that called the 負蠜,—the 草蟲 of the She; known also as the 蜚盤蟲. Lëw Ch'ang (劉敞; A. D. 1019—1077) absurdly identifies the *fei* with a monster mentioned in the 山海經,—'like an ox, with a white head, one eye, and a dragon's tail,' &c.

Par. 4. 叔姬,—see I. vii. 1: III. xii. 1. There was no State of Ke (紀) now; but the lady for her worthiness retains her title.

Par. 5. Choo was 30 *le* to the south-west of the pres. dis. city of Choo-shing (諸城), dep. Ts'ing-chow. Fang has occurred several times. The Chuen says the walling of these was seasonable, and adds:—'With regard to all labours in building, when the *first stars* of the Dragon [see on the Shoo, I. 5] appeared [the 11th month of Chow], the labours of husbandry were finished, and the people were warned to prepare for these others. When the Ho (Fire) star appeared (after the previous ones), the materials were all ready for use. When Mercury culminated at dusk, the work should be going on. By the solstice, all should be finished.'

[The Chuen adds:—'P'e of Fan rebelled against the king.']

Thirtieth year.

一章 三十年、春、王正月。

二章 夏、師次于成。

三章 秋、七月、齊人降鄣。

四章 八月、癸亥、葬紀叔姬。

五章 九月、庚午、朔、日有食之、鼓用牲于社。

六章 冬、公及齊侯遇于魯濟。

七章 齊人伐山戎。

(一)左傳曰、三十年、春、王命虢公討樊皮、夏、四月丙辰、虢公入樊、執樊仲皮、歸于京師。(二)楚公子元歸自伐鄭、而處王宮、鬬射師諫、則執而梏之。(三)秋、申公鬬班殺子元、鬬穀於菟為令尹、自毀其家、以紓楚國之難。冬、遇于魯濟。謀山戎也、以其病燕故也。

XXX. 1 It was the [duke's] thirtieth year, the spring, the king's first month.

2 In summer, [our] troops halted at Ch'ing.

3 In autumn, in the seventh month, a body of men from Ts'e reduced Chang.

4 In the eighth month, on Kwei-hae, we buried [duke Yin's] third daughter,—her of Ke.

5 In the ninth month, on Kăng-woo, the first day of the moon, the sun was eclipsed, when we beat drums and offered victims at the altar of the land.

6 In winter, the duke and the marquis of Ts'e met on the Loo side of the Tse.

7 An officer of Ts'e invaded the hill Jung.

[The Chuen inserts after par. 1:—'In spring, the king commanded the duke of Kwoh to punish P'e of Fan; and in summer, in the 4th month, on P'ing-shin, the duke entered Fan, seized Chung-p'e, and carried him to the capital.']

Par. 2. Ch'ing,—see II. vi. 2. Tso-she's text has no 師 before 次; but the want does not affect the meaning. By 師 we are to understand a small body of troops under the command of a great officer. Maou observes that the 師, spoken of Loo, is equivalent to the 人, so often used in speaking of the troops of other States. The troops in the text had probably been despatched from the capital, in consequence of Ts'e's threatening Chang (in next par.);—to defend Chang, as Kuh-leang says, or to be prepared for any troubles on the borders of Loo. They stopped, however, at Ch'ing through fear of Ts'e.

[The Chuen continues here the narrative about the affairs of Tsoo from XXVIII. 4:—'Yuen, son of *king Woo* of Ts'oo, on his return from the invasion of Ch'ing, took up his residence in the king's palace. Tow Yih-sze remonstrated with him, and afterwards seized him and put him in hand-cuffs.

'In autumn, Tow Pan, duke of Shin [as the viscount of Ts'oo had usurped the title of king, here one of his officers is styled duke], put Tsze-yuen to death. Tow T'oo-woo-t'oo became chief minister, and emptied his house of everything to alleviate the difficulties of the State.']

Par. 3. Chang was a small State, whose chief town was 60 *le* east of the city of Tung-p'ing Chow, dep. T'ae-gan. Its chiefs were Këangs, and it is said to have been a Foo-yung of Ke (紀). But it seems to have been too distant from that State to be attached to it. 降 *(këang)*, used actively, signifies to reduce. It indicates that little or no resistance was made;—Chang surrendered on the appearance of the enemy, and thenceforth was part of Ts'e.

Par. 4. Loo sent a great officer to superintend this service.

Par. 5. This eclipse took place on the 21st August, B. C. 663. As to the observances employed, see on XXV. 4.

Par. 6. The river Tse (see the Shoo, III.i. Pt. i.20, 27: Pt. ii. 10) served as part of the boundary line between Ts'e and Loo, and so we have 齊濟 and 魯濟, the Ts'e side and the Loo side of the Tse. The hurried meeting here is said by Tso-she, to have been to consult about the Hill Jung, who had reduced the State of Yen to great distress.

Par. 7. The Hill Jung, or northern Jung, had their seat in the pres. dep. of Yung-p'ing (永平), Chih-le, in the north-east of that province. There is a most graphic account of this expedition in the 列國志, 二十一回; but I fear it is mostly fabulous. It proceeds on the supposition that the marquis of Ts'e himself conducted his troops, attended by Kwan Chung. Kung and Kuh also both think that he did so, but their view proceeds on a false interpretation of the phrase 齊人. See the note by the K'ang-he editors *in loc.*

Thirty-first year.

一章 三十有一年、春、築臺于郎。
二章 夏、四月、薛伯卒。
三章 築臺于薛。
四章 六月、齊侯來獻戎捷。
五章 秋、築臺于秦。
六章 冬、不雨。

左傳曰、三十一年、夏、六月、齊侯來獻戎捷。非禮也。凡諸侯有四夷之功、則獻于王、王以警于夷、中國則否、諸侯不相遺俘。

XXXI. 1 In his thirty first year, in spring, [the duke] built a tower in Lang.

2 In summer, in the fourth month, the earl of Sëeh died.

3 [The duke] built a tower in Sëeh.

4 In the sixth month, the marquis of Ts'e came and presented [to the duke some of the] prisoners and spoils of the Jung.

5 In autumn, [the duke] built a tower in Ts'in.

6 In winter, there fell no rain.

Parr. 1, 3, 5. This might be called a year of tower building. These various entries show how the duke was carrying his penchant in this respect to extravagance. Lang,—see I. ix. 4; *et al.* Sëeh was in the south-east of the pres. dis. of T'ăng, dep. Yen-chow. Ts'in was a little way south of the pres. dis. city of Fan (范), dep. Ts'aou-chow.

Par. 2. See I. xi. 1. There we have the 'marquis' of Sëeh, and here only the earl. It is supposed that the rank of marquis had been reduced, as in the case of Ke, XXVII. 6. Too

Yu thinks that the name of the earl is not given, because Loo had never covenanted with him. Many of the canons for the style, however, delivered in this way, are questionable. Yu Kaou (俞臯; Yuen dyn.) says here that the omission of the name and of the day of death is simply a defect of the text.

Par. 4. 捷 here = 俘 in VI. 5. 捷 suggests the idea of spoils rather than of prisoners of war, but I suppose they should both be included here. 獻 is used of offerings by an inferior to a superior, and, as used here, must intimate that the whole thing was a piece of vainglory and display on the part of the marquis of Ts'e. The idea of a march past Loo, of the returning with all the spoils displayed, which many of the critics have adopted from Kung-yang, is properly rejected by the K'ang-he editors. The Chuen says:—'This affair was contrary to rule. When a prince has gained successes over any of the wild tribes, he presents the spoils to the king, who employs them to terrify other tribes. Spoils taken by one State from another are not so presented; and the princes do not send of their spoils to one another.'

Par. 5. This entry is made as of an unusual thing. Some of the critics say that as there were no crops on the ground, the want of rain could do no harm. It would, however, occasion much suffering.

Thirty-second year.

一章 三十有二年、春、城小穀。

二章 夏、宋公、齊侯、遇于梁丘。

三章 秋、七月、癸巳、公子牙卒。

四章 八月、癸亥、公薨于路寢。

五章 冬、十月、己未、子般卒。

六章 公子慶父如齊。

七章 狄伐邢。

左傳曰、三十二年、春、城小穀。爲管仲也。齊侯爲楚伐鄭之故、請會于諸侯、宋公請先見于齊侯、夏、遇于梁丘。

㈢秋、七月、有神降于莘。惠王問諸内史過曰、是何故也。對曰、國之將興、明神降之、監其德也、將亡、神又降之、觀其惡也、故有得神以興、亦有以亡、虞、夏、商、周、皆有之。王曰、若之何。對曰、以其物享焉、其至之日、亦其物也。王從之、内史過往、聞虢請命、反曰、虢必亡矣、虐而聽于神。神居莘六月、虢公使祝應、宗區、史嚚享焉。神賜之土田、史嚚曰、虢其亡乎、吾聞之、國將興、聽于民、將亡、聽于神、神、聰明正直而壹者也、依人而行、虢多涼德、其何土之能得。

初、公築臺臨黨氏、見孟任、從之、閟、而以夫人言、許之、割臂盟公、生子般焉。雩、講于梁氏、女公子觀之、圉人犖自墻外與

之戲、子般怒、使鞭之。公曰、不如殺之、是不可鞭。犖有力焉、能投蓋于稷門。公疾、問後于叔牙、對曰、慶父材。問于季友、對曰、臣以死奉般。公曰、鄉者、牙曰慶父材。成季使以君命命僖叔、待于鍼巫氏、使鍼季酖之。曰、飲此、則有後于魯國、不然、死且無後。飲之、歸及逵泉而卒、立叔孫氏。八月、癸亥、公薨于路寢、子般卽位、次于黨氏。冬、十月、己未、共仲使圉人犖賊子般于黨氏、成季奔陳、立閔公。

XXXII. 1 In the [duke's] thirty-second year, in spring, he walled Sëaou-kuh.

2 In summer, the duke of Sung and the marquis of Ts'e met in Lëang-k'ëw.

3 In autumn, in the seventh month, on Kwei-sze, duke [Hwan's] son, Ya, died.

4 In the eighth month, on Kwei-hae, the duke died in the State-chamber.

5 In winter, in the tenth month, on Ke-we, the [duke's] son, Pan, died.

6 Duke [Hwan's] son, K'ing-foo, went to Ts'e.

7 The Teih invaded Hing.

Par. 1. Tso-she says that 'this walling of Sëaou-kuh was on behalf of Kwan Chung:' and Too Yu adds, in explanation, that duke Chwang, moved by the virtue of Hwan of Ts'e, to gratify him walled the city which he had assigned to Kwan Chung, his adviser and minister. If this be correct, then Sëaou-kuh was, as Too says, in Ts'e, the same as the Kuh in VII.4, XXIII. 6. It occurs often hereafter, and always by the name of Kuh; and in a Chuen appended to X. xi. 9, it is said that duke Hwan walled it, and placed Kwan Chung in it. But that city is called Kuh, and never Sëaou-kuh. Fan Ning, therefore, has many followers, when he says that this was a town of Loo; and they urge that if Tso-she's opinion were correct, the text would have 齊 before the name of the place. From the text alone we certainly conclude that Sëaou-kuh belonged to Loo.

Par. 2. Lëang-k'ëw was in Ts'e, 30 *le* to the east of the present dis. city of Shing-woo, dep. Ts'aou-chow. Tso-she says that 'the marquis of Ts'e, with a view to punish Ts'oo for its invasion of Ch'ing [in the duke's 28th year], called a meeting of the princes, and that the duke of Sung requested an interview with him before any of the others, in consequence of which they met here in Lëang-k'ew.' Too adds that the marquis was so pleased with this zeal, that he made the duke appear before himself in the account of their meeting!

[The Chuen adds here a strange narrative:—'In autumn, in the 7th month, there was the descent of a Spirit in Sin [Sin belonged to Kwoh]. King Hwuy asked Ko, the historiographer of the Interior, the reason of it, and he replied, "When a State is about to flourish, intelligent Spirits descend in it, to survey its virtue. When it is going to perish, Spirits also descend in it, to behold its wickedness. Thus there have been instances of States flourishing from Spirits appearing, and also of States perishing; cases in point might be adduced from the dynasties of Yu, Hëa, Shang and Chow." The king then asked what should be done in the case of this Spirit, and Ko replied, "Present to it its own proper offerings, which are those proper to the day on which it came." The king acted accordingly, and the historiographer went *to Kwoh, and presented the offerings*. There he heard that *the duke of* Kwoh had been requesting the favour of *enlarged territory* from the Spirit, and on his return, he said, "Kwoh is sure to perish. The duke is oppressive, and listens to Spirits."

The Spirit stayed in Sin six months, when the duke of Kwoh caused the prayer-master Ying, the superintendent of the ancestral temple K'eu, and the historiographer Yin, to sacrifice to it, and the Spirit *promised* to give him territory. The historiographer Yin said, "Ah! Kwoh will perish. I have heard that, when a State is about to flourish, *its ruler* receives his lessons from the people; and when it is about to perish, he receives his lessons from Spirits. The Spirits are intelligent, correct, and impartial. Their course is regulated by the feelings of men. The slenderness of Kwoh's virtue extends to many things;—how can any increase of territory be obtained?"]

Par. 3. "Ya died."—He was in fact murdered, or done to death, and the statement in the

text is fashioned to conceal the deed perpetrated. The Chuen relates:—'At an early time, the duke built a tower near the residence of the Chang family, from which he got a sight of Măng Jin [*i.e.*, 'the eldest Jin.' Jin was the surname of the Changs], and followed her; but she shut the door against him. He then said he would make her his wife, when she consented to his desires, cutting at the same time her arm, and *with the blood* making a covenant with him. She afterwards bore a son to the duke, who was called Pan.

'On occasion of a sacrifice for rain, the duke was discoursing *on the subject* at the residence of the Lëang family, while his daughter was looking on at *what was taking place*. The chief groom Loh was outside the wall, and attempted to made sport with her, which incensed her brother Pan, so that he ordered Loh to be scourged. When the duke heard of it, he said, "You should have had him put to death. He is not a man to be scourged. Loh is possessed of great strength, and can throw the cover *of a carriage* [The meaning of 蓋 here is much disputed] over the south gate."

'When the duke was ill, he consulted *his half-brother* Shuh-ya about who should be his successor, and Ya said, 'K'ing-foo [Ya's own full brother] has ability." The duke also asked *his full brother* Ke-yëw, who replied that he would support Pan to the death. "A little ago," said the duke, "Ya mentioned the ability of K'ing-foo." On this Ch'ing Ke [Ch'ing was the hon. title of Ke-yëw] sent a messenger with the duke's order to command He-shuh [Shuh-ya. He was his hon. title] to wait in the family of the officer K'ëen-woo, where he made K'ëen Ke present poison to him, with the message, "Drink it, and your posterity shall be preserved in the State. If you do not drink it, you shall die, and your posterity shall be made no account of." He drank the poison, returned as far as K'wei-ts'euen, and died. His son was made the first of the Shuh-sun family.'

The critics for the most part justify Ke-yëw for taking off Shuh-ya in the manner described in the Chuen. Yëw was the full brother of duke Chwang, and faithful, having the interests of the State at heart. K'ing-foo and Shuh-ya were half-brothers of Chwang, themselves full brothers; and King-foo's ambitious and crafty disposition was well known. He was carrying on a criminal intrigue with Gae Këang, and his aim was to become marquis himself. From what occurred at the duke's death-bed, it appeared to Ke-yëw that Ya was confederate with his brother, and he therefore took him off, as the best way to weaken K'ing-foo, and secure the succession of Pan. Shih Keae (石介; A.D. 1005—1057) discourses on the subject in the following way:—'Affection between brothers, and righteousness between ruler and subject:—neither of these things can be dispensed with But if a paramount sway be allowed to the affection, it may happen that the righteousness cannot be maintained; and if it be allowed to the righteousness, it may happen that the affection cannot have its course. When such cases occur, it requires sagely wisdom and virtue to deal in them aright. When king Woo died, *his brothers* Kwan and Ts'ae led on Woo-kăng to rebel. If the duke of Chow had regarded merely his affection for his brothers, the kingdom must have been ruined, and the young king imperilled. He would not sacrifice the kingdom to his own individual feelings, nor allow his private affection to overrule the righteousness due from him as a subject to his sovereign; and so, in the strength of great righteousness, he punished his brothers with death. *In the case before us*, Shuh-ya wanted to raise K'ing-foo to the lordship of Loo. If Ke-yëw had regarded merely his affection for his brothers, K'ing-foo must have become marquis, and Loo would have been thrown into confusion. Yëw would not allow his private feelings to prevent the discharge of his public duty, nor exchange for the life of one man the benefit of the whole State; and so, in the stern discharge of great public righteousness, he poisoned Ya. After ages can surely examine the nature of his deed. When the duke of Chow cut off his brothers Kwan and Ts'ae, he proclaimed their guilt. When Ke-yëw poisoned Shuh-ya, he concealed the deed. The crime of the duke of Chow's two brothers was displayed; the crime of He-shuh was still hidden, and could not be known. And hence it is that it appears in the text as if he had died a natural death.'

Par. 4. 路寢 is explained by Kung, Kuh, and others, as=正寢, 'the right chamber.' See the note in the Shoo, on V.xxii. 10. The last or innermost of the gates of the king's palace, or of the palace of the prince of a State, was called 路門, and inside it were the apartments called *ts'in* (寢). That character means 'to sleep,' but the *ts'in* were not bedrooms, in our sense of the term. They did not form part of the harem. There were three of them,—the *Kaou* (高) or 'High' *ts'in*, the *Loo ts'in*, and the *Sëaou* (小) or 'Small' *ts'in*. The Loo was the State chamber, where the king or prince gave audience to his ministers, and sometimes feasted his guests; and here it was proper he should die, open to the visits of his ministers, and with none of his wives or female attendants about him. The Chuen says that 'on the duke's death, his son Pan succeeded to him, and stopped in the house of the officer Chang [As appears from the previous Chuen, the house of his mother's family.]'

Par. 5. Here we have another concealment of the truth, for the new marquis was murdered, without any of the mitigating circumstances which have been urged to justify the deed of Ke-yëw in putting Shuh-ya to death. The Chuen says:—'Kung-chung [K'ing-foo. Kung is the hon. title, and Chung the designation] employed the chief groom Loh to murder the young marquis Pan in the house of the Chang family. Ch'ing Ke then fled to Ch'in, and *another son of Chwang, known as* duke Min, was raised to the marquisate.' With regard to the language of the paragraph, 子般 simply means 'the son Pan.' Pan had, indeed, succeeded to his father, but Chwang was still unburied. The year, moreover, had not closed, and a new rule had not been publicly inaugurated. The

new marquis, therefore, is not acknowledged as such. His rule was abortive. He is not called 君 or 公, and his death is described by 卒 instead of 薨. Instead of 己未 Kung and Kuh read 乙未; but 乙未 was in the 11th month, not the 10th.

Par. 6. K'ing-foo had murdered Pan, and aimed to become marquis himself. Something, however, was in the way of his immediately accomplishing his object, and here he goes to Ts'e, probably to represent the things which had occurred in Loo in the manner most favourable to himself, and to pave the way for his further projects. Maou thinks that 如 is a euphemism for 奔; but there is no necessity for that view. But who had secured the succession of duke Min? The last two clauses of the last Chuen are 成季奔陳, 立閔公. I have translated the concluding one passively; but the K'ang-he editors carry on 成季 to 立 as its subject. I do not see how Ch'ing Ke, himself compelled to flee the State, could effect the acknowledgment of Min. Probably K'ing-foo saw that if, after murdering one of Chwang's sons, he proceeded at once to set the other aside, public feeling would be too strong for him; and he therefore co-operated with other officers in the designation of Min, then only 8 years old;—meaning to deal with him ere long.

Par. 7. Hing was a marquisate held by descendants of the duke of Chow. Its chief town was at first in the pres. dis. of Hing-t'ae, (邢臺), dep. Shun-tih, Chih-le; but, in two years after this time, at a place 12 *le* to the south-west of the pres. dep. city of Tung-ch'ang, Shantung. Teih is the general name for the wild tribes of the north. This is the first mention of them in the Ch'un Ts'ëw.

BOOK IV. DUKE MIN.

First year.

閔公

一章 元年、春、王正月。

二章 齊人救邢。

三章 夏、六月、辛酉、葬我君莊公。

四章 秋、八月、公及齊侯盟于落姑。

五章 季子來歸。

六章 冬、齊仲孫來。

左傳曰、元年春。不書卽位、亂故也。狄人伐邢、管敬仲言於齊侯曰、戎狄豺狼、不可厭也、諸夏親暱、不可棄也、宴安酖毒、不可懷也、詩云、豈不懷歸、畏此簡書、簡書同惡相恤之謂也、請救邢以從簡書。齊人救邢。

夏、六月、葬莊公。亂故、是以緩。

秋、八月、公及齊侯盟于落姑。請復季友也。齊侯許之、使召諸陳。公次于郎以待之。季子來歸。嘉之也。

冬、齊仲孫湫來省難、書曰仲孫、亦嘉之也、仲孫歸、曰、不去慶父、魯難未巳。公曰、若之何而去之。對曰、難不已、將自斃、君其待之。公曰、魯可取乎。對曰、不可、猶秉周禮、周禮所以本也、臣聞之、國將亡、本必先顚、而後枝葉從之、魯不棄周禮、未可動也、君其務寧魯難而親之、親有禮、因重固、閒攜貳、覆昏亂、霸王之器也。

㊁晉侯作二軍、公將上軍、大子申生將下軍、趙夙御戎、畢萬爲右、以滅耿、滅霍、滅魏。還、爲大子城曲沃、賜趙夙耿、賜畢萬魏、以爲大夫。士蔿曰、大子不得立矣、分之都城、而位以卿、先爲之極、又焉得立、不如逃之、

無使罪至、爲吳大伯、不亦可乎、猶有令名、與其及也、且諺曰、心苟無瑕、何恤乎無家、天若祚大子、其無晉乎。卜偃曰、畢萬之後、必大、萬、盈數也、魏、大名也、以是始賞、天啟之矣、天子曰兆民、諸侯曰萬民、今名之大、以從盈數、其必有衆。初、畢萬筮仕於晉、遇屯之比、辛廖占之、曰、吉、屯固比入、吉孰大焉、其必蕃昌、震爲土、車從馬、足居之、兄長之、母覆之、衆歸之、六體不易、合而能固、安而能殺、公侯之卦也、公侯之子孫、必復其始。

I. 1 It was [the duke's] first year, the spring, the king's first month.

2 A body of men from Ts'e [went to] relieve Hing.

3 In summer, in the sixth month, on Sin-yëw, we buried our ruler, duke Chwang.

4 In autumn, the duke made a covenant with the marquis of Ts'e at Loh-koo.

5 The officer Ke came back to Loo.

6 In winter, Chung-sun of Ts'e came [to Loo].

TITLE OF THE BOOK.—閔公, 'Duke Min.' This was a son of duke Chwang, by a half-sister of the duchess Gae Këang, one of the ladies, who accompanied her from Ts'e to the harem of Loo in Chwang's 24th year, and who is generally mentioned as Shuh Këang (叔姜). He could only be, therefore, about 8 years old at his father's death. Called to the marquisate in consequence of the murder of his brother Pan, his own brief rule was closed in as hapless a manner by a similar end. His name was K'e-fong (啟方). It appears in the Historical Records as (開), because the emperor King (景帝) of the Han dynasty was also named K'e (啟), and another K'e could not appear in a work then published. The honorary title Min denotes—'Victim of calamity in the State (在國逢難曰閔).'

Min's rule embraced the years B. C. 660, 659. His 1st year synchronized with the 16th of of king Hwuy (惠); the 25th of Hwan (桓) of Ts'e; the 16th of Hëen (獻) of Tsin; the 8th of E (懿) of Wei; the 14th of Muh (穆) of Ts'ae; the 12th of Wăn (文) of Ch'ing; the 1st of Pan, duke Ch'aou (昭公班) of Ts'aou; the 32d of Seuen (宣) of Ch'in; the 12th of Hwuy (惠) of Ke; the 21st of Hwan (桓) of Sung; the 3d of Ch'ing (成) of Ts'in; and the 11th of Ch'ing (成) of Ts'oo.

Par. 1. See on I.i.1; III.i.1. Tso-she says that the par. does not conclude with 卽位, because the State was in confusion.

Par. 2. The Chuen has here:—'The Teih had invaded Hing. Kwan King-chung [敬 was Kwan E-woo's hon. title] said to the marquis of Ts'e, "The Teih and Jung are wolves, to whom no indulgence should be given: within the States of the Great land, all are nearly related, and none should be abandoned; luxurious repose is a poison, which should not be cherished. The ode says, 'Did we not long to return? But we were afraid of what was written in the tablets [The She, Part II. i. VIII.];' meaning that the States should compassionate one another in calamities they were exposed to. I beg you to succour Hing, in accordance with what is commanded in the tablets." On this a force went from Ts'e to succour Hing.' 齊人 indicates that the marquis of Ts'e did not go to Hing himself, nor send a great officer. It would have been better if he had done so. See on V.i.2.

Par. 3. This interment took place late, 'because,' says Tso-she, 'of the troubles and confusion in the State.'

Parr. 4, 5. The Chuen says:—'The duke covenanted with the marquis of Ts'e at Loh-koo, and besought him to restore Ke-yëw [who had

fled to Ch'in. See the Chuen on III. xxxii. 5]. The marquis consented, and sent to call Yëw from Ch'in, the duke halting at Lang to wait for him.' On p. 5 Tso says that the simple style Ke-tsze, '*The* Ke' or 'the officer Ke,' indicates commendation.

The child-marquis must have had the meeting with the marquis of Ts'e arranged for him, and the question has been much discussed among the critics as to who suggested to him to request the return of Ke-yëw. After all they have said, I think it may have proceeded from the boy himself. The 列國志 gives a pretty account of his holding the marquis by the skirt, and asking him to bring Ke-yëw back to save him from K'ing-foo. Koo-loh was in Ts'e,—in pres. dis. of P'ing-yin (平陰), dep. T'ae-gan.

Par. 6. Chung-sun was an officer of Ts'e,—a grandson of Chung, himself a son of duke Sëang or duke He (仲孫.齊公子仲氏之孫). The two characters are here used as another clan-name. His name was Tsëaou (湫). The Chuen says:—'In winter, Chung-sun Tsëaou of Ts'e came to investigate the difficulties of our condition, and is here mentioned by his clan-name, in commendation. On his return he said, "If K'ing-foo be not removed, the troubles of Loo will not have an end." "But how shall he be removed?" asked the duke. "Exciting troubles without ceasing," replied Tsëaou, "he will destroy himself. You can wait for the issue." The duke said, "May we *now* take Loo to ourselves?" Tsëaou answered, "No. Loo still holds fast to the rules of Chow, and these are a sure foundation for a State. I have heard the saying, that when a State is about to perish its root must first be destroyed, and then the destruction of the branches and leaves will follow. While Loo does not abandon the rules of Chow, it will not be possible to move it. Let it be the object of your grace to quiet the troubles of Loo, and be friendly to it. To be friendly with States that observe the rules of propriety; to help those that have in them the elements of solidity and strength; to complete the separation of those that are divided and disaffected; and to overthrow those that are full of disorder and confusion:—these are the methods by which a prince with the functions of president among the States proceeds."'

[The Chuen here returns to the affairs of Tsin:—'The marquis of Tsin formed two armies [See the Chuen after III. xvi. 5) taking the command of the 1st one himself, while his eldest son Shin-săng commanded the other. Chaou Suh drove the marquis's chariot, and Peih Wan was the spearman on his right. With these forces they extinguished the States of Kăng, Hoh, and Wei (魏; see on the title of the She, I. ix.) and on the return of the expedition the marquis walled K'ëuh-yuh for his son, gave Kăng to Chaou Suh, and Wei to Peih Wan, constituting them great officers *of Tsin*. Sze Wei said *to himself*, "The *marquis's* eldest son will not get possession of the State. He has been separately established in a capital city [See the Chuen appended to III. xxviii. 1], and had the dignity of a high minister [as leader of the 2d army]. His greatness has already culminated;—how should he become marquis in adition to this? He had better make his escape to some other State, and not allow the charge of guilt to fall upon him. Might he not be satisfied to play the part of T'ae-pih of Woo [See on Ana. VIII. 1]? He will still have an excellent fame:—how much better than to stay and let calamity come on him! Moreover, the proverb says, 'If one's heart have no flaw, what need he regret having no family?' If Heaven *mean to* confer dignity on our eldest prince, shall there be no Tsin for him?"

'The diviner Yen said, "The descendants of Peih Wan are sure to become great. 萬 (=10, 000) is the completion of numbers, and Wei (魏 =lofty) is a grand name. That his rewards should commence with this Wei is a proof that Heaven is opening up his way. With reference to the son of Heaven we speak of 'the millions of the people;' with reference to the prince of a State, of 'the myriads.' Since, in the case of Peih Wan, the grand name, *i.e.*, 魏, is followed by the complete number, it is plain that the multitudes will belong *to his posterity*."

'At an earlier period, Peih Wan had divined by the milfoil about his becoming an officer of Tsin, and obtained the diagram Chun (䷂), and afterwards, by the manipulation, Pe (䷇). Sin Leaou interpreted it to be lucky. "Chun," said he, "indicates Firmness, and Pe indicates Entering; what could be more fortunate?—he must become numerous and prosperous. *Moreover*, the symbol Chin (☳; the lower part of Chun) becomes that for the earth (☷); the lower half of Pe.) Carriages and horses follow one another; he has feet to stand on; an elder brother's lot; the protection of a mother; and is the attraction of the multitudes. These six indications [arising from the change of the lowest line in the diagram Chun] will not change. United, they indicate his firmness; in their repose, they indicate his majesty:—the divination is that of a duke or a marquis. Himself the descendant of a duke [Peih Wan was descended from one of the lords of Peih; but of the early history of that principality we know nothing], his posterity shall return to the original dignity."']

Second year.

一章 二年、春、王正月、齊人遷陽。

二章 夏、五月、乙酉、吉禘于莊公。

三章 秋、八月、辛丑、公薨。

四章 九月、夫人姜氏孫于邾。

五章 公子慶父出奔莒。

六章 冬、齊高子來盟。

七章 十有二月、狄入衛。

八章 鄭棄其師。

⨸左傳曰、二年、春、虢公敗犬戎于渭汭、舟之僑曰、無德而祿、殃也、殃將至矣。遂奔晉。

夏、吉禘于莊公、速也。

初、公傅奪卜齮田、公不禁、秋、八月、辛丑、共仲使卜齮賊公于武闈。成季以僖公適邾、共仲奔莒、乃入立之。以賂求共仲于莒、莒人歸之、及密、使公子魚請、不許、哭而往。共仲曰、奚斯之聲也。乃縊。閔公、哀姜之娣叔姜之子也、故齊人立之。共仲通於哀姜、哀姜欲立之。閔公之死也、哀姜與知之、故孫于邾。齊人取而殺之于夷、以其尸歸、僖公請而葬之。

⨸成季之將生也、桓公使卜楚丘之父卜之、曰、男也、其名曰友、在公之右、間于兩社、爲公室輔、季氏亡、則魯不昌。又筮之、遇大有之乾、曰、同復于父、敬如君所。及生、有文在其手、曰友、遂以命之。

冬、十二月、狄人伐衛、衛懿公好鶴、鶴有乘軒者、將戰、國人受甲者、皆曰、使鶴、鶴實有祿位、余焉能戰。公與石祁子玦、與甯莊子矢、使守、曰、以此贊國、擇利而爲之。與夫人繡衣、曰、聽於二子。渠孔御戎、子伯爲右、黃夷前驅、孔嬰齊殿。及狄人戰于熒澤、衛師敗績、遂滅衛。衛侯不去其旗、是以甚敗。狄人囚史華龍滑與禮孔、以逐衛人、

二人曰、我大史也、實掌其祭、不先、國不可得也。乃先之。至則告守曰、不可待也。夜與國人出、狄入衛、遂從之、又敗諸河。初、惠公之卽位也少、齊人使昭伯烝於宣姜、不可、强之。生齊子、戴公、文公、宋桓夫人、許穆夫人。文公爲衛之多患也、先適齊。及敗、宋桓公逆諸河、宵濟、衛之遺民男女七百有三十人、益之以共滕之民、爲五千人、立戴公、以廬于曹。許穆夫人賦載馳。齊侯使公子無虧、帥車三百乘、甲士三千人、以戍曹、歸公乘馬、祭服五稱、牛羊豕雞狗皆三百、與門材、歸夫人魚軒、重錦三十兩。

鄭人惡高克、使帥師次于河上、久而弗召、師潰而歸、高克奔陳、鄭人爲之賦淸人。

⨸晉侯使大子申生伐東山皐落氏、里克諫曰、大子奉冢祀社稷之粢盛、以朝夕視君膳者也、故曰冢子、君行則守、有守則從、從曰撫軍、守曰監國、古之制也。夫帥師、專行謀、誓軍旅、君與國政之所圖也、非大子之事也、師在制命而已、稟命則不威、專命則不孝、故君之嗣適、不可以帥師、君失其官、帥師不威、將焉用之、且臣聞皐落氏將戰、君其舍之。公曰、寡人有子、未知其誰立焉、不對而退、見大子、大子曰、吾其廢乎。對曰、告之以臨民、教之以軍旅、不共是懼、何故廢乎、且子懼不孝、無懼弗得立、修己而不責人、則免於難。大子帥師、公衣之偏衣、佩之金玦、狐突御戎、先友爲右、梁餘子養御罕夷、先丹木爲右、羊舌大夫爲尉。先友曰、衣身之偏、握兵之要、在此行也、子其勉之、偏躬無慝、兵要遠災、親以無災、又何患焉。狐突歎曰、時、事之徵也、衣、身之章也、佩、衷之旗也、故敬其事、則命以始、服其身、則衣之純、用其衷、則佩之度、今命以時卒、閟其事也、衣之尨服、遠其躬也、佩以金玦、棄其衷也、服以遠之、時以閟之、尨涼、冬殺、金寒、玦離、胡可恃也、雖欲勉之、狄可盡乎。梁餘子養曰、帥師者、受命於廟、受脤於社、有常服矣、不獲而尨、命可知也、死而不孝、不如逃之。罕夷曰、尨奇無常、金玦不復、雖復何爲、君有心矣。先丹木曰、是服也、狂夫阻之、曰盡敵而反、敵可盡乎、雖盡敵、猶有內讒、不如違之。狐突欲行、羊舌大夫曰、不可、違命不孝、棄事不忠、雖知其寒、惡不可取、子其死之。大子將戰、狐突諫曰、不可、昔辛伯諗周桓公云、內寵

並后、外寵二政、嬖子配適、大都耦國、亂之本也、周公弗從、故及於難、今亂本成矣、立可必乎、孝而安民、子其圖之、與其危身以速罪也。

⨸成風聞成季之繇、乃事之、而屬僖公焉、故成立之。

⨸僖之元年、齊桓公遷邢于夷儀、二年、封衛于楚丘、邢遷如歸、衛國忘亡。

⨸衛文公大布之衣、大帛之冠、務材、訓農、通商、惠工、敬教、勸學、授方、任能、元年革車三十乘、季年乃三百乘。

II. 1 In the [duke's] second year, in spring, in the king's first month, a force from Ts'e removed [the people of] Yang.

2 In summer, in the fifth month, on Yih-yëw, [the duke] offered the fortunate *te* sacrifice on [placing the tablet of] duke Chwang [in the ancestral temple].

3 In autumn, in the eighth month, on Sin-ch'ow, the duke died.

4 In the ninth month, [duke Chwang's] wife, the lady Këang, withdrew to Choo.

5 Duke [Hwan's] son, K'ing-foo, fled to Keu.

6 In winter, the officer Kaou of Ts'e came and made a covenant.

7 In the twelfth month, the Teih entered [the capital of] Wei.

8 Ch'ing threw away its army.

Par. 1. Yang was a marquisate, held by some branch of the House of Chow. It is referred to the pres. dis. of E-shwuy (沂水) dep. E-chow. 遷,—see III. i. 8; x. 3. It is supposed that Ts'e removed the people to the pres. dis. of Yih-too (益都), near the seat of its own power. Whether duke Hwan altogether extinguished the House of Yang, or permitted it to continue its sacrifices in its new site as an attached territory, we cannot tell.

[The Chuen has here:—' In spring, the duke of Kwoh defeated the Dog Jung at the bend of the Wei. Chow Che-k'ëaou said, "Success bestowed where there is no virtue is *the prelude to* calamity. Calamities will soon come." On this he fled to Tsin.']

Par. 2. The meaning of 禘 here is determined by the 吉 which precedes it, though that term is used improperly. When the period of mourning for a king or the prince of a State was completed,—a period nominally of 3 years, but actually only of 25 months,—then his Spirit-tablet was solemnly placed in the ancestral temple, the tablet of one of his ancestors being removed, according to a certain prescribed order, to make room for it, and there it would remain till, in process of time, it was in turn pushed out by the tablet of some later king or prince:—see the Doctrine of the Mean, xix. 4. The whole service on these occasions was called 禘, and also 祫 the latter term having reference to the sacrifice offered to all the Spirit-occupants of the temple, the former to the *discrimination* of the order of kindred according to which the new tablet received its place. 禘 is employed of other sacrificial occasions, but they are not to be thought of here. But 25 months at least must have elapsed from the death before the new tablet could be placed in the temple, and duke Chwang had now been dead only 22 months;—the service was performed before the proper time. As Tso-she says, it was too early 速也).

Par. 3. Again we have a case of base murder spoken of as if it had been a natural death. The Chuen says:—'Before this, the duke's tutor had violently taken away some fields belonging to Puh K'e, the duke not forbidding him. In the autumn, at this time, Kung-chung [*i. e.*, K'ing-foo] employed Puh K'e to murder the duke at the *Woo* side-gate of the palace.'

Par. 4. Comp. III. i. 2. The difference between the two parr. is, that here the lady's surname (姜氏) is given, while there it is suppressed. But we cannot account for the difference, and must accept the entries as they came from the historiographers. Këa, Fuh (賈, 服), and other critics, say that Gae Këang has her

surname given to her because she was not so wicked as Wăn Këang! The reason of her withdrawal from Loo is plain. K'ing-foo had now procured the death of two of Chwang's sons, and had only increased the general odium with which he was regarded. Gae Këang and he were living criminally together. She had probably been privy to the deaths of Pan and duke Min. She was obliged to withdraw from the storm of popular indignation. The reason of her going to Choo was, perhaps, to make friends with Ke-yëw, who had also taken refuge in that State. Here, as in other places, Kung-yang has 邾婁 instead of 邾.

Par. 5. K'ing-foo also was obliged to flee the State. The Chuen says:—'Ch'ing-ke, *immediately on the duke's death*, had gone to Choo, taking with him *duke Chwang's remaining son, who was afterwards* duke He; and when Kung-chung fled to Keu, he returned to the State, and raised this son to the marquisate. He *afterwards* sent bribes to Keu, and requested the delivery of Kung-chung. The people of Keu were sending him back; but when he got to Meih, he sent duke *Hwan's* son, Yu, to beg *for his life*. The request was refused, and Yu went back, weeping loudly as he went. *When* Kung-chung *heard him*, he said, "It is the voice of He-sze [the name of the Kung-tsze Yu]," and hanged himself.

'Duke Min was the son of Shuh Këang, a sister of Gae Këang, on which account the people of Ts'e had promoted his appointment to be marquis. Kung-chung had been carrying on a criminal intrigue with Gae Këang, who wished him to get the State, and she had, *with that view*, been privy to the death of Min. She had therefore withdrawn to Choo, but an officer of Ts'e took her, put her to death in E, and carried her body back with him. Duke He requested that it might be given to him, and then buried her.'

[Here follow in the Chuen some particulars about Ke-yëw:—'Just before the birth of Ch'ing-ke, duke Hwan made the father of Ts'oo-k'ëw, master of the diviners, consult the tortoise-shell, which he did, saying, "It will be a boy, whose name shall be called Yëw. His place will be at the right of the duke, between the two altars of the land. He shall be a help to the ducal House; and when the family of Ke shall perish, Loo will not flourish." He also consulted the milfoil about the child, and obtained the diagram Ta-yëw (大有; ䷍), and then K'ëen (乾; ䷀). "He shall come back," said he, "to the same distinction as his father. They shall reverence him as if he were in their ruler's place." When the boy was born, there was a figure on his hand, —that of the character Yëw (友), and he was named accordingly!']

Par. 6. Kaou is mentioned without name or designation, but with a simple 子 after the clan-name, as in the case of Ke-tsze. I. 5. The object of his coming to Loo was to help in the re-establishment of order, and that he might be able to report about the character of the new marquis. With him he made the covenant,—on behalf of Ts'e.

Par. 7. The ruin which the Teih dealt on Wei is related in the Chuen:—'In the 12th month, the Teih invaded Wei, the *marquis of which*, duke E, was noted for his fondness for storks. So fond was he of the creatures, that some of them were carried about in great officers' carriages. When the time for fighting came, and the people received their buff-coats, they all said, "Employ the storks. The storks truly have their revenues and dignities;—how should we be able to fight?" The duke gave his semicircle of jade to Shih K'e, and an arrow to Ning Chwang, and appointed them to guard the city, saying, "With these emblems of authority aid the State, doing whatever you shall deem most advantageous." To his wife he gave his embroidered robe, saying to her, "Listen to these two officers." *He then mounted his war-chariot*, K'eu K'ung being charioteer, and Tsze-pih the spearman on the right. Hwang E led the way in front with one body of men, and K'ung Ying-ts'e brought up the rear. A battle was fought with the Teih near the marsh of Yung, when the army of Wei was shamefully defeated, and the State itself *might be said to be* extinguished. The marquis would not leave his flag, which made the defeat the greater. The Teih made prisoners of the historiographers Hwa Lung-hwah and Le K'ung, and were carrying them with them in pursuit of the fugitives, when they said, [working on the superstition of the Teih], "We are the grand historiographers. The sacrifices of the State are really in our management; and if we do not go before you, the city cannot be taken." *On this* they were allowed to go before the pursuers; and when they reached *the wall*, they said to the officers *who had been left* to guard the city, "You must not remain here." That same night, Shih and Ning left the city with the people; and the Teih entered it, and then pursued, inflicting another defeat on the fugitives at the Ho.

'Before this, when duke Hwuy [Soh of II. xvi. 5, *et al.*] succeeded to Wei, he was young, and the people of Ts'e required Ch'aou-pih to form a connection with Seuen Këang [See the Chuen, on II. xvi. 5. Seuen Këang was Soh's mother, and Ch'aou-pih was a half-brother]; and when he refused, they compelled him to do it. From this union there sprang Ts'e-tsze, *Shin who was afterwards* duke Tae, *Hwuy who was afterwards* duke Wăn, the wife of Hwan of Sung, and the wife of Muh of Heu [See on the She, I. iv. X.]. Hwuy had gone to Ts'e, before *the invasion of the Teih*, because of the many troubles of Wei; and after their two defeats, duke Hwan of Sung met the fugitives at the Ho, and carried them over the river at night.

'All that remained of the people of Wei, men and women, *only* amounted to 730 men; and when to these were added the people of Kung and T'ăng, the number was only 5,000. *Shin, or* duke Tae, was raised to E's place, and lived in a hut in Ts'aou. [another town of Wei]. *On this occasion* the wife of Muh of Heu made the Tsae Ch'e [載馳. The She, I. iv. ode X.]. The marquis of Ts'e sent his *eldest* son, Woo-k'wei, with 300 chariots and 3,000 mailed men, to guard Ts'aou. He also sent to the duke a team of 4 horses; 5 suits of sacrificial robes; oxen, sheep, pigs, fowls, and dogs, in all 300; and materials for doors. He also sent to his wife a great officer's carriage ornamented with seal-skin, and 30 pieces of fine embroidered silk.'

The text says that 'the Teih entered Wei;' and the critics are divided on the amount of meaning in the term 'entered.' Fan Ning thinks it is equivalent to 'extinguished.' Sun Këoh thinks that, as we afterward find Wei mentioned in the Ch'un Ts'ëw, the Teih could not have taken possession of the territory. The Chuen shows that the entry of the Teih into the State, and their capture of its capital, were not followed by the extinction of the State. See what has been said about 入 on I. ii. 2.

Par. 8. The Chuen says on this par.:—' 'The earl of Ch'ing hated Kaou K'ih, and sent him with an army to the borders of the Ho, where he remained stationed for a long time, without being recalled. The troops dispersed, and returned to their homes. K'aou K'ih himself fled to Ch'in; and the people of Ch'ing, with reference to the affair, made the Ts'ing Jin (The She, I. vii. ode V.).' K'aou K'ih was an officer of Ch'ing, covetous and disrespectful to his ruler, who wanted to get rid of him, and took the method described in the Chuen to do so. 棄其師, 'abandoned its army' *i. e.*, sent it away to the borders, and then took no more thought about it.

[Here follow four narratives in the Chuen:—

1st. 'The marquis of Tsin proposed sending his eldest son Shin-săng to invade the Kaou-loh tribe of the eastern hills [in Shan-se], when Le K'ih remonstrated, saying, "It is the business of the eldest son to bear the vessels of millet for the great sacrifices, and for those at the altars of the land and the grain, and also to inspect the provisions cooked for the ruler every morning and evening. On this account he is styled the 'great son.' When the ruler goes abroad, he guards the capital; and if another be appointed to guard it, he attends upon *his father*. When he attends upon him, he is called 'Soother of the host;' when he stays behind on guard, he is called 'Inspector of the State:'—this is the ancient rule. But to lead the army and determine its movements and plans, issuing all commands to the troops:—this is what the ruler and his chief minister have to provide for; it is not the business of the eldest son. The conduct of an army all depends on the definite commands which are given. If *the son receive* the commands of another, it is injurious to his majesty; if he determines himself the commands, he is unfilial. For this reason the ruler's proper son and heir ought not to have the command of the army. The ruler fails to employ the right man in devolving the command on him; and if, as commander, he lose the majesty which belongs to him, how can he afterwards be employed? Your servant, moreover, has heard that the Kaou-lohs will fight. Leave, I pray you, your son alone, *and do not send him*." The duke said, "I have *many* sons, and I do not yet know whom I shall appoint my successor." And on this K'ih withdrew, without making any reply. When he saw the duke's eldest son, the prince asked him whether he was to be disowned, and K'ih replied, "Let the people know how you can preside over them; and teach them their duties in the army. Be only afraid of not reverently attending to these two things;—why should you be disowned? As a son, moreover, you have to fear lest you should not be filial; you have not to fear lest you should not be appointed to the succession. Cultivate yourself, and do not be finding fault with others; so shall you escape calamity."

'When his eldest son took the command of the army, the duke gave him a robe of two colours, and his golden semicircle to hang at his girdle. Hoo Tuh was his charioteer, and Sëen Yëw the spearman on his right. Lëang Yu-tsze-yang was charioteer to Han E [who led the 2d host], and Sëen Tan-muh was the spearman on his right. The great officer Yang-sheh acted as adjutant.

'Sëen Yëw said, "It is only on this expedition that he has worn this parti-coloured robe, and carried this important symbol. Let him exert himself, and admit nothing evil in his own half of his person. With his present power, he ought to keep calamity far away. Giving himself no occasion for it, what has he to fear?' Hoo Tuh, *however*, sighed and said, "The time is the proof of the thing; the garment is the distinction of the person; the symbol is the manifestation of the feeling. Were there a real interest in the expedition, the order for it would have come earlier; the robe for his person would have been of one colour; and the proper feeling would have given the proper symbol for the girdle. This parti-coloured robe shows a wish to remove his person; this golden semicircle for the girdle shows the abandonment of kindly feeling. The robe thus indicating a wish for the removal of the person; the time shutting the prince up from success; the garment thin; the winter killing; the metal cold; and the symbol the imperfect circle:—what is there in these things to be trusted to? Although the prince may wish to do his utmost, can the Teih be utterly destroyed?"

'Lëang Yu-tsze-yang said, 'The commander of an army receives his commands in the ancestral temple, and the sacrificial flesh at the altar of the land. He should wear the ordinary dress also; and since the prince cannot do so, but has this parti-coloured robe, the nature of the *duke's* command may be hence understood. Than that the prince should die for being unfilial, it is better that he should make his escape." Han E said, "The parti-coloured coat is strange and uncommon; the gold semicircle shows a wish that he should not return;—though he do return, of what good will it be? The duke has his mind made up." Sëen Tan-muh said, "Even a madman would have his doubts excited by this dress. The duke's command was, 'Destroy utterly the enemy, and then return;' but can the enemy be utterly destroyed? Even if we should make an end of the enemy, there are calumniators in the court;—we had better abandon the expedition and go away." Hoo Tuh *also* wished to go; but the great officer Yang-sheh said, "This is wrong. If *the prince* disobey his father's command, he will be unfilial; if he abandon the business entrusted to him, he will be unfaithful. Although he knows the cold feeling *of his father*, he must not choose to do evil. Rather let him die *in obedience*."

'When the prince was about to fight. Hoo Tuh remonstrated with him, saying, "Do not do so. Sin Pih gave counsel to duke Hwan of Chow [See the 2d Chuen, after II. xviii. 3] saying, 'The favourite of the harem made equal

to the queen; the favourites of the court made equal to the ministers of the government; the son of a concubine made equal to the legitimate son; and another great city made as large as the capital:—these are the foundation of disorder." But the duke of Chow would not listen to him, and so came to his unfortunate end. The root of disorder is already formed *in Tsin.* Can your succession to the State be made sure? Be filial, and seek the repose of the people;—lay your plans for this. It will be better than endangering your person, and accelerating *the imputation to you* of guilt."'

2d. 'When Ch'ing Fung [the mother of duke He. Fung was her surname, and Ch'ing her hon. title] heard the oracles concerning Ch'ing-ke, she honoured him [See the Chuen introduced after par. 5] and sought his guidance, entrusting also her son to him. This was the reason why Ke secured the succession of duke He.'

3d. 'In the 1st year of He, duke Hwan of Ts'e removed the capital of Hing to E-e, and in his second established Wei in Ts'oo-k'ëw. The people of Hing moved to their new seat as if they were going home, and the State of Wei forgot its ruin.'

4th. 'Duke Wăn of Wei, in garments of coarse linen and a cap of coarse silk, laboured to improve his resources; encouraged agriculture; promoted trade; treated the mechanics kindly; reverently sought the moral instruction of the people; stimulated them to learn; imposed nothing but what was right; and employed the able. The consequence was that while his leather carriages in his first year were only 30, in his last year they amounted to 300.']

僖公

First year.

一章 元年、春、王正月。

二章 齊師、宋師、曹師、次于聶北、救邢。

三章 夏、六月、邢遷于夷儀。

四章 齊師、宋師、曹師、城邢。

五章 秋、七月、戊辰、夫人姜氏薨于夷、齊人以歸。

六章 楚人伐鄭。

七章 八月、公會齊侯、宋公、鄭伯、曹伯、邾人于檉。

八章 九月、公敗邾師于偃。

九章 冬、十月、壬午、公子友帥師敗莒師于酈、獲莒挐。

十章 十有二月、丁巳、夫人氏之喪至自齊。

左傳曰、元年、春。不稱卽位、公出故也。公出復入、不書、諱之也、諱國惡、禮也。

諸侯救邢。邢人潰、出奔師、師遂逐狄人、具邢器用而遷之、師無私焉。

夏、邢遷于夷儀。諸侯城之、救患也。凡侯伯救患、分災、討罪、禮也。

秋、楚人伐鄭、鄭卽齊故也、盟于犖、謀救鄭也。

九月、公敗邾師于偃。虛丘之戍、將歸者也。

冬、莒人來求賂、公子友敗諸酈。獲莒子之弟挐。非卿也、嘉獲之也。公賜季友汶陽之田及費。

夫人氏之喪、至自齊。君子以齊人之殺哀姜也、爲已甚矣、女子從人者也。

I. 1 It was the [duke's] first year, the spring, the king's first month.

2 An army of Ts'e, an army of Sung, and an army of Ts'aou halted at Nëeh-pih, [in proceeding] to the rescue of Hing.

3 In summer, in the sixth month, Hing removed [its capital] to E-e.

4 The army of Ts'e, the army of Sung, and the army of Ts'aou walled [the new capital of] Hing.

5 In autumn, in the seventh month, on Mow-shin, duke [Chwang's] wife, the lady Këang, died at E, an officer of Ts'e taking her [body] back with him.

6 A body of men from Ts'oo invaded Ch'ing.

7 In the eighth month, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Ts'e, the duke of Sung, the earl of Ch'ing, the earl of Ts'aou, and an officer of Choo, in Ch'ing.

8 In the ninth month, the duke defeated an army of Choo at Yen.

9 In winter, in the tenth month, on Jin-woo, duke [Hwan's] son Yëw led an army and defeated an army of Keu at Le, taking Neu of Keu.

10 In the twelfth month, on Ting-sze, the coffin of duke [Chwang's] wife arrived from Ts'e.

TITLE OF THE BOOK.—僖公, 'Duke He.' The mother of duke He was Ch'ing Fung, mentioned in the 2d narrative of the Chuen appended to Min's last year, and a concubine of duke Chwang. His name was Shin (申). His rule lasted 33 years, B. C. 658—626. His honorary title, He, denotes 'Careful and Cautious (小心畏忌曰僖).'

His 1st year synchronized with the 18th of king Hwuy; the 27th of Hwan of Ts'e; the 18th of Hëen of Tsin; the 1st of Hwuy, duke Wan (文公燬), of Wei; the 16th of Muh of Ts'ae; the 14th of Wăn of Ch'ing; the 3d of Ch'aou of Ts'aou; the 34th of Seuen of Ch'in; the 14th of Hwuy of Ke; the 23d of Hwan of Sung; the 1st of Jin-haou, duke Muh (穆公任好), of Ts'in; and the 13th of Ch'ing of Ts'oo.

Par. 1. See on I. i. 1; III. i. 1; IV. i. 1. Tso, indeed, says needlessly, that the characters 卽位 are not found, 'because the duke was out of the State. He went out and re-entered, but there is no record of it;—to conceal the wickedness of the State; which was according to rule.'

Par. 2. The 師 after 曹 is the reading of Kung and Kuh. Tso-she has 曹伯, evidently a mistake. Nëeh-pih was a place in Hing, north-east from the pres. dis. city of Lëaou-shing (聊城), dep. Tung-ch'ang. The Teih had again invaded Hing, which applied to Ts'e for help, and accordingly we have the armies of Ts'e and other States here proceeding to its relief. The phrases 齊師, &c., imply that, while the relieving forces were considerable, they were under the command of great officers, and not of the princes of the States themselves. The critics are much divided in their opinion on the allies' halting in their march to relieve Hing, most of them condemning it as improper in the urgency of the case. We do not know the circumstances sufficiently, however, to judge whether it was a prudent measure merely, or an artful one,—to make their help more prized by Hing when given at last.

Par. 3. E-e (Kung, 陳儀),—see on III. xxxii. 7. 遷 is here used intransitively. The removal is spoken of as if it had been Hing's own act. The Chuen says:—'The princes were proceeding to relieve Hing, when the people dispersed, and fled to the *allied* armies, which then went on and drove out the Teih. They collected all the furniture and other articles of the people, and brought them away, without the soldiers appropriating anything to themselves. In summer, Hing removed to E-e.'

Par. 4. The Chuen says:—'The princes walled the city for Hing, thus relieving it in its distress. It was the rule for the president of the princes to relieve the distressed, to distribute to the necessitous in times of calamity, and to punish offending States.'

Kaou K'ang (高閌; Sung Dyn.) observes:—'*The marquis of Ts'e* was dilatory at first in relieving Hing;—that was his fault. Finally he did succour it;—that was his merit. The sage does not conceal his fault on the ground of his merit, nor does he conceal his merit because of his fault;—this is royal law.'

Par. 5. The latter part of the Chuen on IV. ii. 5 has anticipated this par. The marquis of Ts'e, in his capacity of leader of the States, determined to execute justice on Gae Këang, notwithstanding his near relation to her, considering her too bad to be allowed to live. He therefore had her brought from Choo, whether she had fled from Loo, to E, somewhere in Ts'e, and there put her to death, or obliged her to strangle herself. The officer, who superintended the deed, took her body back to Ts'e;—so we must understand 以歸. Kuh-lëang, and, after him, Hoo Gan-kwoh, take the characters as ='sent her back to Loo;'—contrary to their general usage, and specially to par. 10. The marquis of Ts'e did not hesitate to execute his own sister, whose wickedness was so atrocious; but the Classic conceals the nature of her death.

Par. 6. Here for the 1st time we meet with the name 楚, instead of which 荆 has hitherto been used. The same tree was called either Ts'oo or King, and the same usage obtained with the name of the State, though, as Too seems to intimate, the name Ts'oo was about this time publicly assumed. Tso-she says that Ts'oo attacked Ch'ing, 'because of its adherence to the alliance with Ts'e,' and that the meeting at Ch'ing was followed by a covenant at Loh (犖), with a view to the relief of Ch'ing. [The Loh here in the Chuen may be, as Too says, another name for Ch'ing (檉), or it may be that the princes, after their conference at Ch'ing, moved a little way off to another place, called Loh, and there covenanted.] Ch'ing (朾 in Kung-yang) was in Ch'ing, somewhere in the pres. Ch'in Chow, dep. K'ae-fung, Ho-nan.

Par. 8. Yen (Kung-yang, 纓) was in Loo,—in pres. dis. of Pe, dep. Yen-chow. We do not know what grounds of quarrel there were at this time between Loo and Choo; and as duke He and an officer of Choo had been in good fellowship at the meeting in Ch'ing the month before, this makes the entry the more strange. Tso-she says the defeat was inflicted on 'the guards of Heu-k'ëw. who were about to return.' Too Yu explains this by supposing that Heu-k'ëw was in Choo, and that Choo had stationed troops there, after sending Gae Këang to her death in Ts'e, intending that they should make an incursion into Loo. On finding, however, that Ts'e gave up the body of Gae Këang to Loo, and that the two States continued on good terms, Choo was afraid, and was proceeding to withdraw its troops, when duke He, having become aware of their original object, attacked and defeated them. A fatal objection to this explanation is, that Heu-k'ëw must be assigned to Loo, according to the analogy of all the passages in which the duke of Loo is said to have defeated the forces of another power in any place. The most likely account of the collision which I have met with, is one suggested by Wang Taou,—that when Ke-yëw fled with the prince Shin to Choo, on the murder of duke Min, they had made great promises to Choo. if that court would help them to regain Loo; and that Choo now, claiming the merit of their restoration and Shin's elevation to the marquisate, had sent a force to seize and keep possession of Heu-k'ëw, to enforce his demand that the promises should be made good. He caught only loss, however, by his greed.

Par. 9. Le (Kung, 犁; Kuh, 麗) belonged to Loo. The Chuen says:—'In winter, an officer of Keu came seeking for bribes, but duke *Hwan's* son, Yëw, defeated his troops at Le, and took Neu, the younger brother of the viscount of Keu.' Tso-she adds that Neu was not a high minister [intending thus to account, by one of his canons, for the mention of the individual simply by his name], and that the whole par. is in commendation of Ke-yëw for the capture of Neu. After this, the Chuen resumes, 'The duke *for this* gave Ke-yëw the fields on the north of the Wăn, and Pe.'

The Chuen on IV. ii. 5 tells us how Ke-yëw bribed Keu to deliver up K'ing-foo. Not satisfied with what he had then received, the viscount had sent his troops to require further payment. Both Choo and Keu, we may assume,

were presuming that the new rule would be too weak to resist their demands.

獲 most naturally leads to the conclusion that Nen was captured alive; which is inconsistent with a version of the transaction given by Kuh-lëang:—that Ke-yëw proposed to Nen that they two should decide the contest by boxing, and let their troops look on, and that then, when he found he was getting the worst, he disposed of his antagonist with a dagger which he carried about his person.

Par. 10. The want of 姜 here before 氏 is evidently a simple error of the text. It is astonishing what nonsense even the K'ang-he editors write, on the supposition that 'Confucius could not express his condemnation so well as by leaving out her surname in this place.' Tso-she observes that the superior man may say that 'the people of Ts'e dealt too severely with Gae Këang in putting her to death; for that a woman follows—has her obediences to be rendered to—the determinate male relatives.' His meaning seems to be that, as she had married from Ts'e into Loo, it belonged to Loo to deal with her; she was no longer amenable to Ts'e. Comp. II. xviii. 2.

Second year.

一章 二年、春、王正月、城楚丘。

二章 夏、五月、辛巳、葬我小君哀姜。

三章 虞師、晉師、滅下陽。

四章 秋、九月、齊侯、宋公、江人、黃人、盟于貫。

五章 冬、十月、不雨。

六章 楚人侵鄭。

左傳曰、二年、春、諸侯城楚丘而封衞焉。不書所會、後也。

晉荀息請以屈產之乘、與垂棘之璧、假道於虞、以伐虢。公曰、是吾寶也。對曰、若得道於虞、猶外府也。公曰、宮之奇存焉。對曰、宮之奇之爲人也、懦而不能强諫、且少長於君、君暱之、雖諫、將不聽。乃使荀息假道於虞、曰、冀爲不道、入自顛軨、伐鄍三門、冀之既病、則亦唯君故、今虢爲不道、保於逆旅、以侵敝邑之南鄙、敢請假道、以請罪于虢。虞公許之、且請先伐虢、宮之奇諫、不聽、遂起師、夏、晉里克、荀息、帥師會虞師伐虢、滅下陽。先書虞、賄故也。

秋、盟于貫、服江、黃也。

⨸齊寺人貂、始漏師于多魚。

⨸虢公敗戎于桑田、晉卜偃曰、虢必亡矣、亡下陽不懼、而又有功、是天奪之鑒、而益其疾也、必易晉而不撫其民矣、不可以五稔。

冬、楚人伐鄭、鬭章囚鄭聃伯。

II. 1 In the [duke's] second year, in spring, in the king's first month, we [aided in the] walling of Ts'oo-k'ëw.

2 In summer, in the fifth month, on Sin-sze, we buried our duchess, Gae Këang.

3 An army of Yu and an army of Tsin extinguished Hëa-yang.

4 In autumn, in the ninth month, the marquis of Ts'e, the duke of Sung, an officer of Këang, and an officer of Hwang, made a covenant in Kwan.

5 In winter, in the tenth month, there was no rain.

6 A body of men from Ts'oo made an incursion into Ch'ing.

Par. 1. Ts'oo-k'ëw was the new capital of Wei. The abandonment of the old capital [See on I. ii. 9], and the subsequent destruction of it by the Teih, have been described in the Chuen on IV. ii. 7, where also it is stated how the shattered remnant of the State collected again in Ts'aou. The marquis of Ts'e, however, decided that Ts'oo-k'ëw [difft. from another place of the same name, also in Wei, mentioned in I. vii. 7], —60 *le* east of the pres. dis. city of Hwah (滑), dep. Ta-ming, Chih-le,—would be a better site for a capital, and arranged with the other princes to raise its walls. The Chuen says:—'In spring, the princes walled Ts'oo-k'ëw, and established Wei there.' Tso thinks that no mention is made in the text of any previous meeting of the princes for this purpose, because Loo was late in arriving!

In par. 2 of the previous year, it is stated that the armies of the States 'walled Hing (城邢),' the reason being that the marquis and people of Hing had already taken up their quarters in E-e, as the head-city of their revived State. Here it is not said that the armies 'walled Wei (城衞),' because the marquis and people were still at Ts'aou, and would remove to Ts'oo-k'ëw only when it was ready for their reception.

Par. 2. See III. xxii. 2.

Par. 3. For the 1st time the States of Yu and Tsin appear in the text of the Ch'un Ts'ëw: —the former on the eve of its extinction; the latter soon to develope into one of the greatest Powers of the period. Yu was held by the descendants of Chung-yung (仲雍), second son of king T'ae, grandfather of king Wăn, with the title of duke. Its capital was 45 *le* east of the pres. dis. city of Ping-luh (平陸), Këae Chow (解州), Shan-se. Tsin was a marquisate, held by the descendants of Shuh-yu (叔虞), a son of king Woo. Its capital at this time was at Këang, which has left its name in the pres. Këang Chow (絳) of Shan-se. Its position allowed Tsin great opportunity for enlarging its territory, and this was the main cause of the great progress which it made. Hëa-yang (Kung and Kuh, 夏陽) was the second city of the State of Kwoh, in the north-east of the pres. dis. of P'ing-luh (平陸), dep. P'ing-yang. The possession of Hëa-yang was all important to Kwoh, the State to which it belonged, and indeed to Yu also. Tsin by acquiring Hëa-yang could go on without difficulty to annex both the States.

The Chuen says:—'Seun Seih of Tsin requested leave *from the marquis* to take his team of Këuh horses and his *peih* of Ch'uy-keih jade, and with them borrow a way from Yu to *march through it* and attack Kwoh [Yu was on the south of Tsin, and Kwoh again on the south of Yu]. "They are the things I hold most precious," said the marquis. Seih replied, "But if you get a way through Yu, it is but like placing them in a treasury outside *the State for a time*." "There is Kung Che-k'e in Yu," objected the duke. "Kung Che-k'e," returned the other, "is a weak man, and incapable of remonstrating vigorously. And, moreover, from his youth up he has always been with the duke of Yu, who is so familiar with him, that though he should remonstrate, the duke will not listen to him." The marquis accordingly sent Seun Seih to borrow a way through Yu, with this message:—"*Formerly*, K'e [a small State], against right and reason, entered *your State* from Tëen-ling, and attacked the three gates of Ming. It suffered for its doing;—all through your Grace. Now Kwoh, against right and reason, has been keeping guards about the travellers' lodges, to make incursions from them into my southern borders, and I venture to beg a right of way from you to ask an account of its offence." The duke of Yu granted the request, and even asked to take the lead in invading Kwoh. Kung Che-k'e remonstrated with him, but in vain; and he raised his army for the enterprize.

'In summer, Le K'ih and Seun Seih brought on the army of Tsin, made a junction with that of Yu, and invaded Kwoh, when they extinguished Hëa-yang.

'The army of Yu is mentioned first, because of the bribes which the duke accepted.'

To speak of 'extinguishing Hëa-yang,' which was not a State, sounds strange; but Kuh-lëang accounts for the language on the ground of the importance of the place. Maou K'e-ling even says that Hëa-yang is here another name for Yu.—See Mencius, V. Pt. i. IX. 2.

Par. 4. Këang was a small State, held by Yings (嬴),—in pres. Ho-nan. Its exact place is not determined,—some placing it in dis. of

Ching-yang (正陽), dep. Joo-ning; and some in dis. of Seih (息), Kwang-chow (光州). Hwang was also a small State, held by Yings, in the same Kwang-chow. Both Këang and Hwang acknowledged the superiority of Ts'oo; their now transferring their allegiance to Ts'e is indicative of the approaching struggle between those two great States. Tso says this meeting was held to receive the submission of Këang and Hwang. Kwan (Kung, 貫澤) was in Sung,—10 *le* south-east from dis. city of Ts'aou, dep. Ts'aou-chow.

[The Chuen adds here:—1st. 'Tëaou of Ts'e, chief of the eunuchs, for the 1st time let out the *contemplated* expedition *of duke Hwan* in To-yu.'

2d. 'The duke of Kwoh defeated the Jung at Sang-t'ëen. The diviner Yen of Ts'in said, "Kwoh is sure to perish. The duke is not afraid, though he has lost Hëa-yang, but goes on to acquire more *military* fame;—Heaven is taking away his insight, and increasing his disease. He is sure to take his difficulties with Tsin easily, and show no kindness to his people. He will not have five more harvests.'"]

Par. 5. See III. xxxi. 6.

Par. 6. The Chuen says that, at this time, 'Tow Chang carried off prisoner T'an Pih of Ch'ing.'

Third year.

一章 三年、春、王正月、不雨。

二章 夏、四月、不雨。

三章 徐人取舒。

四章 六月、雨。

五章 秋、齊侯宋公、江人、黃人、會于陽穀。

六章 冬、公子友如齊涖盟。

七章 楚人伐鄭。

左傳曰、三年春、不雨、夏六月雨、自十月不雨至于五月、不曰旱、不爲災也。秋、會于陽穀、謀伐楚也。齊侯爲陽穀之會、來尋盟、冬、公子友如齊涖盟。楚人伐鄭、鄭伯欲成、孔叔不可、曰、齊方勤我、棄德不祥。㈠齊侯與蔡姬乘舟于囿、蕩公、公懼、變色、禁之、不可、公怒、歸之、未絕之也、蔡人嫁之。

III. 1 In the [duke's] third year, in spring, in the king's first month, it did not rain.

2 In summer, in the fourth month, it did not rain.

3 A body of men from Seu took Shoo.

4 In the sixth month, it rained.

5 In autumn, the marquis of Ts'e, the duke of Sung, an officer of Këang, and an officer of Hwang, had a meeting at Yang-kuh.

6 In winter, duke [Hwan's] son, Yëw, went to Ts'e to make a covenant.

7 A body of men from Ts'oo invaded Ch'ing.

Parr. 1, 2, 4. The Chuen says:—'In spring it did not rain, but in summer, in the 6th month, it did. From the 10th month *of the previous year* to the *end of the* 5th month of this, *there had been no rain;* but as it is not said "there was a drought," it had not amounted to a calamity.' The mention of its raining in the 6th month is dwelt on by the critics. They contrast the three—I might say four—entries here about rain, with VI. ii. 4, where seven months' want of rain is summed up in one par., saying that the various entries here, and especially the last one, show how duke He must have sympathized with the suffering of the people.

Par. 3. Seu,—see III. xxvi. 4. Shoo was a small State;—in pres. dis. of Leu-këang (廬江), dep. Leu-chow, Gan-hwuy. It is not easy to determine the force of 取, 'took,' which has occurred once before in III. ix. 6, with rather a difft. application. Kung-yang thinks that 取 indicates the ease with which the capture was made, and Too that it indicates that only a small force was employed against Shoo. Some think that 取 is here = 滅, 'extinguished;' but the meaning is not so intense as that. The K'ang-he editors approve the view of Le Leen (李廉; end of the Yuen dyn.), which is reasonable;—that Shoo belonged to the party of Ts'oo, and that Seu now took, and held it for a time, in the interest of Ts'e, to facilitate the progress of the contemplated expedition to the south.

Par. 5. Tso says this meeting was 'to plan about the invasion of Ts'oo.' See on p. 4 of last year. The K'ang-he editors agree with Tso's account of the object of the meeting, though Kung and Kuh do not mention it. They say that the expedition against Ts'oo had been determined on in the meeting at Ch'ing (檉), in He's 1st year, and that the subsequent meeting at Kwan, and this at Yang-kuh, were held specially to secure the adherence of the powerful Sung, and of the distant Këang and Hwang. Yang-kuh was in Ts'e, 30 *le* north-east from the pres. dis. city of same name, dep. Yen-chow.

Par. 6. Kuh has 季 before 友. Both he and Kung read 蒞 for 涖. 涖=臨, 'to go to and take part in.' The covenant here was a sequel of the meeting at Yang-kuh (Tso says:—齊侯爲陽穀之會來尋盟). Loo had not been represented at the meeting, but the duke here, at the request of Ts'e, sends Ke-yëw to take part in the covenant.

Par. 7. The Chuen says:—'On this occasion, the earl of Ch'ing wanted to make peace with Ts'oo, but K'ung Shuh objected, saying, "Ts'e is now actively engaged on our behalf. It will not be an auspicious movement to cast away its kindness."'

[The Chuen adds:—'The marquis of Ts'e and Ke of Ts'ae [one of his ladies] were in a boat *on a lake* in the park, when she made it rock. The marquis was afraid, changed colour, and forbade her; but she persisted. The marquis was angry, and sent her back to Ts'ae, without absolutely putting her away. They married her away there, however, *to another.*]'

Fourth year.

一章 四年、春、王正月、公會齊侯、宋公、陳侯、衞侯、鄭伯、許男、曹伯、侵蔡、蔡潰、遂伐楚、次于陘。

二章 夏、許男新臣卒。

三章 楚屈完來盟于師、盟于召陵。

四章 齊人執陳轅濤塗。

五章 秋、及江人、黃人、伐陳。

六章 八月、公至自伐楚。

七章 葬許穆公。八章 冬、十有二月、公孫玆帥師、會齊人、宋人、衞人、鄭人、許人、曹人、侵陳。

左傳曰、四年、春、齊侯以諸侯之師侵蔡、蔡潰、遂伐楚、楚子使與師言曰、君處北海、寡人處南海、唯是風馬牛不相及也、不虞君之涉吾地也、何故。管仲對曰、昔召康公命我先君大公曰、五侯九伯、女實征之、以夾輔周室、賜我先君履、東至于海、西至于河、南至于穆陵、北至于無棣、爾貢包茅不入、王祭不共、無以縮酒、寡人是徵、昭王南征而不復、寡人是問、對曰、貢之不入、寡君之罪也、敢不共給、昭王之不復、君其問諸水濱、師進、次於陘。夏、楚子使屈完如師、師退、次于召陵、齊侯陳諸侯之師、與屈完乘而觀之、齊侯曰、豈不穀是爲。先君之好是繼、與不穀同好、如何、對曰、君惠徼福於敝邑之社稷、辱收寡君、寡君之願也、齊侯曰、以此衆戰、誰能禦之、以此攻城、何城不克、對曰、君若以德綏諸侯、誰敢不服、君若以力、楚國方城以爲城、漢水以爲池、雖衆、無所用之。屈完及諸侯盟。

陳轅濤塗謂鄭申侯曰、師出於陳鄭之閒、國必甚病、若出於東方、觀兵於東夷、循海而歸、其可也、申侯曰、善、濤塗以告、齊侯許之、申侯見曰、師老矣、若出於東方而遇敵、懼不可用也、若出於陳鄭之閒、共其資糧屝屨、其可也。齊侯說、與之虎牢、執轅濤塗。

秋、伐陳、討不忠也。

許穆公卒于師、葬之以侯、禮也。凡諸侯薨于朝會、加一等、死王事、加二等、於是有以衮斂。

冬、叔孫戴伯帥師、會諸侯之師、侵陳、陳成、歸轅濤塗、

㊅初、晉獻公欲以驪姬爲夫人、卜之不吉、筮之吉、公曰、從筮、卜人曰、筮短龜長、不如從長、且其繇曰、專之渝、攘公之羭、一薰一蕕、十年尚猶有臭、必不可、弗聽、立之、生奚齊、其娣生卓子、及將立奚齊、既與中大夫成謀、姬謂大子曰、君夢齊姜、必速祭之、大子祭于曲沃、歸

胙于公、公田、姬寘諸宮六日、公至、毒而獻之、公祭之地、地墳、與犬、犬斃、與小臣、小臣亦斃、姬泣曰、賊由太子、太子奔新城、公殺其傅杜原欵、或謂大子、子辭、君必辯焉、大子曰、君非姬氏、居不安、食不飽、我辭、姬必有罪、君老矣、吾又不樂、曰、子其行乎、大子曰、君實不察其罪、被此名也以出、人誰納我。十二月戊申、縊于新城、姬遂譖二公子曰、皆知之、重耳奔蒲、夷吾奔屈。

IV. 1 In his fourth year, in spring, in the king's first month, the duke joined the marquis of Ts'e, the duke of Sung, the marquis of Ch'in, the marquis of Wei, the earl of Ch'ing, the baron of Heu, and the earl of Ts'aou, in an incursion into Ts'ae. [The people of] Ts'ae dispersed, when the [allies] proceeded to invade Ts'oo, and halted at Hing.

2 In summer, Sin-chin, baron of Heu, died.

3 K'ëuh Hwan of Ts'oo came to make a covenant in [the camp of] the armies. The covenant was made at Shaou-ling.

4 The army of Ts'e made Yuen T'aou-t'oo of Ch'in prisoner.

5 In autumn, [the duke], with an officer of Këang and an officer of Hwang, invaded Ch'in.

6 In the eighth month, the duke arrived from the invasion of Ts'oo.

7 There was the burial of duke Muh of Heu.

8 In winter, in the twelfth month, Kung-sun Tsze led a force, and joined an officer of Ts'e, an officer of Sung, an officer of Wei, an officer of Ch'ing, an officer of Heu, and an officer of Ts'aou, in an incursion into Ch'in.

Par. 1. The Chuen says:—'In this year, in spring, the marquis of Ts'e, with the forces of *many of* the princes, made an incursion into Ts'ae, and, when *the marquis and people* dispersed *and fled*, proceeded to invade Ts'oo. The viscount of Ts'oo sent a messenger to the *allied* army to say *to the marquis*, "Your lordship's place is by the northern sea, and mine is by the southern; *so remote are our boundaries* that our cattle and horses, in the heat of their excitement, cannot affect one another. Without my having any idea of it, your lordship has come to my country. What is the reason *of your doing so?*" Kwan Chung replied, "Duke K'ang of Shaou delivered the charge to T'ae-kung, the first lord of our Ts'e, saying, 'Do you undertake to punish *the guilty* among the princes of all the five degrees, and the chiefs of all the nine provinces, in order to support and help the House of Chow.' So there was given to our founder rule over the land, from the sea on the east to the Ho on the west, and from Muh-ling on the south to Woo-te on the north. Your tribute of covered cases of the three-ribbed rush [Shoo III. i. Pt. i. 52] is not rendered, so that the king's sacrifices are not supplied with it, and there is nothing with which to strain the spirits;—of this we have to ask you an account. King Ch'aou moreover never came back from the expedition which he undertook to the south [king Ch'aou had been drowned in the Han, in B. C. 1,016. How the thing happened, was never clearly known. Kwan Chung seems to insinuate that there had been some treachery on the part of Ts'oo. But it was late now to be inquiring into an event more than three centuries back]; and into this also we have to inquire." The messenger replied, 'That the tribute has not been forwarded is the fault of our lord;—how should he presume not to pay it? As to king Ch'aou's not returning *from the south*, you should inquire about it along the banks of the river." After this the army *of the allies* advanced, and halted at Hing.'

Hing was in Ts'oo,—in pres. dis. of Yen-shing (郾城), Heu-chow (許州), Ho-nan. The inroad into Ts'ae was a feint, intended to conceal the great object of the expedition, so that the allies might be able to fall on Ts'oo unprepared. The incident mentioned in the Chuen at the end of last year furnished a pretext for it.

The marquis of Ts'e said that he had meant to recal the lady, and that Ts'ae had no right to marry her away to another. 潰=散, 'to disperse.' On VI. iii. 1, Tso-she defines the term as expressing 'the flight of the people from their lord (民逃其上曰潰).' They disappear like water (流移若積水之潰). Ts'e certainly does not appear with advantage in the conference with the messenger of Ts'oo. For three years preparations had been making for the expedition. The marquis and Kwan Chung ought to have declared openly and boldly the grounds on which they were conducting all the States of the north to attack Ts'oo, instead of urging merely trivial matters. There is something to be admired, however, in the approval which a hundred critics give to the way in which matters were conducted, so as to obtain the submission of Ts'oo without the effusion of blood; but they overlook the fact that it was only a feigned submission which was obtained.

Par. 2. Tso-she says, on p. 7, that the baron 'died in the army,' which is probably correct, though Lëw Ch'ang and other critics say he had returned from the army ill, and died in Heu. Kaou K'ang says that this Sin-chin was the same as Heu Shuh of II. xv. 6, and that he had ruled his State for 42 years.

Par. 3. The Chuen says:—'In summer, the viscount of Ts'oo sent K'ëuh Hwan to the army *of the allies*, which retired, and halted at Shaouling. The marquis of Ts'e had the armies of all the princes drawn up in array, and took K'ëuh Hwan with him in the same carriage to survey them. He then said, "Is it on my unworthy account that these are here? No, but in continuation of the friendship of the princes with my predecessors. What do you think of Ts'oo's being on the same terms of friendship with me?" K'ëuh Hwan replied, "If from your lordship's favour the altars of our land and grain may receive blessing, and you will condescend to receive our prince, this is his wish." The marquis then said, "Fighting with these multitudes, who can withstand me? What city could sustain their attack?" "If your lordship," was the reply, "by your virtue, seek the tranquillity of the States, who will dare not to submit to you? But if you depend on your strength, our State of Ts'oo has the hill of Fang-shing for a wall, and the Han for a moat. Great as your multitudes are, you could not use them.' K'ëuh Hwan made a covenant, *on the part of Ts'oo*, with the princes.'

Shaou-ling was in Ts'oo,—45 *le* east from the dis. city of Yen-shing, Heu Chow, Ho-nan. From the text it might be concluded that two covenants were formed; but it was not so. K'ëuh Hwan came to the camp of the allies, and intimated the wish of the viscount of Ts'oo to make a covenant with them, if they would retire a little;—which was done. It will appear on the whole that there was here a lame and impotent conclusion to Ts'e's expedition against Ts'oo.

Par. 4. The reason of this seizure is given in the Chuen:—"Yuen (Kung and Kuh have 袁, without the 車) T'aou-t'oo, *a great officer* of Ch'in, said to Shin How, *a great officer* of Ch'ing, "If the armies march through Ch'in and Ch'ing, our States will be very much distressed. If they go by the eastern regions, and show their grand array to the wild tribes there, returning along the sea-coast, it will be better." Shin How approved of the proposal, which T'aou-t'oo then laid before the marquis of Ts'e, who agreed with it. *After this*, Shin How had an interview with the marquis, and said, "The army has been in the field a long time. If it march through the eastern regions, and meet with enemies, I fear the soldiers will not be fit for use. If it march through Ch'in and Ch'ing, which can supply them with provisions and sandals, it will be a better arrangement." The marquis was pleased, and gave Shin the town of Hoo-laou, while he seized *at the same time* Yuen T'aou-t'oo.'

Par. 5. Tso-she says this was done 'to punish Ch'in for its unfaithfulness.' It would appear, then, that the marquis of Ch'in had been privy to the artful counsel of Yuen T'aou-t'oo; or perhaps, as Wang Ts'ëaou [王樵; Ming dyn., of the 16th century] supposes, he had otherwise indicated his intention to join the side of Ts'oo. This is more likely. The marquis of Ts'e had devolved the punishment of Ch'in on Loo, Këang, and Hwang.

Par. 6. Kuh-lëang here lays down a rule, that if the duke had been absent on two engagements, then the entry of his return should be associated with the latter; but if the second were smaller than the other, then with the first. But such a rule is unnecessary. The attack of Ch'in was only an incident growing out of the invasion of Ts'oo.

Par. 7. The Chuen says:—'Duke Muh (穆; Kung, 繆) of Heu died in the army, and was buried with the ceremonies due to a marquis. As a rule, when a prince died on a visit to the king, or at a meeting with the other princes, his rank was advanced one degree. If he died while engaged in the king's business, it was advanced two degrees. On this occasion, Muh might have been laid in his coffin with a duke's robe.'

Par. 8. The Chuen says:—'Shuh-sun Tae-pih [This was the Kung-sun Tsze (Kung, here and afterwards, gives the name as 慈). He was grandson of duke Hwan, and chief of the Shuh-sun clan. Tae is the hon. title, and Pih his designation as the eldest of his family] led a force, and joined the forces of the other princes in an incursion into Ch'in, which *now* sought peace, and Yuen T'aou-t'oo was restored to it.'

[The Chuen here brings up the affairs of Tsin:—"Before this, duke Hëen of Tsin had wished to make Le Ke his wife. The tortoise-shell indicated that the thing would be unlucky, but the milfoil pronounced it lucky. The duke said, "I will follow the milfoil." The diviner by the tortoise-shell said, "The milfoil is reckoned inferior in its indications to the tortoise-shell. You had better follow the latter. And moreover, the oracle was:—

'The change made by inordinate devotion
Steals away the good qualities of the duke.
There is a fragrant herb, and a noisome one;
And ten years hence the noisomeness will
continue.'

Do not do as you propose." The duke would not listen to this advice, and declared Le Ke his wife. She gave birth to He-ts'e, and her sister bore Ch'oh-tsze.

'When the duke was about to declare He-ts'e his heir, having determined on his plans with the great officers about the court, Ke [*i.e.*, Le Ke] said to his eldest son, "The duke has been dreaming about Ts'e Këang [the eldest son's mother]; you must soon sacrifice to her." The young prince sacrificed *to his mother* in K'ëuh-yuh, and sent some of the sacrificial flesh and spirits to the duke, who was hunting when they came. Ke kept them in the palace six days, and when the duke arrived, she poisoned them and presented them to him. The duke poured some of the spirits on the ground, which was agitated by them. He gave *some of the flesh* to a dog, which died; and *some of the spirits* to one of the attendants, who also died. Ke wept and said, "This is your eldest son's attempt to murder you." The son fled to the new city [K'ëuh-yuh]; but the duke put to death his tutor, Too Yuen-kwan. Some one said to the son, "Explain the matter. The duke is sure to discriminate." The son, however, said, "Without the lady Ke, my father cannot enjoy his rest or his food. If I explain the matter, the guilt will be fixed on her. The duke is getting old, and I will have taken his joy from him." The friend said, "Had you not better go away then?" "The duke," replied the prince, "will not examine into who is the guilty party; and if I, with the name of such a crime, go away from the State, who will receive me?" In the 12th month, on Mow-shin, he strangled himself in the new city.

'Ke then slandered the duke's two other sons, saying that they were both privy to their brother's attempt, on which Ch'ung-urh fled to P'oo, and E-woo fled to Këuh.']

Fifth year.

一章 五年、春、晉侯殺其世子申生。

二章 杞伯姬來朝其子。

三章 夏、公孫玆如牟。

四章 公及齊侯、宋公、陳侯、衞侯、鄭伯、許男、曹伯、會王世子于首止。

五章 秋、八月、諸侯盟于首止。

六章 鄭伯逃歸、不盟。

七章 楚人滅弦、弦子奔黃。

八章 九月戊申、朔、日有食之。

九章 冬、晉人執虞公。

(一)左傳曰、五年、春、王正月、辛亥、朔、日南至、公既視朔、遂登觀臺、以望而書、禮也、凡分、至、啓、閉、必書雲物、爲備故也。晉侯使以殺大子申生之故、來告。初、晉侯使士蔿爲二公子築蒲與屈、不愼、寘薪焉、夷吾訴之、公使讓之、士蔿稽首而

對曰、臣聞之、無喪而慼、憂必讎焉、無戎而城、讎必保焉、寇讎之保、又何慎焉、守官廢命、不敬、固讎之保、不忠、失忠與敬、何以事君、詩云、懷德惟寧、宗子惟城、君其脩德而固宗子、何城如之、三年將尋師焉、焉用慎。退而賦曰、狐裘尨茸、一國三公、吾誰適從。及難、公使寺人披伐蒲、重耳曰、君父之命不校。乃徇曰、校者吾讎也。踰垣而走、披斬其袪、遂出奔翟。

夏、公孫茲如牟、娶焉。

會于首止。會王大子鄭、謀寧周也。

㈢陳轅宣仲怨鄭申侯之反己於召陵、故勸之城其賜邑、曰、美城之、大名也、子孫不忘、吾助子請。乃爲之請於諸侯、而城之美、遂譖諸鄭伯、曰、美城其賜邑、將以叛也。申侯由是得罪。

秋、諸侯盟。王使周公召鄭伯、曰、吾撫女以從楚、輔之以晉、可以少安。鄭伯喜於王命、而懼其不朝於齊也、故逃歸不盟。孔叔止之曰、國君不可以輕、輕則失親、失親、患必至、病而乞盟、所喪多矣、君必悔之。弗聽、逃其師而歸。

楚鬭穀於菟滅弦、弦子奔黃。於是江、黃、道、柏方睦於齊、皆弦姻也、弦子恃之而不事楚、又不設備、故亡。

晉侯復假道於虞以伐虢。宮之奇諫曰、虢、虞之表也、虢亡、虞必從之。晉不可啓、寇不可翫、一之謂甚、其可再乎、諺所謂輔車相依、脣亡齒寒者、其虞虢之謂也。公曰、晉吾宗也、豈害我哉。對曰、大伯、虞仲、大王之昭也、大伯不從、是以不嗣。虢仲、虢叔、王季之穆也、爲文王卿士、勳在王室、藏於盟府、將虢是滅、何愛於虞、且虞能親於桓莊乎、其愛之也、桓莊之族何罪、而以爲戮、不唯偪乎。親以寵偪、猶尚害之、況以國乎。公曰、吾享祀豐絜、神必據我。對曰、臣聞之、鬼神非人實親、惟德是依、故周書曰、皇天無親、惟德是輔。又曰、黍稷非馨、明德惟馨。又曰、民不易物、惟德繄物。如是、則非德、民不和、神不享矣。神所馮依、將在德矣。若晉取虞、而明德以薦馨香、神其吐之乎。弗聽、許晉使。宮之奇以其族行、曰、虞不臘矣、在此行也、晉不更舉矣。八月甲午、晉侯圍上陽。問於卜偃曰、吾其濟

乎。對曰、克之。公曰、何時。對曰、童謠云、丙之晨、龍尾伏辰、均服振振、取虢之旂、鶉之賁賁、天策焞焞、火中成軍、虢公其奔、其九月十月之交乎、丙子旦、日在尾、月在策、鶉火中、必是時也。冬、十二月丙子朔、晉滅虢、虢公醜奔京師、師還、館于虞、遂襲虞、滅之、執虞公及其大夫井伯、以媵秦穆姬、而修虞祀、且歸其職貢於王、故書曰、晉人執虞公、罪虞、且言易也。

V. 1 In the [duke's] fifth year in spring, the marquis of Tsin put to death his heir-son Shin-săng.

2 Duke Chwang's eldest daughter came from Ke, and presented her son at our court.

3 In summer, Kung-sun Tsze went to Mow.

4 The duke, and the marquis of Ts'e, the duke of Sung, the marquis of Ch'in, the marquis of Wei, the earl of Ch'ing, the baron of Heu, and the earl of Ts'aou, had a meeting with the king's heir-son in Show-che.

5 In autumn, in the eighth month, the [above] princes made a covenant in Show-che.

6 The earl of Ch'ing stole away home, and did not join in the covenant.

7 An officer of Ts'oo extinguished Hëen. The viscount of Hëen fled to Hwang.

8 In the ninth month, on Mow-shin, the first day of the moon, the sun was eclipsed.

9 In winter, the people of Tsin seized the duke of Yu.

[The Chuen says:—'On the day Sin-hae, of the king's first month in this year, being the 1st day of the month, there was the winter solstice. The duke, having given out the 1st day of the moon, ascended his observatory to survey the heavens, and caused the record of the fact to be made;—in accordance with rule. At the equinoxes, the solstices, and the commencement of each season, there was required a record of the appearances of the clouds, and their indications, in order to make what preparations should be necessary.' But the winter solstice this year fell on Këah-yin (甲寅), three days later than Sin-hae. Chinese astronomers have themselves called attention to this:—see Këang Yung's 翼梅卷四, p. 4.]

Par. 1. According to the Chuen, at the end of last year, Shin-săng committed suicide, driven to do so by his father, in the *winter* of that year. Too explains the entry here, by saying that 'it follows the announcement from Tsin.' Tsin in fact followed the calendar of Hëa. Tso-she's narrative is according to that calendar, and the entry here is also correct, according to the calendar of Chow. It seems desirable to translate 世子 differently from 太子, and I know not how to do so but by using the term 'heir-son.'

The Chuen has here:—'Before this, the marquis of Tsin had employed Sze Wei to wall P'oo and Këuh for his sons, Ch'ung-urh and E-woo. Wei did not look carefully after the work, and placed faggots *between the back and facing of the walls*. E-woo represented the matter to the marquis, who caused Wei to be reprimanded. That officer, having bowed his head to the ground, replied, "I have heard the sayings that when there is grief in a family where death has not occurred, *real* sorrow is sure to come, and that when you fortify a city when there is no threatening of war, your enemies are sure to hold it. In walling a place to be held by robbers and enemies, what occasion was there for me to be careful? If an officer with a charge neglect the command given to him, he fails in respect; if he make strong a place to be held by enemies, he fails in fidelity. Failing in respect and fidelity, how can he serve his lord? As the ode (She, III. ii. X. 6) says,

'The cherishing of virtue insures tranquillity;
The circle of relatives serves as a wall'

Let our ruler cultivate his virtue and make sure all the circle of his House;—there is no

fortification equal to this. In three years we shall have war; why should I be careful?" When he withdrew, he sang to himself,

> "Shaggy is the fox fur;
> Three dukes in one State:—
> Which shall I follow?"

'When the trouble came, the duke sent the eunuch P'e to attack P'oo. Ch'ung-urh said, "The command of my ruler and father is not to be opposed;" and he issued an order to his followers, saying, "He who opposes it is my enemy." He then was getting over the wall to run, when P'e cut off his sleeve. He made his escape, however, and fled to the Teih.'

Par. 2. We have the marriage of this daughter of Loo in the 25th year of duke Chwang, her father. It is disputed whether she was a full or only a half sister of duke He;—it is most likely that she was his full sister. Ying-tah puts a stop at 來, and makes 朝其子 = 其子朝, 'Pih Ke of Ke came *to Loo* [to visit her mother]; her son appeared at the court.' To suppose that she came to Loo for any purpose but to pay a dutiful visit to her mother would be contrary to all Chinese rules of propriety; but as the text stands, I cannot but conclude that the presentation of her son at his uncle's court was the reason for her visit.

Par. 3. The Chuen says:—'Kung-sun Tsze went to Mow;—to marry *a lady of Mow*:' on which Too remarks, 'Shuh-sun Tae-pih was marrying a lady of Mow. As a minister could not leave the State without his ruler's orders, he therefore received the duke's command to go to Mow with friendly inquiries, and took the opportunity to meet his bride, *and bring her to Loo*.' Mow,—see on II. xv. 8.

Par. 4. Show-che (Kung has 首戴) was in Wei,—in the south-east of the present Suy Chow (睢州), dep. Kwei-tih, Ho-nan. Tso-she says that the meeting at this place with the king's eldest son Ch'ing was 'to consult about measures to keep Chow tranquil.' The king had it in contemplation to degrade his eldest son, and give the right of succession to a younger,—the son, of course, of another mother; and to prevent the confusion to which such a proceeding would give rise, the marquis of Ts'e assembled the States, that they might thus publicly acknowledge Ch'ing as the heir to the kingdom;—much to the dissatisfaction of the king, as we shall see.

[The Chuen introduces here:—'Yuen Seuen-chung [the Yuen T'aou-t'oo of IV. 4] of Ch'in, resenting how Shin How of Ch'ing had been treacherous to him at Shaou-ling, advised him to wall the town which *Ts'e* had conferred upon him, saying "To wall it well will give you a great name, which your descendants will not forget; and I will aid you by asking leave for you to do it." Accordingly, he asked permission for the undertaking, in behalf of Shin, from the princes, and the town was fortified beautifully. Yuen then slandered Shin to the earl of Ch'ing, saying that he had fortified the city he had received so admirably with the intention of rebelling; and from this time Shin How was looked upon as an offender.']

Par. 5. The princes had had a meeting with the king's son, but they did not presume to make a covenant with him. They now made a covenant among themselves, to carry out the measures determined on to secure his succession to the throne.

Par. 6. The Chuen says:—'In autumn, when the princes were about to covenant, the king made the duke of Chow call the earl of Ch'ing, and said to him, "I encourage you to follow Ts'oo;—with it and the help of Tsin, you may enjoy a little rest." The earl was delighted to receive the king's commands; and being afraid because he had not paid a court-visit to *the marquis of* Ts'e, he stole away to Ch'ing, and did not join in the covenant. K'ung Shuh tried to stop him, saying, "The ruler of a State should not act lightly. By doing so he loses his friends; and when he has lost them, calamity is sure to come. When in his extreme distress, he has to beg for a covenant;—what he loses is great. Your lordship will surely repent of your course." The earl would not listen to this remonstrance, but stole away from his troops, and returned to Ch'ing.'

Par. 7. Hëen was a State, held by Weis (隗), in the pres. dis. of K'e-shwuy (蘄水), dep. Hwang-chow, Hoo-pih. Some refer it to a part of Kwang Chow (光州), Ho-nan; but this is a mistake,—occasioned, some suppose, by the fugitive viscount's having finally taken up his residence there. The Chuen says:—'Tow T'oo-woo-t'oo [See the Chuen appended to III. xxx. 2] of Ts'oo extinguished Hëen, when the viscount of Hëen fled to Hwang. At this time, Këang, Hwang, Taou, and Pih, which were in friendly relations with Ts'e, had affinities by marriage with Hëen. The viscount, depending on their help, would not perform service to Ts'oo, and moreover did not make preparations for an emergency; and so he came to ruin.'

Par. 8. This eclipse took place August 11th, B. C. 654.

Par. 9. The Chuen says:—'The marquis of Tsin again [See on II. 3] borrowed a way through Yu to attack Kwoh. Kung Che-k'e remonstrated *with the duke of Yu*, saying, "Kwoh is the external *defence* of Yu. If Kwoh perish, Yu is sure to follow it. A way should not be opened to *the greed of* Tsin; robbers are not to be played with. To do it once was more than enough; and will you do it a second time? The common sayings, 'The carriage and its wheel-aids depend on one another,' 'When the lips perish, the teeth become cold,' illustrate the relation between Kwoh and Yu." The duke said, "The princes of Tsin and Yu are descended from the same ancestor. How should Tsin injure us?" The minister replied, 'T'ae-pih and Yu-chung were sons of king T'ae; but because T'ae-pih would not follow him *against Shang*, he did not inherit his State. Kwoh Chung and Kwoh Shuh were sons of king Ke, and ministers of king Wăn. Their merits in the service of the royal House are preserved in the repository of covenants. If Kwoh be extinguished by Tsin, what love is it likely to show to Yu? And can Yu claim a nearer kindred *to Tsin* than the descendants of Hwan and Chwang [See the Chuen after III. xxiii. 3], that Tsin should show love to it? What crime had the families descended from

Hwan and Chwang been guilty of? and yet Tsin destroyed them entirely, feeling that they might press on it [See the Chuen after III. xxv. 5]. Its near relatives, whom it might have been expected to favour, it yet put to death, because *their greatness* pressed upon it;—what may not Tsin do to you, when there is your State to gain?" The duke said, "My sacrificial offerings have been abundant and pure; the Spirits will not forsake, but will sustain me." His minister replied, "I have heard that the Spirits do not accept the persons of men, but that it is virtue to which they cleave. Hence in the Books of Chow we read, 'Great Heaven has no affections;—it helps only the virtuous [Shoo, V. xvii. 4];' and, 'It is not the millet which has the piercing fragrance; it is bright virtue [Shoo, V. xxi. 3];' and again, 'People do not slight offerings, but it is virtue which is the thing accepted [Shoo, V.v.3].' Thus if *a ruler* have not virtue, the people will not be attached to him, and the Spirits will not accept *his offerings*. What the Spirits will adhere to is a man's virtue. If Tsin take Yu, and then cultivate bright virtue, and therewith present fragrant offerings, will the Spirits vomit them out?" The duke did not listen to him, but granted the request of the messenger of Tsin.

'Kung Che-k'e went away from Yu, with all the circle of his family, saying, 'Yu will not see the winter sacrifice. Its doom is in this expedition. Tsin will not make a second attempt.'

In the 8th month, on Këah-woo, the marquis of Tsin laid siege to Shang-yang [the chief city of Kwoh], and asked the diviner Yen whether he should succeed in the enterprise. Yen replied that he should, and he then asked when. Yen said, "The children have a song which says,

'Towards day break of Ping,
Wei of the Dragon lies hid in the conjunction of the sun and moon.
With combined energy and grand display,
Are advanced the flags to capture Kwoh.
Grandly appears the Shun star,
And the T'ëen-ts'ih is dim.
When Ho culminates, the enterprise will be completed,
And the duke of Kwoh will flee.'

'"*According to this*, you will succeed at the meeting of the 9th and 10th months. In the morning of Ping-tsze, the sun will be in Wei, and the moon in Ts'ih; the Shun-ho will be exactly in the south:—this is sure to be the time."

'In winter, in the 12th month, on Ping-tsze, the 1st day of the moon, Tsin extinguished Kwoh, and Ch'ow, the duke, fled to the capital. The army, on its return, took up its quarters in Yu, surprised the city, and extinguished the State, seizing the duke, and his great officer Tsing-pih, whom the marquis employed to escort his daughter, Muh Ke, to Ts'in. *The marquis* continued the sacrifices of Yu *in Tsin*, and presented to the king the tribute due from it. The brief language of the text is condemnatory of Yu, and expresses, besides, the ease *with which Tsin annexed it*.'

Sixth year.

一章 六年、春、王正月。

二章 夏、公會齊侯、宋公、陳侯、衞侯、曹伯、伐鄭、圍新城。

三章 秋、楚人圍許、諸侯遂救許。

四章 冬、公至自伐鄭。

㈠左傳曰、六年春、晉侯使賈華伐屈、夷吾不能守、盟而行、將奔狄、郤芮曰、後出同走、罪也、不如之梁、梁近秦、而幸焉。乃之梁。

夏、諸侯伐鄭、以其逃首止之盟故也、圍新密、鄭所以不時城也。

秋、楚子圍許以救鄭、諸侯救許、乃還。

㈡冬、蔡穆侯將許僖公、以見楚子於武城、許男面縛銜璧、大夫衰絰、士輿櫬、楚子問諸逢伯、對曰、昔武王克殷、微子啟如是、武王親釋其縛、受其璧、而祓之、焚其櫬、禮而命之、使復其所。楚子從之。

VI. 1 It was the [duke's] sixth year, the spring, the king's first month.

2 In summer, the duke joined the marquis of Ts'e, the duke of Sung, the marquis of Ch'in, the marquis of Wei, and the earl of Ts'aou, in invading Ch'ing, when they besieged Sin-shing.

3 In autumn, a body of men from Ts'oo besieged Heu, and the princes went from Ch'ing to relieve it.

4 In winter, the duke arrived from the invasion of Ch'ing.

[The Chuen here continues the affairs of Tsin:—'The marquis of Tsin sent Këa Hwa to attack Këuh. E-woo was unable to maintain it, so he made a covenant and went away. He thought himself of fleeing to the Teih, but K'ëoh Juy said, "Following after your brother [Ch'ung-urh], and fleeing to the same place, it will appear as if you had been criminals *together*. You had better go to Lëang; it is near to Ts'in, and is kindly regarded by it." E-woo went accordingly to Lëang.]

Par. 2. The Chuen says:—'In summer, the princes invaded Ch'ing, because the earl had stolen away from the covenant at Show-ch'e. They laid siege to Sin-meih which Ch'ing had fortified, though it was not the season for such an undertaking.' The Chuen calls the place Sin-meih, or 'New Meih,' and the text calls it Sin-shing, or 'the New city,' referring to its having been recently walled. It was 30 *le* to the south-east of the pres. dis. city of Meih, dep. K'ae-fung.

Par. 3. 'Besieged Heu,' *i. e.*, laid siege to the principal city of Heu. So we are to understand other passages, where, apparently, the siege of a State is spoken of. The Chuen says:—'The viscount of Ts'oo besieged Heu, in order to relieve Ch'ing. The princes relieved Heu, and he retired.' The 遂 implies, as in the translation, that the princes marched their troops from Ch'ing to Heu.

[The Chuen adds here a narrative which shows of what little use the expedition against Ts'oo had been. The States in the south continued to feel that it was better for them to keep in alliance with the aggressive Power.—'In winter, the marquis Muh of Ts'ae went along with duke He of Heu, and had an interview with the viscount of Ts'oo in Woo-shing. The baron of Heu appeared with his hands tied behind his back, and holding a *peih* in his mouth. His great officers wore head-bands and other clothes of the deepest mourning, and the inferior officers pushed a coffin along on a carriage. The viscount asked Fung Pih what he should do, who replied, "When king Woo had vanquished Yin, K'e, viscount of We, appeared *before him* in this fashion. King Woo with his own hands loosed his bands, received his *peih*, ordered away the emblems of doom, burned his coffin, treated him courteously, and robed him, sending him back to his place." The viscount of Ts'oo followed this example.']

Seventh year.

一章 七年、春、齊人伐鄭。

二章 夏、小邾子來朝。

三章 鄭殺其大夫申侯。

四章 秋、七月、公會齊侯、宋公、陳世子款、鄭世子華、盟于甯母。

五章 曹伯班卒。

六章 公子友如齊。

七章 冬、葬曹昭公。

左傳曰、七年、春、齊人伐鄭。孔叔言於鄭伯、曰、諺有之曰、心則不競、何憚於病、既不能強、又不能弱、所以斃也、國危矣、請下齊以救國。公曰、吾知其所由來矣、姑少待我。對曰、朝不及夕、何以待君。

夏、鄭殺申侯以說于齊、且用陳轅濤塗之譖也。初、申侯、申出也、有寵於楚文王、文王將死、與之璧、使行、曰、唯我知女、女專利而不厭、予取予求、不女疵瑕也、後之人將求多於女、女必不免、我死、女必速行、無適小國、將不女容焉。既葬、出奔鄭、又有寵於厲公、子文聞其死也、曰、古人有言曰、知臣莫若君、弗可改也已。

秋、盟于甯母、謀鄭故也。管仲言於齊侯曰、臣聞之、招攜以禮、懷遠以德、德禮不易、無人不懷。齊侯修禮於諸侯、諸侯官受方物。鄭伯使大子華聽命於會、言於齊侯曰、洩氏、孔氏、子人氏、三族、實違君命、若君去之以爲成、我以鄭爲內臣、君亦無所不利焉。齊侯將許之。管仲曰、君以禮與信屬諸侯、而以姦終之、無乃不可乎、子父不奸之謂禮、守命共時之謂信、違此二者、姦莫大焉。公曰、諸侯有討於鄭、未捷、今苟有釁、從之、不亦可乎。對曰、君若綏之以德、加之以訓辭、而帥諸侯以討鄭、鄭將覆亡之不暇、豈敢不懼、若總其罪人以臨之、鄭有辭矣、何懼、且夫合諸侯以崇德也、會而列姦、何以示後嗣、夫諸侯之會、其德刑禮義、無國不記、記姦之位、君盟替矣、作而不記、非盛德也、君其勿許、鄭必受盟、夫子華既爲大子、而求介於大國、以弱其國、亦必不免、鄭有叔詹、堵叔、師叔、三良爲政、未可間也。齊侯辭焉、子華由是得罪於鄭。冬、鄭伯使請盟于齊。

⨸閏月、惠王崩、襄王惡大叔帶之難、懼不立、不發喪、而告難于齊。

VII. 1 In the [duke's] seventh year, in spring, an officer of Ts'e invaded Ch'ing.

2 In summer, the viscount of Little Choo paid a court visit [to Loo.]

3 Ch'ing put to death its great officer, Shin How.

4 In autumn, in the seventh month, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Ts'e, the duke of Sung, Kwan, heir-son of Ch'in, and Hwa, heir-son of Ch'ing, when they made a covenant in Ning-moo.

5 Pan, earl of Ts'aou, died.
6 Duke [Hwan's] son, Yëw, went to Ts'e.
7 In winter, there was the burial of duke Ch'aou of Ts'aou.

Par. 1. Ch'ing was in an evil case between Ts'oo and Ts'e, and experienced the general fate of trimmers. The Chuen says:—'On this occasion, K'ung Shuh said to the earl of Ch'ing, "The proverb says, 'When a man is incapable of firm resolve, why should he feel it a pain to be humble?' You are not able to be strong, and you are not able to be weak:—it is the way to ruin yourself; the State is in peril. Let me entreat you to submit to Ts'e, in order to save the State." The earl said "I know how *peace with Ts'e* can be brought about. Have patience with me for a little." The officer replied, "*When we know not* in the morning that we shall reach the evening, how can we wait *for your determination?*"'

Par. 2. Sëaou or Little Choo is the same as E (郳) of III. v. 3; xv. 3. Its chief E-lae, it is said, had been very assiduous in serving the marquis of Ts'e, who got the king to confer on him a patent of nobility, and raise him to the rank of viscount. He is here in consequence of his elevation, paying a court visit to Loo. The name adopted for the new State was little Choo, because the viscounts of Choo and the lords of E were descended from the same ancestor.

Par. 3. See on IV. 4; and the narrative after V. 4. The Chuen says here:—"Ch'ing put to death Shin How to please Ts'e, and because of the ill report of him given by Yuen T'aou-t'oo. Shin How was a native of Shin [申; a son of the marquis of Shin by a daughter of Ts'oo], and had been a favourite with king Wăn of Ts'oo. When king Wăn was about to die, he gave How a *peih*, and sent him away, saying, "It is only I that know you. You are all bent on gain, insatiable. I have given to you, and allowed you to beg from me, without dwelling on your faults; but my successor will require much from you, and you are sure not to escape the consequences of your conduct. You must quickly leave Ts'oo; and do not go to a small State, for it will not be able to bear you." When king Wăn was buried, Shin How fled to Ch'ing, where also he became a favourite with duke Le. When Tsze-wăn [Tow T'oo-woo-t'oo, chief minister of Ts'oo] heard of his death, he said, "The ancients have *well* said, 'No one knows a minister like his ruler.' *How's nature* could not be changed."'

Par. 4. Ning-moo (Kuh-lëang has 寗母) was in Loo, 20 *le* east of the pres. dis. city of Yu-t'ae, dep. Yen-chow. This was 'a meeting in robes (衣裳之會);' *i. e.*, the princes did not have any military following. The K'ang-he editors say that 'the lords of Ch'in and Ch'ing sent their heir-sons. Both of these States had lately been attacked by Ts'e. Ch'in would fain have declined the covenant, but did not venture to do so. Ch'ing would fain have been present at it, but was not permitted to be so. They therefore did not present themselves, but sent their sons.' The Chuen says:—'This meeting at Ning-moo was to consult about Ch'ing. Kwan Chung said to the marquis of Ts'e, "I have heard the sayings, 'Call the wavering with courtesy; cherish the remote with kindness; when kindness and courtesy are shown invariably, there are none but will be won.'" The marquis accordingly manifested courtesy to the princes, and their officers received from him the *list of* the tribute their territories *had to pay to the king*. The earl of Chi'ng having sent his eldest son Hwa to receive the commands of the meeting, the young prince said to the marquis, "It was the three clans of Sëeh, K'ung, and Tsze-jin, who opposed your lordship's orders. If you will remove them as the basis of a pacification, I will become, at the head of Ch'ing, as one of your own subjects, and your lordship will be a gainer in every way."

'The marquis was about to agree to his proposal; but Kwan Chung said, "You have bound all the princes to you by your propriety and truth; and will it not be improper to end with an opposite policy? *Here* we should have propriety in the form of no treachery between son and father, and truth in that of the son's observing *his father's* commands according to the exigency of the times. There cannot be greater criminality than that of him who acts contrary to these two things." "We princes," replied the duke, "have *tried to* punish Ch'ing, but without success. And now when such an opportunity is presented to me, may I not take advantage of it?" "Let your lordship," said Kwan, "deal gently with the case of Ch'ing in kindness, and add to this an instructive exposition of it, and then, when you *again* lead the princes to punish the State, it will feel that utter overthrow is imminent, and will be consumed with terror. If *on the contrary* you deal with it, adopting the counsel of this criminal, Ch'ing will have a case to allege, and will not be afraid. Consider too that you have assembled the princes to do honour to virtue, and if at the meeting you give place to this villain, *and follow his counsel*, what will there be to show to your descendants? And further, the virtue, the punishments, the rules of propriety, and the righteousness, displayed at the meetings of the princes, are recorded in every State. When a record is made of the place given to such a criminal, there will be an end of your lordship's covenants. If you do the thing and do not record it, that will show that your virtue is not complete. Let not your lordship accede to his request. Ch'ing is sure to accept the covenant. And for this Hwa, *the earl of Ch'ing's* eldest son, to seek the assistance of a great State to weaken his own:—he will not escape without suffering for it. The government of Ch'ing, moreover, is in the hands of Shuh-chen, Too Shuh, and Sze Shuh, those three good men:—you would find no opportunity now to act against it."

'*On this* the marquis of Ts'e declined the proffers of the prince, who in consequence of this

affair was regarded as a criminal in Ch'ing. The earl begged from Ts'e the favour of a covenant.'

Par. 5. For 班 Kung has 般.

[After p. 7, the Chuen says:—'In the intercalary month [which must thus have been a double twelfth], king Hwuy died. King Sëang, in consequence of the troubles that were occasioned by T'ae-shuh Tae, and fearing his accession might not be secured, did not make *his father's* death public, and sent an announcement of his difficulties to Ts'e.']

Eighth year.

一章 八年、春、王正月、公會王人、齊侯、宋公、衛侯、許男、曹伯、陳世子款、盟于洮。

二章 鄭伯乞盟。

三章 夏、狄伐晉。

四章 秋、七月、禘于大廟、用致夫人。

五章 冬、十有二月、丁未、天王崩。

左傳曰、八年、春、盟于洮。謀王室也。鄭伯乞盟、請服也。襄王定位而後發喪。

晉里克帥師、梁由靡御、虢射為右、以敗狄于采桑。梁由靡曰、狄無恥、從之必大克。里克曰、懼之而已、無速衆狄。虢射曰、期年、狄必至、示之弱矣。夏、狄伐晉、報采桑之役也、復期月。

秋、禘而致哀姜焉、非禮也。凡夫人不薨于寢、不殯于廟、不赴于同、不祔于姑、則弗致也。

冬、王人來告喪、難故也、是以緩。

(三)宋公疾、大子茲父固請曰、目夷長且仁、君其立之。公命子魚、子魚辭、曰、能以國讓、仁孰大焉、臣不及也、且又不順。遂走而退。

VIII. 1 In his eighth year, in spring, in the king's first month, the duke had a meeting with an officer of the king, the marquis of Ts'e, the duke of Sung, the marquis of Wei, the baron of Hëu, the earl of Ts'aou, and Kwan, heir-son of Ch'in, when they made a covenant in T'aou.

2 The earl of Ch'ing begged [to be admitted to] the covenant.

3 In summer, the Teih invaded Tsin.

4 In autumn, in the seventh month, the duke offered the great sacrifice in the grand temple, and [at

the same time] placed the tablet of [duke Chwang's] wife in his shrine.

5 In winter, in the twelfth month, on Ting-we, the king [by] Heaven's [grace] died.

Parr. 1, 2. The T'aou here is different from that in III. xxvii. 1. This was in Ts'aou,—50 *le* south-west from the pres. city of Puh Chow (濮州), dep. Ts'aou-chow. The Chuen says:—'The object of the covenant was to concert measures about the royal House. The earl of Ch'ing begged leave to take part in it, asking that Ts'e would accept his submission. The succession of king Sëang was settled, and he proceeded to publish *his father's* death.'

The king's death, according to the Chuen, took place in the end of last year, whereas the 5th par. here states that it occurred in the 12th month of this year. Woo Ch'ing, Wang Ts'ëaou, and many other critics, think that Tso-she must be in error as to the date of the death. It is, indeed, not easy to understand how so important an event could have been concealed for twelve months. The queen and her son Shuh Tae who were anxious to prevent the succession of Ch'ing, could not have remained ignorant of it all that time.

The earl of Ch'ing now felt that there was no course for him but to humble himself. He had withdrawn from the meeting in the 5th year, which was to recognize the right of the king's son Ch'ing to the throne; and now he is obliged to beg to be allowed to take part in the meeting which recognized him.

Par. 3. The Chuen says:—'Le K'ih had commanded a force *against the Teih*, with Lëang Yew-me as his charioteer, and Kwoh Yih as the spearman on the left. He defeated them at Ts'ae sang, when Lëang said to him, "The Teih are not ashamed *to fly*. If you follow them, you will obtain a great conquest." Le K'ih replied, "*It is best* to frighten them only. Don't let us accelerate a rising of all their tribes." Kwoh Yih said, "Let a year be completed, and the Teih will be here again. We are *only* showing them our weakness." *Sure enough*, this summer, the Teih invaded Tsin, to avenge their defeat at Ts'ae-sang. The exact month of the year had come round again.'

Par. 4. There are two things recorded in this par.; first, the offering of the *te* sacrifice and next, the taking occasion at it (indicated by the 用=遂) to introduce a lady, the wife of some duke, into the grand temple, or the temple of the duke of Chow, ancestor of the House of Loo.

1st. The *te* sacrifice here is to be distinguished from the 吉禘, or 'fortunate *te*,' mentioned IV. ii. 2. It is the 'great sacrifice (大祭),' offered once in 3 years, according to Too Yu, or once in 5 years, according to others. The individual sacrificed to in it was the remotest ancestor to whom the kings, or the princes of States ruled by offshoots from the royal House, traced their lineage. The kings would thus sacrifice to the ancient emperor Kuh (帝嚳); and the marquises of Loo to king Wăn. Whether Loo did arrogate the right to offer the sacrifice to the emperor Kuh, pleading a special grant to do so given to the duke of Chow by king Ch'ing, is a question that need not be considered here. This 'great sacrifice' is that here spoken of, and we have the record of it this year, and not on other years of its occurrence, because of the extraordinary use that was made of it, as related in the latter part of the par.

2d. Who was the lady intended here by 夫人? Tso-she says she was Gae Këang, duke Chwang's wife:—'He offered the *te* sacrifice, and introduced the tablet of Gae K'ëang;—which was contrary to rule. In the case of the death of a duke's wife, if she died not in her *proper* chamber; or the passage of her coffin were not announced in the ancestral temple; or her demise were not communicated to the princes who had covenanted with her husband; or her tablet had not been *temporarily* placed by that of her husband's father's wife;—then her tablet could not be placed in her husband's shrine.' 致 is here employed in the sense given by Too Yu:—致者致新死之主於廟,而列之昭穆. All the conditions required for this ceremony had been observed in the case of Gae Këang, excepting the first. She had not died in her chamber, but through her own wickedness had been put to death in Ts'e; and though duke He had brought her body back to Loo, and buried it with all the usual forms, yet one important element was wanting, sufficient, in Tso-she's opinion, to vitiate this final honour attempted to be paid to her.

Kung-yang took a difft. view. Acc. to him, the 'wife' here is duke He's own wife. He had arranged to marry a daughter of Ts'oo; but a lady of Ts'e. intended for the harem, arriving before her, duke He was obliged by the power of Ts'e to make her his wife, by the ceremony of introducing her on this occasion into the temple. But this appears to be merely a story concocted by Kung to explain the text in some likely way.

Kuh-lëang seems to think that the lady was Ch'ing Fung, duke He's mother; and if 致 be spoken of her Spirit-tablet this view is absurd, because she did not die till the 4th year of duke Wăn. Lëw Ch'ang, Chang Hëah, however, and a host of other critics, adopt a modification of this view, that duke He somehow took this occasion to instal his own mother as duke Chwang's proper wife. But they fail to show that such a proceeding was in any way competent to a son.—On the whole Tso-she's view most commends itself to our acceptance.

Par. 5. See what has been said on the date of the king's death under par. 1. Tso-she says here, that 'an officer of the king came now to announce his death, and that the announcement was made so late, because of the difficulties *connected with the succession*.'

[The Chuen adds here:—'The duke of Sung being ill, his eldest son *by his recognized wife*, Tsze-foo, earnestly entreated him, saying, "*My brother*, Muh-e, is older than I, and is entirely virtuous. Do made him your successor." The duke gave charge to Tsze-yu [the above Muh-e] that so it should be, but he refused, saying, "What greater virtue could there be than for him *thus* to decline the dignity of the State?—I am not equal to him. And moreover, the thing itself would not be in accordance with what is right." With this he ran out of the duke's presence.']

Ninth year.

一章 九年、春、王正月、丁丑、宋公御說卒。

二章 夏、公會宰周公、齊侯、宋子、衞侯、鄭伯、許男、曹伯于葵丘。

三章 秋、七月、乙酉、伯姬卒。

四章 九月、戊辰、諸侯盟于葵丘。

五章 甲子、晉侯詭諸卒。

六章 冬、晉里克殺其君之子奚齊。

左傳曰、九年、春、宋桓公卒、未葬而襄公會諸侯、故曰子。凡在喪、王曰小童、公侯曰子、

夏、會于葵丘、尋盟、且修好、禮也。王使宰孔賜齊侯胙、曰、天子有事于文武、使孔賜伯舅胙、齊侯將下拜、孔曰、且有後命、天子使孔曰、以伯舅耋老、加勞、賜一級、無下拜。對曰、天威不違顏咫尺、小白余、敢貪天子之命、無下拜、恐隕越于下、以遺天子羞、敢不下拜、下、拜、登、受。

秋、齊侯盟諸侯于葵丘、曰、凡我同盟之人、言歸于好、宰孔先歸、遇晉侯曰、可無會也、齊侯不務德、而勤遠略、故北伐山戎、南伐楚、西為此會也、東略之不知、西則否矣、其在亂乎、君務靖亂、無勤於行。晉侯乃還。

九月、晉獻公卒、里克、丕鄭欲納文公、故以三公子之徒作亂。初、獻公使荀息傅奚齊、公疾、召之、曰、以是藐諸孤、辱在大夫、其若之何。稽首而對曰、臣竭其股肱之力、加之

以忠貞、其濟、君之靈也、不濟、則以死繼之。公曰、何謂忠貞。對曰、公家之利、知無不爲、忠也、送往事居、耦俱無猜、貞也。及里克將殺奚齊、先告荀息曰、三怨將作、秦晉輔之、子將何如。荀息曰、將死之。里克曰、無益也。荀叔曰、吾與先君言矣、不可以貳、能欲復言而愛身乎、雖無益也、將焉辟之、且人之欲善、誰不如我、我欲無貳、而能謂人已乎。冬、十月、里克殺奚齊于次。書曰、殺其君之子。未葬也。荀息將死之、人曰、不如立卓子而輔之。荀息立公子卓以葬。十一月、里克殺公子卓于朝、荀息死之。君子曰、詩所謂白圭之玷、尚可磨也、斯言之玷、不可爲也、荀息有焉。

⨸齊侯以諸侯之師伐晉、及高梁而還。討晉亂也。令不及魯、故不書。

⨸晉郤芮使夷吾重賂秦以求入、曰、人實有國、我何愛焉、入而能民、土於何有。從之、齊隰朋帥師會秦師納晉惠公。秦伯謂郤芮曰、公子誰恃。對曰、臣聞亡人無黨、有黨必有讎、夷吾弱不好弄、能鬬不過、長亦不改、不識其他。公謂公孫枝曰、夷吾其定乎。對曰、臣聞之、唯則定國、詩曰、不識不知、順帝之則、文王之謂也、又曰、不僭不賊、鮮不爲則、無好無惡、不忌不克之謂也、今其言多忌克、難哉。公曰、忌則多怨、又焉能克、是吾利也。

⨸宋襄公卽位、以公子目夷爲仁、使爲左師、以聽政。於是宋治、故魚氏世爲左師。

IX. 1 In the duke's ninth year, in spring, in the king's first month, on Ting-ch'ow, Yu-yueh, duke of Sung, died.

2 In summer, the duke had a meeting with the [king's] chief minister, the duke of Chow, and with the marquis of Ts'e, the son [of the late duke] of Sung, the marquis of Wei, the earl of Ch'ing, the baron of Heu, and the earl of Tsaou, in K'wei-k'ëw.

3 In autumn, in the seventh month, on Yih-yëw, the duke's eldest daughter died.

4 In the ninth month, on Mow-shin, the princes made a covenant in K'wei-k'ëw.

5 On Këah-tsze, Kwei-choo, marquis of Tsin, died.

6 In winter, Le K'ih put to death He-ts'e, the son of his [deceased] ruler.

Parr. 1,2. Yu-yueh,—see the events of his accession in the Chuen on III. xii 3,4. He was succeeded by his son Tsze-foo (兹父), known as duke Sëang (襄公). In the period of his early mourning, before his father was buried, Tsze-foo came in mourning garb to this meeting at K'wei-k'ëw, and therefore he is mentioned in p. 2 as 宋子, 'son, or new duke, of Sung.' Tso-she lays down the canon, that the successor to the throne, while his predecessor was unburied, was called Sëaou-t'ung (小童) or 'boy;' and the successor to a State, in like circumstances, Tsze (子), or 'the son.' Kung and Kuh for 正月 read 二月, and 禦 for 御. K'wei-k'ëw was in Sung,—30 *le* east from the pres. dis. city of K'aou-shing (考城), dep. K'ae-fung. The Chuen says:—'The meeting at Kwei-k'ëw was to repeat the former covenant [that in VIII. 1], and to cultivate the good relations *among the princes themselves*;—which was proper. The king sent his prime minister [the 冢宰 of the Shoo, XX. v. 1] K'ung to present to the marquis of Ts'e some of his sacrificial flesh, with the message, "The son of Heaven has been sacrificing to Wăn and Woo, and sends K'ung to present a portion of the flesh to his uncle of a different surname." The marquis was about to descend the steps, and do obeisance, when K'ung said, "There was another command. The son of Heaven charged me to say that, in consideration of his uncle's 70 years, he confers on him an additional degree of distinction,—that he shall not descend and do obeisance." "Heaven's majesty," replied the marquis, "is not far from me,—not a cubic, not 8 inches. Shall I, Sëaou-pih, dare to covet this command of the son of Heaven, and not descend and do obeisance. *If I did so*, I should fear that *majesty* was falling low, and left a stigma on the son of Heaven. I dare not but descend and do obeisance." With this he descended *the steps*, did obeisance, ascended again, and received the flesh.'

Par. 3. Kung-yang says:—'This lady had not been married;—how is her death recorded here? She had been engaged to be married. When that took place, the daughter was called by her designation in the family, and her hair was bound up with the pin. If she died *before being married*, the ceremonies used were those of a full-grown woman.'

Par. 4. The Chuen says:—'In autumn, the marquis of Ts'e made the covenant with the princes in K'wei-k'ëw to this effect:—"All we who have united in this covenant shall hereafter banish everything contrary to good relations among us." The prime minister K'ung had previously left to return to the capital; and when on the way, he met the marquis of Tsin, and said to him, "You need not go on to the meeting. The marquis of Ts'e does not make virtue his first object, and is most earnest about what is remote. Thus in the north he invaded the Hill Jung; on the south, he invaded Ts'oo; and in the west, he has assembled this meeting. As to what he may do *hereafter* eastward, I do not know, but he will do nothing to the west. Is Ts'e going to fall into disorder? Let your lordship set yourself to still all disorder in Tsin, and not be anxious about going on *to this meeting*."'

The K'ang-he editors say they agree with many critics of former dynasties in doubting the truth of this narrative.

Parr. 5,6. There is a difficulty here with the date, the day Këah-tsze being really 4 days earlier than Mow-shin of the 4th par. I think, therefore, that Këah-seuh (甲戌), Kung-yang's reading, is here to be preferred, though the received text does not follow him, while it follows Kuh-lëang in giving 詭諸 instead of Tso's 佹諸.

The Chuen says:—'On the death of duke Hëen [whose name was Kwei-choo] of Tsin, Le K'ih and P'e Ch'ing wished to raise *Ch'ung-urh, who was afterwards* duke Wăn, to the marquisate, and therefore raised an insurrection with his partizans, and those of his brothers, Shin-săng and E-woo. Years before this, duke Hëen had appointed Seun Seih to superintend the training of He-ts'e; and when he was ill, he called Seih to him, and said, "I ventured to lay on you the charge of this child; how will you *now* do in reference to him?" Seih bowed his head to the ground, and replied, "I will put forth all my strength and resources on his behalf, doing so with loyalty and sincere devotion. If I succeed, it will be owing to your lordship's influence; if I do not succeed, my death shall follow my endeavours." "What do you mean by loyalty and sincere devotion?" asked the duke. "Doing to the extent of my knowledge whatever will be advantageous to your House is loyalty. Performing the duties to you, the departed, and serving him, the living, so that neither of you would have any doubts about me, is sincere devotion."

'When Le K'ih was fully purposed to kill He-ts'e, he first informed Seun Seih, saying, "The friends of Ch'ung-urh and his brothers, all full of resentment, are about to rise; Ts'in and Tsin will assist them:—what can you do *in such a case*?" "I will die with He-ts'e," replied Seih. "That will be of no use," urged the other. Seun Shuh said, "I told our departed marquis so, and I must not say another thing now. I am able and willing to make good my words, and do you think I will grudge my life to do so? Although it may be of no use, how can I do otherwise? And in their wish to show the same virtue for their side, who is not like me? Do I wish to be entirely faithful and one *for my protegé*, and can I say that others should refrain from being so for theirs?"

'In the 10th month, Le K'ih killed He-ts'e in his place *by his father's coffin*. Seun Seih was about to die at the same time, but some one said to him, "You had better raise Ch'oh-tsze to his brother's place, and give your help to him." Seih did so, and directed the new marquis in the burial *of duke Hëen*.

'In the 11th month, Le K'ih slew Ch'oh in the court, and Seun Seih died with him. The superior man may say that in Seun Seih we have what is declared in the ode [The She, IV. iii. II. 5],'

"A flaw in a white gem
May be ground away;
But for a flaw in speech
Nothing can be done"'

• It may be well to observe here that these murders in this Chuen were not done by K'ih himself; though, as the instruments were employed by him, he is justly charged with them.

In p. 6. Kung-yang reads 弑 for 殺. He-ts'e became marquis of Tsin on the death of his father, and was K'ih's 君 or ruler. Kung-yang says he is here styled 子 or son merely, because the year of his father's death was still running; but such a canon does not hold in many other instances. We might, indeed, read 晉子奚齊,—after the analogy of p. 2; but the peculiar style here, 其君之子, must be due to the circumstances of the case:—the youth of He-ts'e; his want of a real title to the place; and his early death.

[The Chuen adds three notices here:—

1st. 'The marquis of Ts'e, with the armies of the princes, invaded Tsin, and returned, after advancing as far as Kaou-lëang. The expedition was to punish and put down the disorders of the State. The order about it did not reach Loo, and so no record of it was made.'

2d. 'K'ëoh Juy made E-woo offer heavy bribes to Ts'in, to obtain its help in entering Tsin, saying to him, "The State is really in the possession of others; you need grudge nothing. If you enter and can get the people, you will have no difficulty about the territory." E-woo followed his counsel. Seih P'ăng of Ts'e led a force and joined the army of Ts'in; and they placed *E-woo or* duke Hwuy in duke Hëen's place.

'The earl of Ts'in said to K'eoh Juy, "Whom has the duke's son [E-woo] to rely on *in Tsin?*" Juy replied, "I have heard the saying that a fugitive should have no partizans; for if he have partizans, he is sure to have enemies also. When E-woo was young, he was not fond of play: he could show fight, but in moderation. When he grew up, there was no change in these traits. Anything else about him I do not know." The earl *then* said to Kung-sun Che, "Will E-woo settle the State?" Che replied, "I have heard that only the pattern man can settle a State. In the She it is said of king Wăn (III. i. VII. 7),

> 'Without the consciousness of effort,
> You accord with the pattern of God.'
> It is also said [III. iii. II. 8],
> 'Committing no excess, inflicting no
> injury;
> There are few who will not take you
> as their model.'

This is spoken of him who loves not nor hates, who envies not nor is ambitious. But now E-woo's words are full of envy and ambition;—it will be hard for him *to settle the State!*" The earl said, "Being envious, he will have many to resent his conduct; how can he succeed in his ambition? But this will be our gain."'

3d. 'When duke Sëang succeeded to Sung, from regard to the virtue of his brother Muh-e [see the Chuen at the end of last year], he made him general of the left, and administrator of the government. On this Sung was finely ruled, and the office of general of the left became hereditary in the Yu family (Yu was the clan-name of Muh-e's descendants)']

Tenth year.

一章 十年、春、王正月、公如齊。

二章 狄滅溫、溫子奔衞。

三章 晉里克弒其君卓、及其大夫荀息。

四章 夏、齊侯、許男伐北戎。

五章 晉殺其大夫里克、

六章 秋、七月。

七章 冬、大雨雪。

左傳曰、十年、春、狄滅溫。蘇子無信也。蘇子叛王即狄、又不能於狄、狄人伐之、王不救、故滅、蘇子奔衞。夏、四月、周公忌父、王子黨、會齊隰朋、立晉侯。晉侯殺里克以說、將殺里克、公使謂之曰、微子則不及此、雖然、子弒二君、與一大夫、爲

子君者、不亦難乎、對曰、不有廢也、君何以興、欲加之罪、其無辭乎、臣聞命矣。伏劍而死。於是丕鄭聘于秦、且謝緩賂、故不及。

㊂晉侯改葬共大子、秋、狐突適下國、遇大子、大子使登、僕、而告之曰、夷吾無禮、余得請於帝矣、將以晉畀秦、秦將祀余。對曰、臣聞之、神不歆非類、民不祀非族、君祀無乃殄乎、且民何罪、失刑乏嗣、君其圖之。君曰諾、吾將復請、七日新城西偏、將有巫者而見我焉。許之、遂不見、及期而往、告之曰、帝許我罰有罪矣、敝於韓。

㊃丕鄭之如秦也、言於秦伯曰、呂甥、郤稱、冀芮、實爲不從、若重問以召之、臣出「晉君、君納重耳、蔑不濟矣。冬、秦伯使冷至報問、且召三子、郤芮曰、幣重而言甘、誘我也。遂殺丕鄭、祁舉、及七輿大夫、左行共華、右行賈華、叔堅、騅歂、纍虎、特宮、山祁、皆里、丕之黨也。丕豹奔秦、言於秦伯曰、晉侯背大主、而忌小怨、民弗與也、伐之必出。公曰、失衆。焉能殺、違禍、誰能出君。

X. 1 In his tenth year, in spring, in the king's first month, the duke went to Ts'e.

2 The Teih extinguished Wăn; and the viscount of Wăn fled to Wei.

3 Le K'ih of Tsin murdered his ruler Ch'oh, and the great officer Seun Seih.

4 In summer, the marquis of Ts'e and the baron of Heu invaded the northern Jung.

5 Tsin put to death its great officer Le K'ih.

6 It was autumn, the seventh month.

7 In winter, there was a great fall of snow.

Par. 1. Tan Tsoo (啖助; T'ang dyn., 8th century) says that the character 如 is always used of journeys by the duke and ministers of Loo, to visit other courts or present friendly inquiries. Duke He here goes to Ts'e to appear at the court of the marquis as the leader of the States.

Par. 2. The viscount of Wăn, or the viscount of Soo, was one of the descendants of the duke of Soo [called *duke* as being one of the three *kung* or highest ministers of the king], minister of Crime to king Woo. Out of the court, they were viscounts of Soo, or of Wăn, Wăn being the name of their principal city,—30 *le* west of the pres. dis. city of Wăn, dep. Hwae-k'ing (懷慶), Ho-nan. In the 1st nar. appended to I. xi. 3, the king grants the territories of the House of Soo to Ch'ing. That House, however, must have been subsequently re-instated in them. In one of the Chuen appended to III. xix. 4, the viscount of Soo appears as confederate against the king with Tsze-t'uy, who flies on his defeat to Wăn; and they further retreat together to Wei.

The Chuen says:—'The Teih extinguished Wăn, because the viscount of Soo was a man without faith. He rebelled against the king, and went off to the Teih; but he could do nothing among them, and they attacked him. The king did not relieve him, and so his State was annihilated, and he himself fled to Wei.'

Par. 3. See the Chuen on the 6th par. of last year. That Chuen says Ch'oh was murdered in the 11th month of last year, while here the deed appears under the spring of this;—but see what is said, on V. 1, upon the difference of dates in

the King and Chuen. Duke Hëen had been buried, and Ch'oh or Ch'oh-tsze appears here consequently as marquis or ruler.

Par. 4. These northern Jung were the same as the Hill Jung of III. xxx. 7. Why the baron of Heu should alone have accompanied Ts'e on this expedition we canot tell.

Par. 5. The Chuen says on this:—'In summer, in the 4th month, Ke-foo, duke of Chow, and Tang, son of king *He* (?), joined Seih P'ăng of Ts'e in securing the establishment of the marquis of Tsin, who put to death Le K'ih to clear himself *of any complicity with him in the murders which he had committed.* When he was about to put him to death, he sent a message to him, saying, "But for you, I should not have attained to my present position; but considering that you murdered two marquises and one great officer, is it not a difficult thing to be your ruler?" K'ih replied, "If others had not been removed, how could you have found room to rise? But if you wish to make out a man's guilt, there is no difficulty in finding ground to do so. I have heard your command." With this he cut his own throat, and died. At this time P'ei Ch'ing was absent on a visit of friendly inquiries in Ts'in, and to entreat the earl to grant some delay in the payment of the bribes promised to him, so that he escaped *for the present.*'

Par. 6. [The Chuen appends the following story:—'The marquis of Tsin took up the body of his brother Kung [共太子, 'the eldest son Kung.' Kung is the hon. title given to Shin-săng, duke Hëen's eldest son], and had it re-interred. In the autumn, Hoo Tuh went to the lower capital [*i.e.*, K'ëuh-yuh] *in connection with this*, when he met the *former* young prince, who made him get up and take his reins for him, *as he had been accustomed to do*, and then said to him, "E-woo has violated all propriety. I have presented a request to God and obtained it:—I am going to give Tsin to Ts'in, which will maintain the sacrifices to me." Tuh replied, "I have heard that the Spirits *of the dead* do not enjoy the sacrifices of those who are not of their kindred, and that people only sacrifice to those who were of the same ancestry as themselves. Will not the sacrifices to you be thus virtually no sacrifices? And what crimes attach to the people *of Tsin*? Let me ask you to consider well how what you have done will lead to the wrong punishment of them and the cessation of the sacrifices to yourself." "Yes," said the other, "I will make another request to God. In 7 days, at the western side of the new city there will be a wizard, through whom you shall have an interview with me." Tuh agreed to this, and the prince disappeared. When the time was come, the officer went *to the west side of the city*, and received this message:—"God has granted that I punish *only* the criminal, who shall be defeated in Han."

'When P'e Ch'ing went to Ts'in, he said to the earl, "They were Leu Săng, K'ëoh Ch'ing, and K'e Juy, who would not agree *to our marquis's fulfilling his promises to you.* If you will call them to you by urgently requesting their presence, I will then expel the marquis. Your lordship can then restore Ch'ung-urh to Tsin; and everything will be crowned with success."'

Par. 7. Kung-yang here has 雹 for 雩. Snow lying a foot deep [See the Chuen on I. ix. 2] would indeed be a strange phenomenon in the autumn of the year. Chow's winter was Hëa's autumn.

[The Chuen adds here:—'In winter, the earl of Tsin sent Ling Che to Tsin in return for the mission of P'e Ch'ing, and to ask that the three officers *mentioned by Ch'ing* might come to him. K'ëoh Juy said, "The greatness of his gifts and the sweetness of his words are intended to decoy us." Then they put to death P'e Ch'ing, K'e Keu, and the seven great officers of the chariots,—Kung Hwa of the left column, Këa Hwa of the right, Shuh Këen, Chuy Ch'uen, Luy Hoo, Tih Kung, and San K'e; all partizans of Le and P'e. P'e P'aou fled to Ts'in, and said to the earl, "The marquis of Tsin is false to you, great lord, and envious on small grounds of his own officers;—the people do not adhere to him. Attack him, and he is sure to be driven from the State." The earl said, "How can he, who has lost the masses, deal death *in such a way?* But you have *only* escaped the calamity; who can expel your ruler?"']

Eleventh year.

一章 十有一年、春、晉殺其大夫丕鄭父。

二章 夏、公及夫人姜氏、會齊侯于陽穀。

三章 秋、八月、大雩。

四章 冬、楚人伐黃。

左傳曰、十一年、春、晉侯使以丕鄭之亂來告。㊀天王使召武公、內史、過、賜晉侯命。受玉、惰、過歸告王、曰、晉侯其無後乎、王賜之命、而惰於受瑞、先自棄也已、其何繼之有、禮、國之幹也、敬、禮之輿也、不敬、則禮不行、禮不行、則上下昏、何以長世。㊁夏、揚拒、泉皋、伊雒之戎、同伐京師、入王城、焚東門。王子帶召之也、秦、晉、伐戎以救周。秋、晉侯平戎于王。黃人不歸楚貢、冬、楚人伐黃。

XI. 1 In the [duke's] eleventh year, Tsin put to death its great officer, P'e Ch'ing-foo.

2 In summer, the duke and his wife, the lady Këang, had a meeting with the marquis of Ts'e in Yang-kuh.

3 In autumn, in the eighth month, there was a grand sacrifice for rain.

4 In winter, a body of men from Ts'oo invaded Hwang.

Par. 1. See the last Chuen. Tso-she says that in spring the marquis of Tsin sent an announcement to Loo of the disorder attempted to be raised by P'e Ch'ing. This is Tso's own attempt to reconcile the date of P'e Ch'ing's death, as given here, with the real date assigned to it in the Chuen referred to. But we have seen that both dates are correct:—this, according to the calendar of Chow; that, according to the calendar of Hëa.

[The Chuen adds:—'The king by Heaven's grace sent duke Woo of Shaou, and Kwo, the historiographer of the interior, to confer the symbol of his rank on the marquis of Tsin. He received the nephrite with an air of indifference; and Kwo, on his return to the court, said to the king, "The marquis of Tsin is not one who will have any successor of his own children. Your majesty conferred on him the symbol of investiture, and he received the auspicious jade with an air of indifference. Taking the lead thus in self-abandonment, is he likely to have any one to succeed him? The rules of propriety are the stem of a State; and reverence is the chariot that conveys them along. Where there is not reverence, those rules do not have their course; and where this is the case, the distinctions of superiors and inferiors are all obscured. When this occurs, there can be no transmission of a State to after generations.' See the 國語, I. (周語, 上), art. 11.]

Par. 2. Comp. II. xviii. 1. It would appear from this that duke He had married a lady of Ts'e, a daughter probably of duke Hwan. But that she should accompany him, as here, to a meeting with her father even, was contrary to all Chinese ideas of propriety. Too Yu says:—'A wife does not accompany or meet a visitor beyond the gate; when she sees her brothers, she does not cross the threshold of the harem. To go to this meeting with the duke was contrary to rule.'

[The Chuen adds:—'In summer, the Jung of Yang-k'eu, Ts'euen-kaou, and about the E and the Loh, united in attacking the capital, entered the royal city, and burned the eastern gate; king *Hwuy's* son Tae having called them. Ts'in and Tsin invaded the Jung in order to relieve the king. In autumn, the marquis of Tsin caused the Jung to make peace with the king.']

Par. 3. See on II. v. 7.

Par. 4. The Chuen says:—'The people of Hwang did not send their tribute to Ts'oo, and a body of men, *therefore*, from Ts'oo attacked Hwang in the winter.'

Twelfth year.

一章 十有二年、春、王三月、庚午、日有食之。二章 夏、楚人滅黃。三章 秋、七月。四章 冬、十有二月、丁丑、陳侯杵臼卒。

㈠左傳曰、十二年、春、諸侯城衞楚丘之郛、懼狄難也、黃人恃諸侯之睦于齊也、不共楚職、曰、自郢及我、九百里、焉能害我。夏、楚滅黃。

㈡王以戎難故、討王子帶、秋、王子帶奔齊。

㈢冬、齊侯使管夷吾平戎于王、使隰朋平戎于晉、王以上卿之禮、饗管仲、管仲辭、曰、臣賤有司也、有天子之二守、國、高在、若節春秋、來承王命、何以禮焉、陪臣敢辭。王曰、舅氏、余嘉乃勳、應乃懿德、謂督不忘、往踐乃職、無逆朕命。管仲受下卿之禮而還、君子曰、管氏之世祀也、宜哉、讓不忘其上、詩曰、愷悌君子、神所勞矣。

XII. 1 In the [duke's] twelfth year, in spring, in the king's third month, on Kăng-woo, the sun was eclipsed.

2 In summer, a body of men from Ts'oo extinguished Hwang.

3 It was autumn, the seventh month.

4 In winter, in the twelfth month, on Ting-chow, Ch'oo-k'ëw, marquis of Ch'in, died.

Par. 1 This eclipse took place in the afternoon of March 29th, B. C. 647. Too observes that the historiographer had omitted to enter that Kăng-woo was the 1st day of the moon.

[The Chuen adds here:—'In the spring, the States walled the suburbs of Ts'oo-k'ëw of Wei [see II. 1]; fearing troubles from the Teih.']

Par. 2. The Chuen says:—'The people of Hwang, relying on the friendship of the States with Ts'e, did not render the tribute which was due from them to Ts'oo, saying "From Ying [the capital of Ts'oo] to us is 900 *le;* what harm can Ts'oo do to us?" This summer, Ts'oo extinguished Hwang. Kuh-lëang says:—'At the meeting in Kwan [II. 4], Kwan Chung said to the marquis of Ts'e, "Këang and Hwang are far from Ts'e and near to Ts'oo,—States which Ts'oo considers advantageous to it. Should Ts'oo attack them, and you not be able to save them, you will cease to be looked up to by the States." The marquis would not listen to him, but made a covenant with Këang and Hwang. On the death of Kwan Chung, Ts'oo invaded Këang, and extinguished Hwang; and Ts'e, *indeed*, was not able to save them.' Whether Kwan Chung gave the advice here ascribed to him at Kwan we do not know; but Kuh is wrong in supposing he was now dead;—he died in the 15th year of duke He.

Par. 3. [The Chuen gives here two narratives:—1st. 'The king, because of the attack of the Jung, proceeded to punish his brother Tae;—who fled to Ts'e.'

2d. 'In winter, the marquis of Ts'e sent Kwan E-woo to make peace between the Jung and the king; and Seih P'ăng to make peace between the Jung and Tsin. The king wanted to feast Kwan Chung with the ceremonies due to a minister of the highest grade. But Kwan Chung declined them, saying, "I an *but* an officer of mean condition. There are Kwoh and Kaou in Ts'e, both holding their appointment from the son of Heaven. If they should come in spring or in autumn to receive your majesty's orders, with what ceremonies should they be entertained? A simple servant of my prince, I venture to refuse *the honour you propose.*" The king said, 'Messenger of my uncle, I approve your merit. You maintain your excellent virtue, which I never can forget. Go and dischange the duties of your office, and do not disobey my commands." Kwan Chung *finally* accepted the ceremonies of a minister of the lower grade, and returned *to Ts'e.*

The superior man will say, "Kwan well deserved that his sacrifices should be perpetuated from generation to generation. He was humbly courteous, and did not forget his superiors. As the ode [She, III. i. ode V. 5] says.

"Our amiable, courteous prince
Was rewarded by the Spirits."'

Par. 4. For 杵 Kung-yang reads 處.

Thirteenth year.

一章 十有三年、春、狄侵衛。

二章 夏、四月、葬陳宣公。

三章 公會齊侯、宋公、陳侯、衛侯、鄭伯、許男、曹伯、于鹹。

四章 秋、九月、大雩。

五章 冬、公子友如齊。

(一)左傳曰、十三年、春、齊侯使仲孫湫聘于周、且言王子帶。事畢、不與王言、歸、復命曰、未可、王怒未怠、其十年乎、不十年、王弗召也。

(二)夏、會于鹹。淮夷病杞故、且謀王室也。

(三)秋、爲戎難故、諸侯戍周、齊仲孫湫致之。

(四)冬、晉荐饑、使乞糴于秦、秦伯謂子桑、與諸乎。對曰、重施而報、君將何求、重施而不報、其民必攜、攜而討焉、無衆必敗。謂百里、與諸乎。對曰、天災流行、國家代有、救災恤鄰、道也、行道有福。丕鄭之子豹在秦、請伐晉、秦伯曰、其君是惡、其民何罪、秦於是乎輸粟于晉、自雍及絳相繼、命之曰汎舟之役。

XIII. 1 In the [duke's] thirteenth year, in spring, the Teih made an incursion into Wei.

2 In summer, in the fourth month, there was the burial of duke Seuen of Ch'in.

3 The duke had a meeting with the marquis of Ts'e, the duke of Sung, the marquis of Ch'in, the marquis of Wei, the earl of Ch'ing, the baron of Heu, and the earl of Ts'aou, in Hëen.

4 In autumn, in the ninth month, there was a grand sacrifice for rain.

5 In winter, duke [Hwan's] son, Yëw, went to Ts'e.

Par. 1. It was in anticipation of trouble to Wei from the Teih that the States fortified the suburbs of Ts'oo-k'ew;—as related in the Chuen at the commencement of last year. Chaou P'ăng-fei (趙鵬飛; towards the end of the Sung dyn.) supposes that the object of the Teih was to make Wei deliver to them the viscount of Wăn, who had fled there, as related in X. 2.

[The Chuen adds here:—'This spring, the marquis of Ts'e sent Chung-sun Tsëaou on a mission of friendly inquiries to Chow, and to speak about the king's brother Tae; but when the *former* business was concluded, Tsëaou did not speak further to the king; and when giving an account of his mission, on his return, he said, "We cannot yet speak about Tae. The king's

anger has not subsided. Perhaps it will do so in 10 years. But in less than ten years, the king will not recall him."']

Par. 3. Hëen was in Wei,—60 *le* south-east from the pres. K'ae Chow (開州), dep. Taming, Chih-le. The Chuen says;—'The meeting at Hëen was because the E of the Hwae were distressing Ke, and also to consult about the royal House.'

[The Chuen has here another brief narrative:—'In autumn, because of the difficulties created by the Jung, the States determined to guard Chow; and Chung-sun Tsëaou of Ts'e conducted their troops to it.']

Par. 5. This was the 3d visit which Yëw had now made in He's time to Ts'e. We see what a sway he must have had in Loo, and what service the marquis of Ts'e required for his protectorate.

[The Chuen adds here:—'In winter Tsin was suffering a second time a season of scarcity, and sent to Ts'in to be allowed to buy grain. The earl of Ts'in asked Tsze-sang [Kung-sun Che] whether he should give the grain, and that officer replied, "If you grant this great favour, and *the marquis of Tsin* make a due return for it, you will have nothing *more* to require. If you grant it, and he make no return, his people will be alienated from him. If you then proceed to punish him, not having the multitudes with him, he is sure to be defeated. "The earl put the same question to *his minister* Pih-le, who replied, "The calamities inflicted by Heaven flow abroad, and different States have them in their turn. To succour in such calamities, and compassionate one's neighbours, is the proper way; and he who pursues it will have blessing."

'P'aou, the son of P'e Ch'ing, was then in Ts'in, and asked leave *to lead an expedition* to attack Tsin, but the earl said to him, "Its ruler is evil; but of what offences have his people been guilty?" On this Ts'in contributed grain to Tsin, vessels following one another from Yung to Këang; and the affair was called "The service of the trains of boats."'] See the 國語; IV. iii. (晉語, 三), art. 5. Wang Seih-tsëoh (王錫爵; Ming dyn., A.D. 1534-1610) gives an opinion on the merits of the advice tendered in the above matter by Kung-sun Che and Pih-le He respectively, which may well be called in question. 'Pih-le's words,' he says, 'were benevolent, kind, and entirely generous; but they were not equal to Kung-sun Che's, based on a calculation of consequences. A truly worthy minister he was!'

Fourteenth year.

一章 十有四年、春、諸侯城緣陵。

二章 夏、六月、季姬及鄫子遇于防、使鄫子來朝。

三章 秋、八月、辛卯、沙鹿崩。

四章 狄侵鄭。

五章 冬、蔡侯肸卒。

左傳曰、十四年、春、諸侯城緣陵、而遷杞焉。不書其人、有闕也。鄫季姬來寧、公怒、止之、以鄫子之不朝也。夏遇于防、而使來朝。秋、八月、辛卯、沙鹿崩。晉卜偃曰、期年、將有大咎、幾亡國

㊂冬、秦饑、使乞糴於晉、晉人弗與、慶鄭曰、背施無親、幸災不仁、貪愛不祥、怒鄰不義、四德皆失、何以守國。虢射曰、皮之不存、毛將安傅。慶鄭曰、棄信背鄰、患孰恤之、無信患作、失援必斃、是則然矣。虢射曰、無損於怨、而厚於寇、不如勿與。慶鄭曰、背施幸災、民所棄也、近猶讐之、況怨敵乎。弗聽。退曰、君其悔是哉。

XIV. 1 In the [duke's] fourteenth year, in spring, the States walled Yuen-ling.

2 In summer, in the sixth month, the duke's youngest daughter and the viscount of Tsăng met in Fang, when she caused the viscount to come and pay the duke a court-visit.

3 In autumn, in the eighth month, on Sin-maou, [part of the hill of] Sha-luh fell down.

4 The Teih made an incursion into Ch'ing.

5 In winter, Hih, marquis of Ts'ae, died.

Par. 1. The Chuen says:—'The States walled Yuen-ling, and removed Ke to it, as its capital. The various princes engaged in the work are not mentioned, through the omission of the historiographers.' Yuen-ling was a town of Ke, —50 *le* south-east of the pres. dis. city of Ch'ang-loh, dep. Ts'ing-chow. To this the lord of Ke wished to move his capital from Yung-k'ëw (雍丘), in the dis. of Ke, (杞), dep. K'ae-fung, Ho-nan, where he was much distressed by the E of the Hwae; and the marquis of Ts'e took the lead in the movement, and directed the different States to prepare the city for the contemplated removal. Compare the walling of Ts'oo-k'ëw in II. 1.

Par. 2. This par. has wonderfully vexed, and continues to vex, the critics. Tso-she gives this account of it:—'The duke's youngest daughter, married to the viscount of Tsăng, came to Loo to visit her parents. The duke was angry and detained her, because the viscount of Tsăng had not been to the court of Loo. In summer, she met the viscount in Fang, and made him pay a visit to the court.' This account of the matter is probably the correct one. The difficulties in its way are the omission of 鄫 before 伯姬; and the 9th par. of next year, which would seem to be a record of the lady's marriage to the viscount. But when the duke detained her, as the Chuen supposes, in Loo, he, no doubt, considered the marriage to be annulled. This may account for the omission of the 鄫; and in the subsequent entry, 歸 will = 'went to her *old* home,' and not 'went to her new home on being married.'

The principal views which have been taken of the par. appear in the note of the K'ang-he editors:—'The meeting of the duke's daughter with the viscount of Tsăng, without the duke's forbidding it, and her asking the viscount to come to the court of Loo and his listening to her, were both contrary to propriety; and the thing is recorded in the Ch'un Ts'ëw to condemn it. The view of Hoo Gan-kwoh, that the duke, from love to his daughter, allowed her to choose her own husband, is based on what is said by Kung and Kuh, and scholars generally have adopted it; but it is wrong. Duke He was a worthy ruler, and his wife, Shing Këang, has the praise of being a virtuous lady;—would they have been willing to allow such a thing? Some allege that the style, where 鄫 does not precede 伯姬, shows that the lady was not married; but they do not consider that the duke, in anger at the viscount's not coming to court, annulled the marriage *for the time;* and when he afterwards sent his daughter back, as Tsăng here does not precede 伯姬, so neither does it do so in the later record. If, indeed, the viscount had come to court to ask the lady in marriage, there would have been notices subsequently of his presenting the bridal gifts and coming to meet her; but there is nothing of this in the text. Fan Ning had reason when he doubted the view of Kung and Kuh, and regarded that of Tso-she as having more of verisimilitude.'

Kuh-lëang has 繒 for 鄫. Tsăng was a small State in pres. dis. of Yih (嶧), dep. Yen-chow. Its lords were Szes (姒), and claimed to be descended from Yu.

Par. 3. The hill of Sha-luh was in Tsin, 45 *le* east of the pres. district city of Yuen-shing (元城), dep. Ta-ming. The Chuen says that when the diviner Yen of Tsin heard of the event, he said, 'By the time a full year is completed, there will be great calamity, so as nearly to ruin our State.'

Par. 4. The repeated incursions and invasions of the Teih show that not only was the royal House very feeble, but that the power of Ts'e was also waning.

Par. 5. This was duke Muh (穆公), a son of the Hëen-woo, of whose captivity in Ts'oo we have an account in III. x. 5. There he remained till his death in duke Chwang's 19th year, when Hih became marquis of Ts'ae.

[The Chuen relates here:—'In winter, there was a scarcity in Ts'in, which sent to Tsin to beg to be allowed to buy grain. They refused in Tsin, but K'ing Ch'ing said, "To make such a return for Ts'in's favour to us shows a want of relative feeling; to make our gain from the calamity of others shows a want of benevolence; to be greedy is inauspicious; to cherish anger against our neighbours is unrighteous. When we have lost these four virtues, how shall we preserve our State?" Kwoh Yih said, "When the skin has been lost, where can you place the hair?" Ch'ing replied, "We are casting away faith, and making a vile return to our neighbour;—in the time of our calamity, who will pity us? Calamity is sure to come where there has been no faith; and without helpers we are sure to perish. Thus it will be with us, acting in this way." Kwoh Yih said, "*To grant the grain*

would not lessen *Ts'in's* resentment, and we should *only* be kind to our enemy." "Him," said Ch'ing, "who is ungrateful for favours, and makes a gain of the calamities of others, the people reject. Even his nearest friends will feel hostile to him; how much more his resentful opponents!" The marquis, however, would not listen to his counsel. and K'ing Ch'ing retired, saying, "Would that the marquis might repent of this!"]

Fifteenth year.

一章 十有五年、春、王正月、公如齊。

二章 楚人伐徐。

三章 三月、公會齊侯、宋公、陳侯、衛侯、鄭伯、許男、曹伯、盟于牡丘、遂次于匡。

四章 公孫敖帥師、及諸侯之大夫、救徐。

五章 夏、五月、日有食之。

六章 秋、七月、齊師、曹師、伐厲。

七章 八月、螽。

八章 九月、公至自會。

九章 季姬歸于鄫。

十章 己卯、晦、震夷伯之廟。

十一章 冬、宋人伐曹。

十二章 楚人敗徐于婁林。

十三章 十有一月、壬戌、晉侯及秦伯、戰于韓、獲晉侯。

左傳曰、十五年、春、楚人伐徐。徐卽諸夏故也。

三月、盟于牡丘。尋葵丘之盟、且救徐也。

孟穆伯帥師、及諸侯之師、救徐、諸侯次于匡、以待之。

夏、五月、日有食之。不書朔與日、官失之也。

秋、伐厲。以救徐也。

震夷伯之廟。罪之也、於是展氏有隱慝焉。

冬、宋人伐曹。討舊怨也。

楚敗徐于婁林。徐恃救也。

晉侯之入也、秦穆姬屬賈君焉、且曰、盡納羣公子。晉侯烝於賈君、又不納羣公子、是以穆姬怨之。晉侯許賂中
大夫、既而皆背之。賂秦伯以河外列城五、東盡虢略、南及華山、內及解梁城、既而不與。晉饑、秦輸之粟、秦饑、晉
閉之糴、故秦伯伐晉。卜徒父筮之、吉、涉河、侯車敗。詰之。對曰、乃大吉也、三敗、必獲晉君、其卦遇蠱、曰、千乘三去、
三去之餘、獲其雄狐、夫狐蠱、必其君也、蠱之貞、風也、其悔、山也、歲云秋矣、我落其實、而取其材、所以克也、實落
材亡、不敗何待。三敗及韓、晉侯謂慶鄭曰、寇深矣、若之何。對曰、君實深之、可若何。公曰、不孫。卜右、慶鄭吉、弗使、
步揚御戎、家僕徒爲右、乘小駟、鄭入也。慶鄭曰、古者大事、必乘其產、生其水土、而知其人心、安其教訓、而服習
其道、唯所納之、無不如志、今乘異產、以從戎事、及懼而變、將與人易、亂氣狡憤、陰血周作、張脉僨興、外彊中乾、
進退不可、周旋不能、君必悔之。弗聽。九月、晉侯逆秦師、使韓簡視師、復曰、師少於我、鬬士倍我。公曰、何故。對曰、
出因其資、入用其寵、饑食其粟、三施而無報、是以來也、今又擊之、我怠秦奮、倍猶未也。公曰、一夫不可狃、況國
乎。遂使請戰、曰、寡人不佞、能合其衆、而不能離也、君若不還、無所逃命。秦伯使公孫枝對曰、君之未入、寡人懼

之、入而未定列、猶吾憂也、苟列定矣、敢不承命。韓簡退曰、吾幸而得囚。壬戌、戰于韓原、晉戎馬還濘而止、公號慶鄭、慶鄭曰、愎諫違卜、固敗是求、又何逃焉。遂去之、梁由靡御韓簡、虢射爲右、輅秦伯、將止之、鄭以救公誤之、遂失秦伯。秦獲晉侯以歸、晉大夫反首拔舍從之、秦伯使辭焉、曰、二三子何其慼也、寡人之從君而西也、亦晉之妖夢是踐、豈敢以至。晉大夫三拜稽首曰、君履后土而戴皇天、皇天后土實聞君之言、羣臣敢在下風。穆姬聞晉侯將至、以大子罃弘與女簡璧登臺而履薪焉。使以免服衰絰逆、且告曰、上天降災、使我兩君匪以玉帛相見、而以興戎、若晉君朝以入、則婢子夕以死、夕以入、則朝以死、唯君裁之。乃舍諸靈臺。大夫請以入、公曰、獲晉侯、以厚歸也、既而喪歸、焉用之、大夫其何有焉、且晉人慼憂以重我、天地以要我、不圖晉憂、重其怒也、我食吾言、背天地也、重怒難任、背天不祥、必歸晉君。公子縶曰、不如殺之、無聚慝焉。子桑曰、歸之而質其大子、必得大成、晉未可滅、而殺其君、祇以成惡、且史佚有言曰、無始禍、無怙亂、無重怒、重怒難任、陵人不祥。乃許晉平。晉侯使郤乞告瑕呂飴甥、且召之。子金教之言曰、朝國人而以君命賞、且告之曰、孤雖歸、辱社稷矣、其卜貳圉也。衆皆哭、晉於是乎作爰田。呂甥曰、君亡之不恤、而羣臣是憂、惠之至也、將若君何。衆曰、何爲而可。對曰、征繕以輔孺子、諸侯聞之、喪君有君、羣臣輯睦、甲兵益多、好我者勸、惡我者懼、庶有益乎。衆說、晉於是乎作州兵。初晉獻公筮嫁伯姬於秦、遇歸妹之睽、史蘇占之曰、不吉、其繇曰、士刲羊、亦無衁也、女承筐、亦無貺也、西鄰責言、不可償也、歸妹之睽、猶無相也、震之離、亦離之震、爲雷爲火、爲嬴敗姬、車說其輹、火焚其旗、不利行師、敗于宗丘、歸妹睽孤、寇張之弧、姪其從姑、六年其逋、逃歸其國、而棄其家、明年其死於高梁之虛。及惠公在秦、曰、先君若從史蘇之占、吾不及此夫。韓簡侍曰、龜象也、筮數也、物生而後有象、象而後有滋、滋而後有數、先君之敗德、及可數乎、史蘇是占、勿從何益、詩曰、下民之孽、匪降自天、僔沓背憎、職競由人。

㈩十月、晉陰飴甥會秦伯、盟于王城。秦伯曰、晉國和乎。對曰、不和、小人恥失其君、而悼喪其親、不憚征繕以立

圉也、曰必報讐、寧事戎狄、君子愛其君、而知其罪、不憚征繕、以待秦命、曰必報德、有死無二、以此不和。秦伯曰、國謂君何。對曰、小人慼、謂之不免、君子恕、以爲必歸、小人曰、我毒秦、秦豈歸君、君子曰、我知罪矣、秦必歸君、貳而執之、服而舍之、德莫厚焉、刑莫威焉、服者懷德、貳者畏刑、此一役也、秦可以霸、納而不定、廢而不立、以德爲怨、秦不其然。秦伯曰、是吾心也。改館晉侯、饋七牢焉。蛾析謂慶鄭曰、盍行乎、對曰、陷君於敗、敗而不死、又使失刑、非人臣也、臣而不臣、行將焉入。十一月、晉侯歸、丁丑、殺慶鄭而後入。是歲、晉又饑、秦伯又餼之粟、曰、吾怨其君、而矜其民、且吾聞唐叔之封也、箕子曰、其後必大、晉其庸可冀乎、姑樹德焉、以待能者。於是秦始征晉河東、置官司焉。

XV. 1 In his fifteenth year, in spring, in the king's first month, the duke went to Ts'e.

2 A body of men from Ts'oo invaded Seu.

3 In the third month, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Ts'e, the duke of Sung, the marquis of Ch'in, the marquis of Wei, the earl of Ch'ing, the baron of Heu, and the earl of Ts'aou, when they made a covenant in Mow-k'ëw, and then went on till they halted at K'wang.

4 Kung-sun Gaou led a force, and, with the great officers of the [other] princes, [endeavoured to] relieve Seu.

5 In summer, in the fifth month, the sun was eclipsed.

6 In autumn, in the seventh month, an army of Ts'e and an army of Ts'aou invaded Le.

7 In the eighth month, there were locusts.

8 In the ninth month, the duke arrived from the meeting [with the other princes].

9 The duke's third daughter went to her home in Tsăng.

10 On Ke-maou, the last day of the moon, the temple of E-pih was struck by lightning.

11 In winter, a body of men from Sung invaded Ts'aou.

12 The men of Ts'oo defeated Seu at Low-lin.

13 In the eleventh month, on Jin-seuh, the marquis of Tsin and the earl of Ts'in fought at Han, when the marquis of Tsin was taken.

Par. 1. Chang Hëah says:—'In his 10th year, the duke paid a court-visit to Ts'e, and here again in his 15th he does the same;—a court-visit in 5 years, serving Ts'e as the rule required him to serve the son of Heaven!'

Par. 2. Tso-she says that the reason for this attack was that 'Seu had joined the States' of the north. See on III. 3.

Par. 3,4. Mow-k'ëw was probably in Ts'e,—70 *le* to the north-east of the dis. city of Lëaou-

shing (聊城), dep. Tung-ch'ang. K'wang was in Wei,—in dep. of Ta-ming, Chih-le. Tso-she says that the covenant at Mow-k'ëw was 'to confirm that at K'wei-k'ëw [see IX. 2], and for the relief of Seu.' The princes would then seem to have advanced southwards to K'wang, and to have waited there, to allow the troops of Loo, and of other States as well, to arrive and effect a junction, before proceeding to try consequences with the army of Ts'oo. Kung-sun Gaou was the son of K'ing-foo, of whom we had so much in the times of Chwang and Min. He is also known as Măng Muh-pih (孟穆伯). From p. 12 we see that the endeavour to relieve Seu was unsuccessful. After this the marquis of Ts'e made no more arrangements for the relief of any of the States. The vigour of his presidency was evidently declining.

Par. 5. Tso-she remarks on there being no record of the day on which this eclipse took place, and the absence also of the character 朔; but there was no eclipse in all this year visible in Loo. There was indeed an eclipse of the sun on January 28th, B. C. 644; but it could not have been seen there.

Par. 6. Le was one of the subject States of Ts'oo,—in the pres. Suy Chow (隨州), dep. Tih-gan (德安), Hoo-pih. The object of attacking Le was to effect a diversion in favour of Seu, and so help the relief of that State.

Par. 7. Kung has 蝝 for 螽. See II. v. 8. Kuh-lëang tries to lay down a canon here, that when the plague of locusts was very great, the month of its occurrence is given; and when it was light, only the season.

Par. 9. See on p. 2 of last year.

Par. 10. 震 is here used as an impersonal verb. The Shwoh-wăn explains it by 劈歷振物者, 'a crash of thunder, shaking things.' Of course it was the lightning which struck the temple, but the Chinese, like the Hebrews, considered the lightning to be a 'hot thunderbolt (Psalm, LXXVIII. 48).' Tso-she observes that we may see from this that the Chen clan (展氏) was chargeable with some secret wickedness. Apart from this interpretation of the event, telling us that the E-pih here belonged to the clan of whose constitution we have an account in the Chuen on I. viii. 10 [E in the text is the honorary title of the officer whose temple suffered, and Pih was his designation], —beyond this we know nothing about him. Kuh-lëang refers to the par. as a case in point, to show that, from the emperor to the lower officers, all had their temples or shrine-houses: —the emperor, 7 of them; princes of States, 5; great officers 3; and lower officers, 2.

Par. 11. Both Sung and Ts'aou were at the meeting in Mow-k'ëw. This attack boded ill for the relief of Seu, and showed how feeble the control of Ts'e had become.

Par. 12. Low-lin was in Seu,—in the north-east of the dis. of Hung (虹), dep. Fung-yang, Gan-hwuy. Tso-she says that Seu was defeated through relying on the succour of the States.

Par. 13. The Chuen says:—'When the marquis of Tsin *first* entered that State *from Ts'in* [see the 2d narrative appended at the end of the 9th year], Muh Ke, *the earl's wife* [see the Chuen after III. xxviii. 1], charged him to behave kindly to the lady Këa [see the same Chuen], and also to restore all his brothers, and the sons of the former marquis as well.

The marquis, however, committed incest with the lady Këa, and did not restore the sons of his predecessors, so that Muh Ke was full of resentment at him. He had made, moreover, promises to several great officers within the State, all of which he broke. To the earl of Ts'in he had promised 5 cities beyond the Ho, with all the country on the east which had formed the territory of Kwoh, as far as mount Hwa on the south, and to the city of Hëae-lëang on the north of the Ho; but he did not surrender any of this territory, any of these cities. Afterwards, when Tsin was suffering from scarcity, Ts'in sent grain to it; but when scarcity came to the lot of Ts'in, Tsin shut its markets, and would not allow the sale of grain. In consequence of all these things, the earl of Ts'in determined to invade Tsin.

'T'oo-foo, the diviner, consulted the milfoil about the expedition, *and said*, "A lucky response;—cross the Ho; the prince's chariots are defeated." The earl asked to have the thing more fully explained, and the diviner said, "It is very lucky. Thrice shall you defeat *his troops*, and finally capture the marquis of Tsin. The diagram found is Koo (☶ over ☴), of which it is said,

> 'The thousand chariots thrice are put
> to flight,
> What then remains you catch,—the
> one fox wight.'

That fox in Koo must be the marquis of Tsin. Moreover, the inner symbol of Koo (Sun, ☴) represents wind, the outer (Kin, ☶) represents hills. The season of the year is *now* the autumn. We blow down the fruits on the hill, and we take the trees;—it is plain we are to overcome. The fruit blown down, and the trees all taken;—what can this be but defeat to Tsin?"

'After three defeats *of Tsin*, the armies came to Han. The marquis said to K'ing Ch'ing, "The robbers have penetrated far; what is to be done?" "It is your lordship," replied Ch'ing, "who has brought them so far, and can you ask what is to be done?" "He is against me," said the marquis; and he proceeded to divine who should be *the spearman* upon his right. The response was for K'ing Ch'ing, but he would not employ him. Poo-yang acted as charioteer, and Këa Puh-t'oo was spearman on the right. The chariot was drawn by four small horses which had been presented by the earl of Ch'ing. K'ing Ch'ing said, "Anciently, on great occasions, the prince was required to use the horses born in his own State. Natives of the climate, and knowing the minds of the people, they are docile to instruction, and accustomed to the roads;—whithersoever they may be directed, they are obedient to their driver's will. Now for the fight that is before us, you are using horses of a different State. When they become afraid, they will

change *their usual way*, and go contrary to the will of their driver. When they become confused, they will get all excited. Their timorous blood will flush all their bodies, and their veins will everywhere stand out. Externally they will appear strong, but internally they will be exhausted. They will refuse to advance or retire; they will be unable to turn round. Your lordship is sure to repent employing them."

'The marquis paid no attention to this warning; and on the 9th month [*i.e.*, the 9th month of Hëa] he met the army of Ts'in, when he sent Han Këen to survey it. Këen reported, "Their army is smaller than ours, but their spirit for fighting is double ours." "For what reason?" asked the duke. "When you fled the State," returned the officer, "you sought the help of *Ts'in;* when you entered it again, it was *by Ts'in's* favour; and in our scarcity, you ate *Ts'in's* grain. Thrice did you receive Ts'in's benefits, and you made no return for them;—on this account its army is come. Now when we are about to come to blows, we are out of spirit and they are all ardour. To say their spirit is double ours is below the truth."

'The duke, *however*, said, "Even an ordinary man should not be made arrogant *by yielding to him;* how much less a State *like Ts'in*! On this he sent an offer of battle, saying, "Feeble as I am, I have assembled my multitudes, and cannot leave you. If you will not return *to your own State*, I will certainly not evade your commands." The earl of Ts'in sent Kung-sun Che with his reply, "Before your lordship entered your State, I was full of fears for you; when you had entered it and were not secure in its possession, I was still anxious about your position. But if that be now secure, dare I refuse to accept your commands?" Han Këen retired, saying, "We shall be fortunate if we only meet with captivity."

'On the day Jin-seuh, the battle was fought in the plain of Han. The horses of the marquis of Tsin's carriage turned aside into a slough, and stuck fast. The marquis shouted to K'ing Ch'ing, who replied, "Obdurate to remonstrance, and disobedient to the oracle, you obstinately sought for defeat; and would you now escape?" and left him. *In the meantime*, Han Këen, driven by Lëang Yëw-mei, and having Kwoh Yih on his right, met the earl of Ts'in, and was about to take him, when K'ing Ch'ing prevented him by sending him away to save the marquis. *In the end*, Ts'in took the marquis of Tsin prisoner, and carried him off. *Many of the* great officers of Tsin followed their prince, with dishevelled hair, and sleeping on the grass in the open air. The earl sent to decline their presence in such fashion, saying, "Why should you be so distressed? That I am accompanying your ruler to the west, is in fulfilment of that strange dream in Tsin [see the Chuen after X. 6]; I dare not proceed to extremities with him." The officers of Tsin did obeisance thrice with their heads to the ground, saying, "Your lordship treads the sovereign Earth, and has over your head the great Heaven. Great Heaven and sovereign Earth have heard your lordship's words. On your servants here below they come as the wind."

'When Muh Ke heard that the marquis of Tsin was approaching, she took her eldest son Yung, with *his brother* Hwang, and her daughters, Këen and Peih, and ascended a tower, treading as she went upon faggots [which she caused to be placed on the ground and steps]. She then sent a messenger, clad in the deepest mourning, to meet the earl, and to deliver to him her words, "High Heaven has sent down calamity, and made my two lords see each other, not with gems and silks, but with the instruments of war. If the marquis of Tsin come here in the morning, we die in the evening. If he come in the evening, we die in the morning. Let my lord consider the matter, and determine it." On this the earl lodged his prisoner in the Marvellous tower [See the She, III. i. VIII. Ts'in had come into possession of this tower, when it received the territory of K'e-chow]. The great officers begged leave to bring him *into the city*, but the earl said, "With the marquis of Tsin as my prisoner, I was returning as with great spoil; but the end may be that I return over *so many* deaths. How can I do so? Of what good would it be to you, my officers? Those men of Tsin, moreover, have been heavy on me with their distress and sorrow; I have bound myself by appealing to Heaven and Earth. If I do not consider kindly the sorrow of those men, I shall increase their anger; if I eat my words, I shall be false to Heaven and Earth. Their increased anger will be hard to endure; to be false to Heaven and Earth will be inauspicious. I must restore the marquis of Tsin." The Kung-tsze Chih said, "You had better put him to death, and not allow him to collect his resources for further mischief." Tsze-sang [Kung-sun Che] said, "Restore him, and get his eldest son here as a hostage;—this will lead to great results. Tsin is not yet to be extinguished, and if you put its ruler to death, the result will only be evil. Moreover, there are the words of the historiographer Yih, "Do not initiate misery; do not trust to the disorder *of others;* do not increase their anger. Increased anger is hard to endure; oppressive treatment is inauspicious."

'The earl *then* offeredTsin conditions of peace, and the marquis sent K'ëoh K'eih to tell Leu E-săng of Hëa, and to call him *to meet him*. Tsze-kin [the designation of Leu E-săng] instructed him *how to act*, saying, "Call the people of the State to the court, and reward them *as if* by command of the marquis, giving them also this message *as from him*, 'Although I may return to Tsin, our altars will be disgraced. Consult the tortoise-shell, and let Yu [the eldest son] take my place.'"

'All the people wept *on hearing these words;* and *E-săng proceeded to* take some lands of the marquis and appropriate them to reward the people, saying, "Our prince does not grieve for his own exile, but his sorrow is all for his subjects;—this is the extreme of kindness. What shall we do for our prince?" They all asked him what could be done, and he said, "Let us collect our revenues and look to our weapons, in order to support his young son. When the States hear of it, how, while we have lost one prince, we have another in his son, how we are all united and harmonious, and how our preparations for war are greater than before, those who love us will admire and encourage us, and those who hate us will fear:—this perhaps will be of advantage to our condition." The people were all pleased, and throughout the State, in every district, they prepared their weapons.

'Years before this, when duke Hëen of Tsin was divining by the milfoil about the marriage of his eldest daughter to *the earl of* Ts'in, he got the diagram Kwei-mei (䷵), and then the diagram K'wei (䷥). The historiographer Soo interpreted the indication, and said, "It is unlucky. The sentence [on the top line in Kwei-mei] is, 'The man cuts up his sheep, and there is no blood; the girl presents her basket, but there is no gift in it.' The neighbour on the west reproaches us for our words which cannot be made good. And Kwei-mei's becoming K'wei is the same as our getting no help *from the union.* For the symbol Chin (☳) to become Le (☲) is the same as for Le to become Chin; we have thunder and fire,—the Ying defeating the Ke. The connection between the carriage and its axle is broken; the fire burns the flags:—our military expeditions will be without advantage; there is defeat in Tsung-k'ëw. In Kwei-mei's becoming K'wei we have a solitary, and an enemy against whom the bow is bent [see the Yih, on the top line of the diagram K'wei. But it seems to me of no use trying to make out any principle of reason in passages like the present.] *Then* the nephew follows his aunt. In 6 years he makes his escape, He flies back to his State, abandoning his wife. Next year he dies in the wild of Kaou-lëang." When duke Hwuy came to be in Ts'in, he said, "If my father had followed the interpretation of the historiographer Soo, I should not have come to my present condition." Han Këen was by his side, and said, "The tortoise-shell gives its figures, and the milfoil its numbers. When things are produced, they have their figures; their figures go on to multiply; that multiplication goes on to numbers. Your father's violations of virtue were almost innumerable. Although he did not follow the interpretation of the historiographer Soo, how could that increase your misfortune? As the ode says (She II. ii. ode IX. 7):—

'The calamities of the inferior people
Do not come down from Heaven.
Fair words and hatred behind the back:—
The earnest, strong pursuit of this is from men.'"'

In this par. there appears for the 1st time in the text the great State of Ts'in, which went on till it displaced the dynasty of Chow in about 4 centuries from this time. Its lords were Yings (嬴), who claimed to be descended from the ancient emperor Chuen-hëuh, through Shun's minister Pih-e (伯益 or 翳). Fei-tsze (非子), 19th in descent from Pih-e, was appointed lord of the small attached territory of Ts'in [in pres. dis. Ts'ing-shwuy (清水), Ts'in Chow, in Kan-suh]. in B.C. 908, by king Hëaou. In B. C. 769, Ts'in became an independent earldom; and in 713, the ruling earl (duke Ning; 寧公) moved the capital to P'ing-yang [in dis. of Mei (郿), dep. Fung-ts'ëang, Shen-se]. In B. C. 676, another change was made to Yung (雍), in dis. of Fung-ts'ëang, which was the seat of its power at this time. Han was in Tsin,—in Hëae Chow, Shen-se.

[The Chuen continues its narrative of the relations between Tsin and Ts'in.—'In the 10th month, E-säng of Yin [Yin was another city, in addition to Hëa above, held by E-säng] from Tsin had a meeting with the earl of Ts'in, when they made a covenant in the old royal city. The earl asked whether they were united in Tsin, and the other replied, "We are not. The smaller people are ashamed at losing their ruler, and grieved at the death of their friends. They do not shrink from contributing their revenues, and getting their weapons in order, that they may sustain Yu; and they say, 'We must have vengeance on our foes. We had rather serve the Jung and the Teih than not have it.' Superior men love their ruler, while they know his transgressions. Neither do they shrink from contributing their revenues, and preparing their weapons, to be in readiness for the commands of Ts'in; and they say, 'We must repay the conduct of Ts'in. Though we die, we shall not swerve from this.' In this way there is not a harmony of views." The earl then asked what they said in the State about their marquis. E-sang said, "The inferior people are full of distress, saying he will not get off; but superior men, judging by their own estimate of things, think he is sure to return. The inferior people say, 'We have only injured Ts'in:—how should Ts'in restore our prince?' Superior men say, 'We know our transgressions;—Ts'in is sure to restore our prince. To take him prisoner because of his doubleness, and to let him go on his real submission:—what virtue could be greater than this? what punishment more awing? Those who submit to Ts'in will cherish the virtue; those who are disaffected will dread the punishment:—the presidency of Ts'in over the States may be secured by its conduct in this one case. You put him in the marquisate, but he was not secure in it; you have displaced him, and perhaps will not restore him:—this will be to turn your virtue into a cause of resentment. We do not think that Ts'in will act thus.'" The earl said, "This is also my view;" and he proceeded to change the place of the marquis's confinement, and lodged him in a public reception-house. He also sent him seven oxen, seven sheep, and seven pigs.

"*When the marquis was about to return*, Go Sih said to K'ing Ch'ing, "Had you not better go to another State?" K'ing replied, "I plunged our ruler into defeat; on his defeat I was unable to die. Should I now cause him to fail in punishing me, I should not play the part of a subject. A subject and yet not a subject, to what State should I go?"

"In the 11th month, the marquis of Tsin returned from Ts'in; on the day Ting-ch'ow he caused K'ing Ch'ing to be put to death, and then entered his capital.

'That same year, Tsin had again a scarcity, and the earl of Ts'in again supplied it with grain. saying, "I feel angry with its ruler, but I pity its people. I heard, moreover, that when T'ang-shuh was appointed to Tsin, the count of Ke said, 'His descendants are sure to become great.' How can I expect to annex Tsin? Let me meanwhile plant more deeply my virtue, and wait for a really able ruler to arise in Tsin." On this Ts'in for the first time appropriated the territory yielded by Tsin on the east of the Ho, and placed officers in charge of it.']

Sixteenth year.

一章 十有六年、春、王正月、戊申朔、隕石于宋五、是月、六鷁退飛、過宋都。

二章 三月、壬申、公子季友卒。

三章 夏、四月、丙申、鄫季姬卒。

四章 秋、七月、甲子、公孫茲卒。

五章 冬、十有二月、公會齊侯、宋公、陳侯、衞侯、鄭伯、許男、邢侯、曹伯、于淮。

左傳曰、十六年、春、隕石于宋五。隕星也。六鷁退飛、過宋都。風也。周內史叔興聘于宋、宋襄公問焉、曰、是何祥也、吉凶焉在。對曰、今茲魯多大喪、明年、齊有亂、君將得諸侯、而不終。退而告人曰、君失問、是陰陽之事、非吉凶所生也、吉凶由人、吾不敢逆君故也。

㊁夏、齊伐厲、不克、救徐而還。

㊂秋、狄侵晉、取狐廚、受鐸、涉汾、及昆都、因晉敗也。

㊃王以戎難告于齊、齊徵諸侯而戍周。

㊄冬、十一月、乙卯、鄭殺子華。十二月、會于淮、謀鄫、且東略也。城鄫、役人病、有夜登丘而呼、曰、齊有亂。不果城而還。

XVI. 1 In the [duke's] sixteenth year, in spring, in the king's first month, on Mow-shin, the first day of the moon, there fell stones in Sung,—five [of them]. In the same month, six fish-hawks flew backwards, past the capital of Sung.

2 In the third month, on Jin-shin, duke [Hwan's] son, Ke Yëw, died.

3 In summer, in the fourth month, on Ping-shin, the duke's youngest daughter—she of Tsăng—died.

4 In autumn, in the seventh month, on Këah-tsze, Kung-sun Tsze died.

5 In winter, in the twelfth month, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Ts'e, the duke of Sung, the marquis of Ch'in, the marquis of Wei, the earl of Ch'ing, the baron of Heu, the marquis of Hing, and the earl of Ts'aou in Hwae.

Par. 1. For 隕 Kung-yang has 賈. Tso-she says these stones were 'stars;' but that is merely his interpretation of the phænomenon. 隕=落, 'to fall from a height.' 鷁 is explained as 水鳥, 'a water-fowl;'—it is the fish hawk represented on the sterns of junks. The flying backwards of the six hawks was occasioned, acc. to Tso-she, by the wind, which was so strong that they could not make head against it, and were carried back, struggling, by its current. The 是月 between the two notices seems to be introduced merely to express that the strange flight of the hawks was not on the same day as the fall of the stones. Kung, Kuh, and the K'ang-he editors, all write nonsensically on this point.

The Chuen says:—'At this time, Shuh-hing, historiographer of the interior, was in Sung, on a visit of friendly inquiries from Chow, and duke Sëang asked him *about these strange appearances*, saying, "What are they ominous of? What good fortune or bad do they portend?" The historiographer replied, "This year there will be the deaths of many great persons of Loo. Next year Ts'e will be all in disorder. Your lordship will get the *presidency of the* States, but will not continue to hold it." When he retired, he said to some one, "The king asked me a wrong question. It is not from these developments of the *Yin* and *Yang* that good fortune and evil are produced. They are produced by men themselves. I answered as I did, because I did not venture to go against the duke's idea."'

Par. 2. See III. xxv. 6; xxvii 3; V. i. 9; *et al.* The K'ang-he editors foolishly agree here with Kung and Kuh in thinking that we have the 公子, the designation 季, and the name 友, all together, on purpose to express the sage's approval of the character of Ke Yëw.

Par. 3. See XIV. 2; XV. 9.

[The Chuen adds here:—'In summer, Ts'e invaded Le, but did not subdue it. Having relieved Seu, *however, the army* returned.' See p. 6 of last year.']

Par. 4. For 茲 Kung-yang has 慈. See V. iv. 8; v. 3. It may be added here that he was the son of Shuh-ya, whose death or murder appears in III. xxxii. 3.

[The Chuen adds here three brief notices:—

1st. 'In autumn, the Teih made an incursion into Tsin, and took Hoo-ch'oo, and Show-toh. They then crossed the Fun, and advanced to Kwun-too;—taking advantage of the defeat of Tsin *by Ts'in*.'

2d. 'The king sent word to Ts'e of the troubles *still raised* by the Jung, and Ts'e called out troops from the various States to guard Chow.'

3d. 'In winter, in the 11th month, on Yih-maou, Ch'ing put to death the earl's eldest son Hwa.' See VII. 4, and the Chuen there].

Par. 5. Hwae was in the present Sze Chow (泗州), Gan-hwuy, taking its name from the Hwae river. We have here for the first time the marquis of Hing present at these meetings of the States, and his place is given him after the earl of Ch'ing and the baron of Heu. This order is supposed to have been determined by the marquis of Ts'e. The Chuen says:—'This meeting was held to consult about Tsăng [which was hard pressed by the E of the Hwae], and to make a progress in the east. *It was proposed* to wall Tsăng, but the soldiers engaged in the service fell sick. Some one got on a mound in the night, and cried out, "There is disorder in Ts'e;" and so they returned without completing the work.' This was the last of the meetings called by the marquis of Ts'e as president of the States. From the 1st at Pih-hăng (III. xiii. 1) down to this, he had held eleven meetings of a pacific character (衣裳之會), and four prelusive of military operations (兵車之會). His influence declined after the meeting at K'wei-k'ëw (IX. 2). The fabric of his greatness had been reared more by Kwan Chung than himself. The minister was now gone, and the prince was soon to follow him, by a miserable end, and leave his own State a prey to years of confusion.

Seventeenth year.

一章 十有七年、春、齊人、徐人、伐英氏。

二章 夏、滅項。

三章 秋、夫人姜氏會齊侯于卞。

四章 九月、公至自會。

五章 冬、十有二月、乙亥、齊侯小白卒。

左傳曰、十七年、春、齊人爲徐伐英氏、以報婁林之役也。

㈠夏、晉大子圉爲質於秦、秦歸河東而妻之。惠公之在梁也、梁伯妻之、梁嬴孕過期、卜招父與其子卜之、其子曰、將生一男一女。招曰、然、男爲人臣、女爲人妾。故名男曰圉、女曰妾、及子圉西質、妾爲宦女焉。師滅項。淮之會、公有諸侯之事、未歸而取項、齊人以爲討、而止公。秋、聲姜以公故、會齊侯于卞、九月、公至。書曰至自會、猶有諸侯之事焉、且諱之也。齊侯之夫人三、王姬、徐嬴、蔡姬、皆無子。齊侯好內、多內寵、內嬖如夫人者六人、長衛姬、生武孟、少衛姬、生惠公、鄭姬生孝公、葛嬴生昭公、密姬生懿公、宋華子生公子雍。公與管仲屬孝公於宋襄公、以爲大子。雍巫有寵於衛共姬、因寺人貂以薦羞於公、亦有寵、公許之立武孟。管仲卒、五公子皆求立。冬、十月、乙亥、齊桓公卒。易牙入、與寺人貂因內寵以殺羣吏、而立公子無虧、孝公奔宋。十二月、乙亥、赴、辛巳、夜殯。

XVII. 1 In the [duke's] seventeenth year, in spring, a body of men from Ts‘e and a body from Seu invaded Ying-she.

2 In summer, we extinguished Hëang.

3 In autumn, the [duke's] wife, the lady Këang, had a meeting with the marquis of Ts‘e in P‘ëen.

4 In the ninth month, the duke arrived from the meeting [at Hwae].

5 In winter, in the twelfth month, on Yih-hae, Sëaou-pih, marquis of Ts‘e, died.

Par. 1. Ying-she was a small State, which acknowledged the jurisdiction of Ts‘oo,—in the present Chow of Luh-gan (六安), Gan-hwuy. In the west of the Chow, close on the borders of the district of Ying-shan (英山), is a city called Ying. This expedition was undertaken by Ts‘e in the interest of Seu, 'to avenge,' Tso says, 'the defeat of Seu by Ts‘oo at Low-lin,' in the duke's 15th year.

[The Chuen adds here:—'In summer, Yu, the eldest son of *the marquis of* Tsin, went as a hostage to Ts‘in, and Ts‘in restored the territory on the east of the Ho, *which had been ceded by Tsin*, giving also a wife to Yu. When duke Hwuy [the marquis of Tsin] was a refugee in Lëang, the earl of it gave him to wife Lëang Ying [Ying was the surname of the House of Lëang]. As she went in pregnancy beyond the usual time, the diviner, Shaou-foo, and his son, consulted the tortoise-shell about the matter. The son said, 'She will have both a boy and a girl.' 'Yes,' added the father, 'and the son will be another's subject, and the daughter will be a concubine.'On this account the boy was called Yu [a groom], and the girl was named Ts‘ëeh [concubine]. When Yu went a hostage to the west, Ts‘ëeh became a concubine *in the harem of Ts‘in*.']

Par. 2. Hëang was a small State—the name of which remains in the dis. of Hëang-shing (項城), dep. Ch‘in-chow (陳州), Ho-nan. Kung and Kuh both attribute the extinction of Hëang to Ts‘e, and the K‘ang-he editors defend their view ingeniously; but in that case 齊 would have appeared in the text. A notice like the present, without the name of another State preceding the verb, must always be understood of

Loo. The Chuen says:—'An army extinguished Hëang. At the meeting of Hwae, the duke was engaged with the other princes on the business before them; but, before he returned, he took Hëang. Ts'e thought it was matter for punishment, and detained the duke *as a prisoner.*' This account might have been more explicit. We cannot suppose that duke He himself left the conference at Hwae, and conducted the troops which extinguished Hëang. He had probably entrusted the expedition to one of his officers; and when the news of it reached the assembly, Ts'e was able to detain him as a prisoner. And yet it is not easy to understand how the princes should have remained so long at Hwae.

Par. 3. The wife of duke He was probably a daughter of the marquis of Ts'e;—see on XI. 2. Tso-she says:—'Shing Këang met the marquis of Ts'e at this time on the duke's account;' meaning, no doubt, that her object was to procure her husband's liberation. P'ëen was in Loo,—50 *le* east from the pres. dis. city of Sze-shwuy, dep. Yen-chow.

Par. 4. Tso says the wording of this par. intimates that, after the meeting at Hwae, there had been some business of the States, and conceals it; *i. e.*, it says nothing about the duke's having been kept a prisoner by Ts'e.

Par. 5. Sëaou-pih had thus had a long rule of 43 years. The Chuen says:—'The marquis of Ts'e had three wives:—a Ke of the royal House; a Ying of Seu; and a Ke of Ts'ae; but none of them had any son. The marquis loved a full harem, and had many favourites and concubines in it. There were six who were to him as wives:—the elder Ke of Wei, who bore Woo-măng [Măng is the 'elder;' Woo, the hon. title. This youth is commonly mentioned by his name Woo-k'wei (無虧)]; the younger Ke of Wei, who bore a son, who was *afterwards* duke Hwuy; a Ke of Ch'ing, who bore a son, *afterwards* duke Hëaou; a Ying of Koh, who bore a son, *afterwards* duke Ch'aou; a Ke of Meih, who bore a son, *afterwards* duke E; a Tsze of the Hwa clan of Sung, who bore a son, called Tsze-yung.

'The marquis and Kwan Chung had given him who was afterwards duke Hëaou in charge to duke Sëang of Sung, as the intended heir of the State. Woo, the chief cook, however, had favour with Kung Ke of Wei [the elder Ke of Wei above], and by means of Tëaou, the chief of the eunuchs, who introduced his viands to the marquis, he had favour with him also, and obtained a promise from him that Woo-măng should be his successor. On the death of Kwan Chung, five *of the six* sons all begged to be declared heir. When the marquis died on Yih-hae of the 10th month, Yih-ya [the designation of Woo the cook] entered *the palace*, and along with the eunuch Tëaou, by the help of the favoured officers of the interior, put all the other officers to death, and set up Woo-k'wei in his father's place, the brother who was afterwards duke Hëaou fleeing to Sung. The date of the marquis's death, as communicated to Loo, was Yih-hae; but it was the night of Sin-sze [67 days after] before his body was put into a coffin at night, *such was the disorder and confusion.*

Eighteenth year.

一章 十有八年、春、王正月、宋公、曹伯、衞人、邾人、伐齊。

二章 夏、師救齊。

三章 五月、戊寅、宋師及齊師、戰于甗、齊師敗績。

四章 狄救齊。

五章 秋、八月、丁亥、葬齊桓公。

六章 冬、邢人、狄人、伐衞。

左傳曰、十八年、春、宋襄公以諸侯伐齊。三月、齊人殺無虧。

⨸鄭伯始朝于楚、楚子賜之金、既而悔之、與之盟、曰、無以鑄兵。故以鑄三鐘。

齊人將立孝公、不勝四公子之徒、遂與宋人戰。夏五月、宋敗齊師于甗、立孝公而還。

秋、八月、葬齊桓公。

冬、邢人、狄人伐衛、圍菟圃、衛侯以國讓父兄子弟及朝衆曰、苟能治之、燬請從焉。衆不可、而後師于訾婁、狄師還。

⨸梁伯益其國、而不能實也、命曰新里、秦取之。

XVIII. 1 In the [duke's] eighteenth year, in spring, in the king's first month, the duke of Sung, the earl of Ts'aou, an officer of Wei, and an officer of Choo invaded Ts'e.

2 In summer, an army [of ours went to] relieve Ts'e.

3 In the fifth month, on Mow-yin, the army of Sung and the army of Ts'e fought at Yen, when the latter was disgracefully defeated.

4 The Teih [came to] succour Ts'e.

5 In autumn, in the eighth month, on Ting-hae, there was the burial of duke Hwan of Ts'e.

6 In winter, a body of men from Hing and a body of the Teih invaded Wei.

Par. 1. Kung-yang, as usual, for 邾 has 邾婁, and also introduces 會 after 公. The object of this movement on the part of Sung was to fulfil the charge which the duke had received from the marquis of Ts'e, to secure the succession to his son Ch'aou, or duke Hëaou. Tso says:—'Duke Sëang of Sung with *several* other princes invaded Ts'e; and in the 3d month, the people of Ts'e put Woo-k'wei to death.'

[The Chuen appends here:—'The earl of Ch'ing for the first time paid a court-visit to Ts'oo, the viscount of which gave him a quantity of metal. Afterwards he repented that he had done so, and made a covenant with the earl, when he required him not to use it for casting weapons. In consequence the earl made with it three bells.']

Par. 2. If this interference on the part of Loo was intended to support Woo-k'wei, it was too late. Maou thinks it may have been in the interest of P'wan (潘), who was afterwards duke Ch'aou, and was married to a daughter of duke He. Tso says that the entry indicates approval of the movement. This par., and p. 4 below, show how indefinite the meaning of 救 sometimes is.

Par. 3. Yen was in Ts'e,—in the pres. dis. of Leih-shing (歷城), dep. Tse-nan. The Chuen says:—'The people of Ts'e wanted to raise duke Hëaou to the marquisate, but could not overcome *the opposition of* the adherents of duke Hwan's other four sons [only four, Woo-k'wei being now dead], who then *left the city* and fought with the men of Sung. These defeated their army in Yen, raised duke Hëaou to the marquisate, and returned to their own State.' It would appear that the combined force mentioned in p. 1 had dispersed on the elevation of Woo-k'wei, and that the troops of Loo had also left Ts'e. In this action, therefore, only the army of Sung was engaged. It had been suddenly called again into the field.

Par. 4. These Teih had probably been called to their aid by the four sons of the late marquis, who were struggling against their brother, the *protegé* of Sung.

Par. 5. An interval of 11 months thus occurred between the death of duke Hwan and his burial,—owing to the disorder and contests in the State. Duke Hëaou interred him magnificently and barbarously on the top of the Nëw-show (牛首) hill.

Par. 6. Not long before this, both Hing and Wei had been brought to the verge of extinction by the Teih; and yet here we find Hing allied with the Teih against Wei. We need not wonder at the subsequent fate of Hing at the hands of Wei. The Chuen says:—'In winter, a body of men from Hing, and a body of the Teih, invaded Wei, and invested T'oo-p'oo. The marquis of Wei offered to resign in favour of any one of his uncles or brothers, or of their sons. Yea, having assembled all his officers at court, he said, "If any one is able to deal with the enemy, I, Hwuy, will glady follow him." All declined *the proffered dignity, however*, and the marquis after-

wards took up a position with his army at Tsze-leu, when the army of the Teih withdrew.'

Here for the first time, instead of the simple 狄, we have 狄人, in which expression Kuh-leang, who has had many followers of his view, saw an increasing appreciation of the Teih in the mind of Confucius. But there is really nothing more in the addition of the 人 than the exigency of the style, as 邢人, followed merely by 狄, would be very awkward.

[The Chuen adds:—'The earl of Lëang increased the number of his walled cities, and had not people to fill them. *One* went by the name of Sin-le, and Ts'in took it.']

Nineteenth year.

一章 十有九年、春、王三月、宋人執滕子嬰齊。

二章 夏、六月、宋公、曹人、邾人盟于曹南。

三章 鄫子會盟于邾。

四章 己酉、邾人執鄫子、用之。

五章 秋、宋人圍曹。

六章 衞人伐邢。

七章 冬、會陳人、蔡人、楚人、鄭人盟于齊。

八章 梁亡。

㊀左傳曰、十九年、春、遂城而居之。

宋人執滕宣公。

夏、宋公使邾文公用鄫子于次睢之社、欲以屬東夷。司馬子魚曰、古者六畜不相爲用、小事不用大牲、而况敢用人乎、祭祀以爲人也、民、神之主也、用人、其誰饗之、齊桓公存三亡國、以屬諸侯、義士猶曰薄德、今一會而虐二國之君、又用諸淫昏之鬼、將以求霸、不亦難乎、得死爲幸。

秋、衞人伐邢、以報菟圃之役、於是衞大旱、卜有事於山川、不吉。甯莊子

曰、昔周饑、克殷而年豐、今邢方無道、諸侯無伯、天其或者欲使衞討邢乎。從之、師與而雨。宋人圍曹、討不服也。子魚言於宋公曰、文王聞崇德亂而伐之、軍三旬而不降、退修教而復伐之、因壘而降、詩曰、刑于寡妻、至于兄弟、以御于家邦、今君德無乃猶有所闕、而以伐人、若之何、盍姑內省德乎、無闕而後動。陳穆公請修好於諸侯、以無忘齊桓之德。冬、盟于齊、修桓公之好也。

梁亡。不書其主、自取之也。初梁伯好土功、亟城而弗處、民罷而弗堪、則曰、某寇將至、乃溝公宮、曰、秦將襲我。民懼而潰、秦遂取梁。

XIX. 1 In the [duke's] nineteenth year, in spring, in the king's third month, the people of Sung seized Ying-ts'e, viscount of T'ăng.

2 In summer, in the sixth month, the duke of Sung, an officer of Ts'aou, and an officer of Choo, made a covenant in the south of Ts'aou.

3 The viscount of Tsăng met and covenanted [with them] in Choo.

4 On Ke-yëw, the people of Choo seized the viscount of Tsăng, and used him [as a victim].

5 In autumn, a body of men from Sung invested [the capital of] Ts'aou.

6 A body of men from Wei invaded Hing.

7 In winter, [the duke] had a meeting with an officer of Ch'in, an officer of Ts'ae, an officer of Ts'oo, and an officer of Ch'ing, when they made a covenant in Ts'e.

8 Lëang perished.

[The Chuen, resuming the brief narrative at the end of last year, adds that, in the duke's 19th year, in spring, 'Ts'in proceeded to wall the place which it had taken, and occupied it.']

Par. 1. The Chuen says nothing to explain why Sung made this seizure of the viscount of T'ăng. Its words are merely, 'The people of Sung seized duke Seuen of T'ăng.' The duke of Sung is understood to be intended by 宋人; and the use of 人 is supposed to be condemnatory of the procedure. But Maou shows that such a canon for the use of 人, in the accounts of seizures, cannot be applied all through the Classic. The adding the name of the viscount of T'ăng is supposed by Hoo Gan-kwoh and a host of other critics to be condemnatory of him; but even the K'ang-he editors reject the view.

Par. 2. Kung-yang has 宋人 instead of 宋公, and of course 邾婁 for 邾. The proper reading, however, is that of the text. The duke of Sung was ambitious to continue the presidency of Hwan of Ts'e, and had tried to get a large gathering of the princes to this covenant. But not one was present. Even the earl of Ts'aou, in whose State the place of meeting was, did not appear in person; and was negligent also, it appears, in sending the supplies of provisions for the covenanting parties; which the lord of the State where they met was always expected to contribute.

Parr. 3,5. The viscount of Tsăng came too late for the covenant in Ts'aou. Whether he had been minded from the first to come, but been detained; or had been summoned, as Maou supposes, by a special message sent from Ts'aou by the duke of Sung, and yet after all been too late, we do not know. However, too late he was; but, being fearful probably of the consequences, he followed some at least of the covenanters to Choo, and would appear there, from p. 3, to have taken the covenant. This did not avail, however, to save him from a terrible fate. Too says, 用之言若用畜牲, 'The word

used means that they used him as an animal victim.' The thing was done by Choo at the command of the duke of Sung. The Chuen narrates:—'The duke of Sung made duke Wăn of Choo sacrifice the viscount of Tsăng at an altar on the bank of the Suy, to awe and draw to him the wild tribes of the east. The duke's minister of War, Tsze-yu [the duke's brother, Muh-e; (see the Chuen at the end of the 8th year, and of the 9th)], said, "Anciently, the six domestic animals were not used at the same sacrifice; for small affairs they did not use great victims:—how much less would they have presumed to use human beings! Sacrifices are offered for the benefit of men. Men are the hosts of the Spirits at them. If you sacrifice a man, who will enjoy it? Duke Hwan of Ts'e preserved three perishing States, and thereby drew all the princes to him; and yet righteous scholars say that his virtue was too slight. But now our lord, at his first assembling of the princes, has treated with oppression the rulers of two States, and has further used one of them in sacrifice to an unlicensed and irregular Spirit;—will it not be difficult to get the presidency of the States in this way? If he die a natural death, he will be fortunate.'

I must add here that Kuh-lëang gives a much mitigated meaning of the 用, 'used,' thinking that all which it denotes is that they struck the viscount of Tsăng on the nose till it bled, and then smeared all the sacrificial vessels with the blood!

Par. 5. The Chuen says:—'This attack of Ts'aou was to punish it for its not submitting *to Sung*. Tsze-yu said to the duke of Sung, "King Wăn heard that the marquis of Ts'ung had abandoned himself to disorder, and invaded his State; but after he had been in the field for 30 days, the marquis tendered no submission. Wăn therefore withdrew; and, after cultivating afresh the lessons of virtue, he again invaded Ts'ung, when the marquis made submission before he had quitted his entrenchments. As is said in the She (III. i. ode VI. 2),

'His example acted on his wife,
Extended to his brothers,
And was felt by all the clans and
States.'

May it not be presumed that the virtue of your Grace is in some respects defective; and if, while it is so, you attack others, what will the result be? Why not for a time give yourself to self-examination and the cultivation of virtue? You may then proceed to move, when that is without defect."'

Par. 6. The Chuen says:—'This attack of Hing was in return for the siege of T'oo-p'oo [see on p. 6 of last year]. At this time there was a great drought in Wei, and the marquis divined by the tortoise-shell whether he should sacrifice to the hills and rivers, and obtained an unfavourable reply. The officer Ning Chwang [莊 is the hon. title] said, "Formerly there was a scarcity in Chow; but after the conquest of Yin there ensued an abundant year. Now Hing acts without any regard to principle, and there is no leader among the princes. May not Heaven be wishing to employ Wei to punish Hing?" The marquis followed his advice; and immediately after the army was in motion, it rained.'

Par. 7. Kung has 公 before 會; and it is probable that duke He himself was present at this meeting. If he were not there himself, he must have been represented by one of his great officers. The meeting is important as the first general assembly of northern States, to which Ts'oo sent its representative. The account of the conference given by Tso-she is:—'Duke Muh of Ch'in asked that a good understanding should be cultivated between the princes of the various States, and that they should not forget the virtue and services of Hwan of Ts'e. In the winter, they made a covenant in Ts'e, and renewed their good fellowship under Hwan.' But what good fellowship had Ts'oo had with the States of the north under the presidency of Ts'e? The meeting was held most likely to consult how to meet the ambition of the duke of Sung, against whom we shall presently find Ts'oo taking most decided part. Indeed, Këang Ping-chang supposes that the meeting was called by Ch'in at Ts'oo's instigation.

Par. 8. The Chuen says:—"Lëang perished;—'it is not said at whose hands:—it brought the ruin on itself. Before this, the earl of Lëang had been fond of building, walling cities which he had not people to fill. The people in consequence got weary, and could not endure the toil, and it was said, "Such and such an enemy is coming." When they were roofing the duke's palace, they said, "Ts'in will take us by surprise." They got frightened, and dispersed; and forthwith Ts'in took Lëang.'

Twentieth year

一章 二十年、春、新作南門。

二章 夏、郜子來朝。

三章 五月、乙巳、西宮災。

四章 鄭人入滑。

五章 秋、齊人、狄人、盟于邢。

六章 冬、楚人伐隨。

左傳曰、二十年、春、新作南門。書不時也、凡啟塞從時。滑人叛鄭、而服於衞、夏、鄭公子士洩堵寇、帥師入滑。秋、齊狄盟于邢、爲邢謀衞難也、於是衞方病邢。隨以漢東諸侯叛楚。冬、楚鬬穀於菟帥師伐隨、取成而還。君子曰、隨之見伐、不量力也、量力而動、其過鮮矣、善敗由己、而由人乎哉、詩曰、豈不夙夜、謂行多露。㊀宋襄公欲合諸侯、臧文仲聞之曰、以欲從人、則可、以人從欲、鮮濟。

XX. 1 In his twentieth year, in spring, [the duke] renewed and altered the south gate [of the capital].

2 In summer, the viscount of Kaou came [to Loo] on a court-visit.

3 In the fifth month, on Yih-sze, the western palace was burnt.

4 A body of men from Ch'ing entered Hwah.

5 In autumn, an officer of Ts'e and an officer of the Teih made a covenant in Hing.

6 In winter, a body of men from Ts'oo invaded Suy.

Par. 1. This was the 'southern gate' of the capital, as in the translation (南門,魯城南門也). Before this, it was, acc. to Too Yu, called the Tseih gate (稷), but after the alterations now made, it got the name of Kaou mun, or High gate (高門). 新 indicates the substitution of a new gate for the old one, (言新以易舊), and 作 indicates that the new gate was on a difft. plan from the old (所修有舊制而今又稍變之,則曰作). The Chuen says that the record of this trasaction was made to show its unseasonableness, adding that all works for opening communication [such as gates, roads, and bridges], or for closing it [such as walls and moats], should be undertaken as they were required. Tso-she's idea, of course, is that this was a work of ornament more than of necessity, and that the season of the year for such an undertaking had gone by.

Par. 2. This Kaou was a small State in the pres. dis. of Shing-woo, dep. Ts'aou-chow. As we learn from the Chuen on XXIV. 2, it was held by the descendants of one of king Wăn's sons. Nothing is heard of it before or after the trivial incident in the text.

Par. 3. 災,—see II. xiv. 4: III. xx. 2. What building is here spoken of is not well known. Kuh's opinion that it was the temple or shrine-house of duke Min has been exploded. Some portion of the harem is probably intended.

Par. 4. Hwah,—see III iii. 5. The Chuen says:—'The people of Hwah had revolted from Ch'ing, and submitted to Wei; and this summer, Sze, a son of the earl of Ch'ing, and Sëëh Too-k'ow led a force and entered its *chief city*.'

Par. 5. Tso-she says that 'this covenant was in the interest of Hing, to consult about the difficulties it was in from Wei, which was then much distressing Hing.' We have seen the Teih and Hing leagued against Wei in XVIII. 6; and the same year, Wei had taken part in the invasion of Ts'e.

Par. 6. The name of Suy still remains in Suy Chow dep. of Tih-gan (德安) Hoo-pih. It was a marquisate, and its lords were Kes (姬). The Chuen says:—'Suy, with the various States east of the Han, had revolted from Ts'oo; and this winter, Now Too-woo-t'oo left Ts'oo, led a force against it, accepted its proffers of submission, and returned. The superior man may say that Suy suffered this invasion, because it had not measured its strength. The errors of those who move only after they have measured their strength are few. Do success and defeat come from one's-self or from others? The answer is in the words of the She [I. ii. ode VI. 1],

"Might I not have been there in the early morning?
But there was too much dew on the path."

[The Chuen adds here:—'Duke Sëang of Sung wished to call together the princes, and unite them under himself. Tsang Wăn-chung heard of it, and said, 'He may succeed who curbs his own desires to follow the views of others; but he will seldom do so who tries to make others follow his desires.']

Twenty-first year.

一章 二十有一年、春、狄侵衞。

二章 宋人、齊人、楚人盟于鹿上。

三章 夏、大旱。

四章 秋、宋公、楚子、陳侯、蔡侯、鄭伯、許男、曹伯會于盂、執宋公以伐宋。

五章 冬、公伐邾。

六章 楚人使宜申來獻捷。

七章 十有二月、癸丑、公會諸侯、盟于薄、釋宋公。

左傳曰、二十一年、春、宋人爲鹿上之盟、以求諸侯於楚、楚人許之、公子目夷曰、小國爭盟、禍也、宋其亡乎、幸而後敗。夏、大旱、公欲焚巫尪、臧文仲曰、非旱備也、脩城郭、貶食省用、務穡勸分、此其務也、巫尪何爲、天欲殺之、則如勿生、若能爲旱、焚之滋甚、公從之、是歲也、饑而不害。秋、諸侯會宋公于盂、子魚曰、禍其在此乎、君欲已甚、其何以堪之、於是楚執宋公以伐宋、冬、會于薄、以釋之、子魚曰、禍猶未也、未足以懲君。(÷)任、宿、須句、顓臾、風姓也、實司大皞與有濟之祀、以服事諸夏、邾人滅須句、須句子來奔、因成風也、成風爲之言於公曰、崇明祀、保小寡、周禮也、蠻夷猾夏、周禍也、若封須句、是崇皞濟、而脩祀紓禍也。

XXI. 1 In the [duke's] twenty-first year, in spring, the Teih made an incursion into Wei.

2 An officer of Sung, an officer of Ts'e, and an officer of Ts'oo, made a covenant at Luh-shang.

3 In summer, there was great drought.

4 In autumn, the duke of Sung, the viscount of Ts'oo, the marquis of Ch'in, the marquis of Ts'ae, the earl of

Ch'ing, the baron of Heu, and the earl of Ts'aou, had a meeting in Yu, when the others seized the duke of Sung, and went on to invade Sung.

5 In winter, the duke invaded Choo.

6 The people of Ts'oo sent E-shin to Loo, to present [some of the] spoils [of Sung.]

7 In the twelfth month, on Kwei-ch'ow, the duke had a meeting with [several of] the princes, when they made a covenant in Poh, and liberated the duke of Sung.

Par. 1. This incursion was, no doubt, in the interests of Hing, and a sequel of the covenant between the Teih and Ts'e in p. 5 of last year.

Par. 2. Luh-shang was in Sung,—in the pres. dis. of T'ae-ho (太和), dep. Ying-chow. Gan-hwuy. Tso-she says:—'The idea of this covenant originated with Sung, and the object in it of the duke of Sung was to ask the States from Ts'oo [*i.e.* to ask Ts'oo to cede its influence over the various States to Sung]. Ts'oo granted the request, when Muh-e, the duke's brother, said, "A small State is sure to bring calamity on itself by striving for the power of commanding covenants;—is Sung now going on to perish? We shall be fortunate if there ensue defeat only.' Hoo Ning (胡寧; Sung dyn., a little earlier than Choo He), Woo Ch'ing, and the critics generally, suppose that the princes of the States are intended by 人; but such a view lands the translator of the Classic in inextricable difficulties. Why should the princes be reduced to 'men,' simply in this par., and then have their titles given to them in p. 4? Too Yu observes that 宋人, preceding 齊人, shows that the meeting and covenant originated with Sung.

Par. 3. Too observes that the language intimates that the drought continued after the usual sacrifice for rain (雩) had been presented; and Ying-tah expands the remark by saying that in the Classic we have sometimes the entry 雩, and sometimes 旱; that in the former case the sacrifice has been followed by rain, while in the latter the drought continues. The Chuen says:—'The duke wished, *in consequence of the drought*, to burn a witch and a person much emaciated. Ts'ang Wăn-chung said to him, "That is not the proper preparation in a time of drought. Put in good repair your walls, the inner and the outer; lessen your food; be sparing in all your expenditure. Be in earnest to be economical, and encourage people to help one another;—this is the most important preparation. What have the witch and the emaciated person to do with the matter? If Heaven wish to put them to death, it had better not have given them life. If they can really produce drought, to burn them will increase the calamity." The duke followed his advice; and that year, the scarcity was not very great.' [In the Le Ke, II. Pt. II. iii. 29, there is an account of exposing in the sun, in a time of drought, a 尫, or person in a state of emaciation (瘠病之人), with the hope that Heaven would have pity on him, and send down rain.]

Par. 4. Yu was in Sung,—in the pres. Suy Chow (睢州), dep. Kwei-tih, Ho-nan. Kung-yang has 霍, and Kuh-lëang has 雩. The Chuen says:—'In autumn, the princes had a meeting with the duke of Sung in Yu. Tsze-yu said, "Shall our calamity come now? The duke's ambition is excessive;—how can he sustain the difficulties of his position?" At this meeting, Ts'oo seized the duke, and went on to invade Sung.' I believe the seizure of the duke of Sung was made by Ts'oo; but the text leaves the matter quite indefinite;—if we are to make all the princes named the subject of 執, then the duke would be one of his own captors. Kung-yang says absurdly that the viscount of Ts'oo is not named, because the sage would not seem to sanction the capture of a prince of China by a barbarian! The K'ang-he editors approve of the solution of Chaou K'wang and others, that the indefiniteness is to blame the other princes for not interfering to prevent the outrage. Much more natural is it to suppose that, while Ts'oo was the principal, the other States were 'art and part' in the transaction,—well pleased to see the ambitious pretensions of the duke thus *snuffed out*.

Par. 5. The Chuen says:—'Jin, Suh, Seu-k'eu, and Chuen-yu, were all held by lords of the surname Fung (風), who presided over the sacrifices to T'ae-haou [Fuh-he], and the sacrifice to *the Spirit* of the Tse, *thus* rendering service to the bright great land. The people of Choo had extinguished Sen-k'eu, the prince of which came as a fugitive to Loo, and threw himself on Ch'ing Fung, who spoke in his behalf to the duke, saying, 'It is the rule of Chow to honour the bright sacrifices, and to protect the little and the few; and it is misery to Chow, when the barbarous tribes disturb the bright great land. If you re-instate Sen-k'eu, you will do honour to the sacrifices to Haou and to *the Spirit of* the Tse, and by restoring them you will remove the calamity."

Par. 6. See III. xxxi. 4. It here appears that the viscount of Ts'oo was the principal in the seizure of the duke of Sung. 宋 must be supplied before 捷. 人 is to be translated, as in many previous passages, by 'people.'

Par. 7. Poh was in Sung,—in the north-west of pres. dis. of Shang-k'ëw, dep. Kwei-tih. The Chuen says, that 'with reference to this meeting, Tsze-yu said, "Our calamity has not yet come. What has happened is not enough to be a warning to the duke."' Too says that this meeting was not called at the duke's instance, but that he happened to hear of it, and went to it. By 諸侯 we are to understand the princes in p.4.

Twenty-second year.

一章 二十有二年、春、公伐邾、取須句。

二章 夏、宋公、衞侯、許男、滕子、伐鄭。

三章 秋、八月、丁未、及邾人戰于升陘。

四章 冬、十有一月、己巳、朔、宋公及楚人戰于泓、宋師敗績。

左傳曰、二十二年、春、伐邾、取須句。反其君焉、禮也。

三月、鄭伯如楚。夏、宋公伐鄭、子魚曰、所謂禍在此矣。

⨸初平王之東遷也、辛有適伊川、見被髮而祭於野者、曰、不及百年、此其戎乎、其禮先亡矣。秋、秦晉遷陸渾之戎于伊川。

⨸晉大子圉爲質於秦、將逃歸、謂嬴氏曰、與子歸乎。對曰、子、晉大子、而辱于秦、子之欲歸、不亦宜乎、寡君之使婢子侍執巾櫛、以固子也、從子而歸、棄君命也、不敢從、亦不敢言。遂逃歸。

⨸富辰言於王曰、請召大叔、詩曰、協比其鄰、昏姻孔云、吾兄弟之不協、焉能怨諸侯之不睦。王說。王子帶自齊復歸于京師、王召之也。

邾人以須句故、出師、公卑邾、不設備而禦之、臧文仲曰、國無小、不可易也、無備、雖衆不可恃也、詩曰、戰戰兢兢、如臨深淵、如履薄冰、又曰、敬之敬之、天維顯思、命不易哉、先王之明德、猶無不難也、無不懼也、況我小國乎、君其無謂邾小、蠭蠆有毒、而況國乎。弗聽、八月丁未、公及邾師戰于升陘、我師敗績、邾人獲公冑、縣諸魚門。

楚人伐宋以救鄭。宋公將戰、大司馬固諫曰、天之棄商久矣、君將興之、弗可赦也已。弗聽。冬、十一月、己巳朔、宋公及楚人戰于泓、宋人既成列、楚人未既濟、司馬曰、彼衆我寡、及其未既濟也、請擊之。

公曰、不可。既濟而未成列、又以告、公曰、未可。既陳而後擊之、宋師敗績、公傷股、門官殲焉。國人皆咎公。公曰、君子不重傷、不禽二毛、古之爲軍也、不以阻隘也、寡人雖亡國之餘、不鼓不成列。子魚曰、君未知戰、勍敵之人、隘而不列、天贊我也、阻而鼓之、不亦可乎、猶有懼焉、且今之勍者、皆吾敵也、雖及胡耇、獲則取之、何有於二毛、明恥教戰、求殺敵也、傷未及死、如何勿重、若愛重傷、則如勿傷、愛其二毛、則如服焉、三軍以利用也、金鼓以聲氣也、利而用之、阻隘可也、聲盛致志、鼓儳可也。

㊂丙子晨、鄭文夫人羋氏、姜氏、勞楚子於柯澤、楚子使師縉示之俘馘。君子曰、非禮也、婦人送迎不出門、見兄弟不踰閾、戎事不邇女器。丁丑、楚子入饗于鄭、九獻、庭實旅百、加籩豆六品、饗畢、夜出、文羋送于軍、取鄭二姬以歸、叔詹曰、楚王其不沒乎、爲禮卒于無別、無別、不可謂禮、將何以沒、諸侯是以知其不遂霸也。

XXII. 1 In his twenty-second year, the duke invaded Choo, and took Seu-k'eu.

2 In summer, the duke of Sung, the marquis of Wei, the baron of Heu, and the viscount of T'ăng, invaded Ch'ing.

3 In autumn, in the eighth month, on Ting-we, we fought with an army of Choo at Shing-hing.

4 In winter, in the eleventh month, on Ke-sze, the first day of the moon, the duke of Sung fought with an army of Ts'oo near the Hung, when the army of Sung was disgracefully defeated.

Par. 1. Seu-k'eu was a small State, whose lords were Fungs, with the rank of viscount, purporting to be descended from Fuh-he,—in the pres. Tung-p'ing Chow, dep. T'ae-gan. See the Chuen on p. 5 of last year. Tso-she says here that 'the duke took Seu-k'eu, and restored its ruler,—which was according to rule.' The text says nothing, indeed, of Loo's re-establishment of Seu-k'eu; but we find Loo again taking it, in VI. vii. 2; so that Tso-she's account of what was now done must be correct.

Par. 2. The Chuen says:—'In the 3d month, the earl of Ch'ing went to Ts'oo; and in summer, the duke of Sung invaded Ch'ing. Tsze-yu said, "What I call our calamity will be brought about by this expedition."' His seizure in the past year had not taught the duke of Sung the folly of matching himself against Ts'oo, which he could not but know would resent this attack of Ch'ing.

[The Chuen appends here three narratives:—1st. When king P'ing removed from the old capital of Chow to the east, Sin Yëw happened to go to E-ch'uen, and saw there a man sacrificing in the wilderness with dishevelled hair. "Before a hundred years are expired," said he, "I fear this place will be occupied by the Jung. The proper rules of ceremony are already lost in it." This autumn, Ts'in and Tsin removed the Jung of Luh-hwăn to E-chuen.'—But more than a hundred years from the removal to the eastern capital had elapsed.

2d. 'Yu, the eldest son of the marquis of Tsin was a hostage in Ts'in, and wished to make his escape and return to Tsin.' He said to his wife, the lady Ying, "Shall I take you with me?" But she replied, 'You are the eldest son of Tsin, and here you are, the subject of disgrace. It is right that you should wish to return to your own State; but your handmaid was appointed by the ruler of Ts'in to wait on you and hold your towel and comb, to assure you and ensure your stay. Should I follow you to Tsin, I shall be setting at nought his command. I dare not follow you, but neither

dare I tell of your intention." On this the prince made his escape *alone* to Tsin.'

3d. 'Foo Shin spoke to the king, saying, "Let me entreat you to recall T'ae-shuh [who had fled to Ts'e. See the Chuen after XII. 3]. It is said in the She [II. iv. ode VIII. 12].

'They assemble their neighbours,
And their relatives are full of their praise.'

If brothers among ourselves cannot agree, how can we murmur at the want of harmony among the princes of the States?" The king was pleased, and king Hwuy's son Tae [T'ae-shuh] returned from Ts'e, and was restored to his rank, the king having called him.]'

Par. 3. Shing-hing was in Loo, but its position has not been precisely determined. The Chuen says:—'The people of Choo, because of the affair of Seu-k'eu, came out against us with an army, and the duke set about meeting it, despising Choo, and without preparation. Tsang Wăn-chung said, "However small a State be, it is not to be slighted; and if preparations be not made, however numerous a force be, it is not to be relied on. It is said in the She (II. v. ode I. 6),

'We should be apprehensive and careful,
As if we were on the brink of a deep gulf,
As if we were treading on thin ice;'

and again (She, IV. i. Pt. iii. ode III.),

'Let me be reverent, let me be reverent;
Heaven's method is clear,—
Its appointment is not easily preserved.'

Intelligent as the ancient kings were, they constantly saw difficulties to be overcome and dangers to be feared; how much more should a small State like ours do so! Let not your lordship think of Choo as small. Bees and scorpions carry poison;—much more will a State do so!" The duke would not listen to this remonstrance, and in the 8th month, on Ting-we, he fought with Choo at Shing-hing, when our army was disgracefully defeated. The people of Choo captured the duke's helmet, and suspended it over their Fish gate.'

From the Chuen we learn that Loo was here shamefully beaten; but the text says nothing about that. This is another instance of the strange reticence of Confucius.

Par. 4. Hung was the name of a river. The site of the battle is referred to a spot, 30 *le* north of the dis. city of Chay-shing (柘 城), dep. Kwei-tih. The Chuen says:—'An army of Ts'oo invaded Sung, in order to relieve Ch'ing. The duke of Sung being minded to fight, his minister of War remonstrated strongly with him, saying, "Heaven has long abandoned the House of Shang [Sung was the conservator of the Shang sacrifices]. Your Grace may wish to raise it again, but *such opposition to Heaven* will be unpardonable." The duke, however, would not listen to advice, and in winter, in the 11th month, on Ke-sze, the 1st day of the moon, he fought with the army of Ts'oo near the Hung.

'The men of Sung were all drawn up for battle, before those of Ts'oo had all crossed the river; and the minister of War said to the duke, "They are many, and we are few. Pray let us attack them, before they have all crossed over." The duke refused; and again, when the minister asked leave to attack them after they had crossed, but when they were not yet drawn up, he refused, waiting till they were properly marshalled before he commenced the attack.

'The army of Sung was shamefully defeated; one of the duke's thighs was hurt; and the warders of the gates [keepers of the palace gates, who had followed the duke to the field] were all slain. The people of the State all blamed the duke, but he said, "The superior man does not inflict a second wound, and does not take prisoner any one of gray hairs. When the ancients had their armies in the field, they would not attack an enemy when he was in a defile; and though I am but the poor representative of a fallen dynasty, I would not sound my drums to attack an unformed host." Tsze-yu, [the minister of War], said, 'Your Grace does not know the rules of fighting:—Given a strong enemy, in a defile or with his troops not drawn up, it is Heaven assisting us. Is it not proper for us to advance upon him so impeded with our drums beating, even then afraid *we may not get the victory?* Moreover, the strong men now opposed to us are all our antagonists. Even the old and withered among them are to be captured by us, if we can only take them;—what have we to do with their being gray-haired? We call into clear display the principle of shame in teaching men to fight, our object being that they should slay the enemy. If our antagonist be not wounded mortally, why should we not repeat the blow? If we grudge a second wound, it would be better not to wound him at all. If we would spare the gray-haired, we had better submit *at once to the enemy.* In an army, what are used are sharp weapons, while the instruments of brass and the drums are to rouse the men's spirits. The sharp weapons may be used against foes entangled in a defile; when their noise is the loudest and the men's spirits are all on fire, the drums may be borne against the enemy in disorder."

[The Chuen gives here the following:—'Early in the morning of Ping-tsze, the ladies Me and Këang, the wives of Wăn, the earl of Ch'ing, went to congratulate the viscount of Ts'oo, and feast his troops, at the marsh of Ko, when the viscount made the band-master Tsin display to them the captives, and the cars of the slain. The superior man will pronounce that this was contrary to rule. A woman, when escorting or meeting a visitor, does not go beyond the gate; when seeing her brothers, she does not cross the threshold. The business of war has nothing to do with the employment of women.

'On Ting-ch'ow, the viscount entered the city of Ch'ing, and was feasted. Nine times the cup was presented to him; the courtyard was filled with a hundred difft. objects; six kinds of food were set forth in the dishes more than ordinary. He left the city at night after the feast, Wăn Me accompanying him to the army; and he took the earl's two daughters with him to Ts'oo. Shuh-chen said, "The king of Ts'oo will not die a natural death! The ceremonies shown on his account have ended in his breaking down the distinctions regulating the intercourse between the sexes; and where this is done, there can be no propriety. How should he die a natural death? The princes may know that he will not attain to the presidency of them."']

Twenty-fourth year.

一章 二十有三年、春、齊侯伐宋、圍緡。

二章 夏、五月、庚寅、宋公茲父卒。

三章 秋、楚人伐陳。

四章 冬、十有一月、杞子卒。

左傳曰、二十三年、春、齊侯伐宋、圍緡。以討其不與盟于齊也。

夏、五月、宋襄公卒。傷於泓故也。

秋、楚成得臣帥師伐陳。討其貳於宋也、遂取焦、夷、城頓而還。子文以爲之功、使爲令尹、叔伯曰、子若國何。對曰、吾以靖國也、夫有大功而無貴仕、其人能靖者與有幾。

㊁九月、晉惠公卒。懷公命無從亡人、期、期而不至、無赦。狐突之子毛及偃從重耳在秦、弗召、冬、懷公執狐突曰、子來則免。對曰、子之能仕、父教之忠、古之制也、策名委質、貳乃辟也、今臣之子、名在重耳、有年數矣、若又召之、教之貳也、父教子貳、何以事君、刑之不濫、君之明也、臣之願也、淫刑以逞、誰則無罪、臣聞命矣。乃殺之。卜偃稱疾不出、曰、周書有之、乃大明服、己則不明、而殺人以逞、不亦難乎、民不見德、而唯戮是聞、其何後之有。

十一月、杞成公卒。書曰子、杞夷也、不書名、未同盟也、凡諸侯同盟、死則赴以名、禮也。赴以名、則亦書之、不然則否、辟不敏也。

㊂晉公子重耳之及於難也、晉人伐諸蒲城、蒲城人欲戰、重耳不可、曰、保君父之命、而享其生祿、於是乎得人、有人而校、罪莫大焉、吾其奔也、遂奔狄、從者狐偃、趙衰、顛頡、魏武子、司空季子。狄人伐廧咎如、獲其二女、叔隗、季隗、納諸公子、公子取季隗、生伯儵、叔劉、以叔隗妻趙衰、生盾、將適齊、謂季隗曰、待我二十五年、不來而後嫁。對曰、我二十五年矣、又如是而嫁、則就木焉、請待子。處狄十二年而行、過衛、衛文公不禮焉、出於五鹿、乞食於野人、野人與之塊、公子怒、欲鞭之、子犯曰、天賜也、稽首受而載之。及齊、齊桓公妻之、有馬二十乘、公子安之、從者以爲不可、將行、謀於桑下、蠶妾在其上、以告姜氏、姜

氏殺之、而謂公子曰、子有四方之志、其聞之者、吾殺之矣。公子曰、無之。姜曰、行也、懷與安、實敗名。公子不可、姜與子犯謀、醉而遣之。醒、以戈逐子犯。及曹、曹共公聞其駢脅、欲觀其裸、浴、薄而觀之。僖負羈之妻曰、吾觀晉公子之從者、皆足以相國、若以相、夫子必反其國、反其國、必得志於諸侯、得志於諸侯、而誅無禮、曹其首也、子盍蚤自貳焉。乃饋盤飧、寘璧焉、公子受飧反璧。及宋、宋襄公贈之以馬二十乘、及鄭、鄭文公亦不禮焉、叔詹諫曰、臣聞天之所啟、人弗及也、晉公子有三焉、天其或者將建諸、君其禮焉、男女同姓、其生不蕃、晉公子姬出也、而至于今、一也、離外之患、而天不靖晉國、殆將啟之、二也。有三士、足以上人、而從之、三也。晉、鄭同儕、其過子弟、固將禮焉、況天之所啟乎。弗聽。及楚、楚子饗之、曰、公子若反晉國、則何以報不穀。對曰、子女玉帛、則君有之、羽毛齒革、則君地生焉、其波及晉國者、君之餘也、其何以報君。曰、雖然、何以報我。對曰、若以君之靈、得反晉國、晉楚治兵、遇於中原、其辟君三舍、若不獲命、其左執鞭弭、右屬櫜鞬、以與君周旋。子玉請殺之、楚子曰、晉公子廣而儉、文而有禮、其從者肅而寬、忠而能力、晉侯無親、外內惡之、吾聞姬姓、唐叔之後、其後衰者也、其將由晉公子乎、天將興之、誰能廢之、違天必有大咎。乃送諸秦、秦伯納女五人、懷嬴與焉、奉匜沃盥、既而揮之、怒曰、秦晉匹也、何以卑我、公子懼、降服而囚、他日公享之、子犯曰、吾不如衰之文也、請使衰從、公子賦河水、公賦六月、趙衰曰、重耳拜賜、公子降、拜、稽首、公降一級而辭焉。衰曰、君稱所以佐天子者命重耳、重耳敢不拜。

XXIII. 1 In the [duke's] twenty-third year, in spring, the marquis of Ts'e invaded Sung, and laid siege to Min.

2 In summer, in the fifth month, on Kăng-yin, Tsze-foo, duke of Sung, died.

3 In autumn, an officer of Ts'oo invaded Ch'in.

4 In winter, in the eleventh month, the viscount of Ke died.

Par. 1. Min (here and afterwards Kuh-lëang has 閔) was a town of Sung,—30 *le* to the north-east of the present dis. city of Kin-heang (金鄉), dep. Yen-chow. Kung-yang says that the mention of besieging a town (邑) such as Min is condemnatory of the violence of Ts'e's action against Sung; and Kuh-lëang thinks that invasion and siege, both related in the same short par., stamp the action of Ts'e as excessive and

bad. Neither of these views can be accepted. Tso-she's account of the par. is, that the marquis of Ts'e wished to punish Sung because of the duke's absenting himself from the covenant in Ts'e mentioned in XIX. 7. Certainly the duke of Sung deserved well of the marquis of Ts'e at the first, supporting him against his brothers, and securing his claim to the State in the room of his father. We may speculate as to jealousies and misunderstandings which subsequently sprang up between them; but we have not sufficient information to enable us to speak positively of the real causes of the invasion of Sung here mentioned.

Par. 2. Kung-yang gives the name as 慈父. The duke's death, according to Tso, was in consequence of the wound he received at the battle of Hung. His career by no means corresponded to the expectations excited by him on his first appearance in the history of this period;—see the Chuen at the end of the 8th year. He is commonly enumerated as one of the 'five leaders of the States;' but he never attained to that position. It is difficult to believe that he was really sane.

Par. 3. The Chuen says:—'In autumn, Ch'ing Tih-shin of Ts'oo led an army, and invaded Ch'in, to punish it for inclining, *against Ts'oo*, to the side of Sung [It would be difficult to make this out from the text of the classic]. He took Tsëaou and E; walled Tun; and returned. Tsze-wăn, thinking Tih-shin had done good service, procured his appointment as chief minister of Ts'oo *in his own room*. Shuh-pih asked him on what views for the good of the State he had done so; and he replied, "*I have done it* to secure the quiet of the State. When you have men who have rendered great service, and you do not give them the noblest offices, are they likely to remain quiet? There are few who can do so."

[The Chuen turns here to the affairs of Tsin:—'In the 9th month, duke Hwuy of Tsin died, and *his successor, duke* Hwae [Yu, who escaped from Ts'in], commanded that none should follow the fugitive, *Ch'ung-urh*, and defined the period of 12 months, after which there would be pardon no more for any that remained with him. Maou and Yen, the sons of Hoo Tuh, had followed Ch'ung-urh, and were with him in Ts'in; but their father did not call them home. *In consequence*, duke Hwae apprehended him in winter, and said, "If your sons come back, you shall be let off." Tuh replied, "The ancient rule was that when a son was fit for official service, his father should enjoin upon him to be faithful. The *new officer, moreover*, wrote his name on a tablet, and gave the pledge of a dead animal *to his lord, declaring* that any wavering in his fidelity should be punished with death. Now the sons of your servant have had their names with Ch'ung-urh for many years. If I should go on to call them here, I should be teaching them to swerve from their allegiance. If I, as their father, should teach them to do so, how should I be fit to serve your lordship? Punish without excess or injustice, according to your intelligence;—this is what your servant desires to see. If you punish more than is right, to gratify yourself, who will be found without guilt?—But I have heard your commands." On this the duke put him to death.

'Yen, the master of divination, saying that he was ill, did not leave his house; but, *when he heard of Tuh's execution*, he remarked, "It is said in one of the Books of Chow [Shoo, V. ix. 9], 'So, by a grand intelligence, will you subdue *the minds of the people*.' But when our prince puts people to death to gratify himself, is not the case hard? The people see none of his virtue, and hear only of his cruel executions;—is he likely to leave any of his children *in Tsin*?"'

Par. 4. Tso-she says:—'This was the death of duke Ch'ing of Ke. His name is not given, because he had never covenanted with Loo [The canon cannot be substantiated]. The rule was, that when any prince had covenanted with others, the announcement of his death was accompanied with his name, and the historiographers recorded it. Where this was not the case, they did not enter the name;—to avoid *making any mistake* through want of the proper exactness.'

The lords of Ke, as being the representatives of the sovereigns of the Hëa dynasty, were originally dukes. In II. ii. 5, we have—'the marquis of Ke;' elsewhere, the rank is reduced to that of 'earl;' here there is a further reduction to 'viscount.' These degradations are supposed to have been made by the kings of Chow.

[The Chuen now takes up the wanderings of Ch'ung-urh, who became duke Wăn of Tsin:—'When Ch'ung-urh, son of duke *Hëen* of Tsin, first met with misfortune, a body of men from Tsin attacked him in the city of P'oo, the men of which wanted to fight with them. Ch'ung-urh, however, would not allow them to do so, saying, 'By favour of the command of my ruler and father, and through possession of the emolument he has assigned me, I have got the rule over these people; and if I should employ them to strive with him, my crime would be very great. I will fly."

'He then fled to the Teih (B. C. 654); and there followed him—Hoo Yen, Chaou Ts'uy, Tëen Këeh, Wei Woo-tsze [Woo is the hon. title; 子 = officer], Ke-tsze, minister of Works [with many others]. In an invasion of the Tsëang-kaou-joo, the Teih captured the two daughters of their chief, Shuh Wei and Ke Wei, and presented them to the prince. He took Ke Wei to himself as his wife, and she bore him Pih-chow and Shuh-lëw. Her elder sister he gave to Chaou Ts'ui, who had by her his son Tun. When he was about to go to Ts'e, he said to Ke Wei, "Wait for me five and twenty years; and if I have not come back then, you can marry another husband." She replied, "I am now 25; and if I am to marry again after other 25, I will go to my coffin. I had rather wait for you."

'The prince left the Teih (B. C. 643) after residing among them 12 years. Travelling through Wei, duke Wăn treated him discourteously; and as he was leaving it by Woo-luh, he was reduced to beg food of a countryman, who gave him a clod of earth. The prince was angry, and wished to scourge him with his whip; but Tsze-fan [Hoo Yen] said, "It is Heaven's gift [a gift of the soil; a happy omen]." On this he bowed his head to the earth, received the clod, and took it with him in his carriage.

'When he came to Ts'e, duke Hwan gave him *a lady of his own surname* to wife, and he had 20 teams of 4 horses each. He abandoned himself to the enjoyment of his position, but his followers were dissatisfied with it, determined to leave *Ts'e*, and consulted with him about what they should do under the shade of a mulberry tree. There happened to be upon the tree a girl of the harem, employed about silkworms, who *overheard their deliberations*, and reported them to the lady Këang, the prince's wife. Her mistress put her to death, and said to the prince, "You wish to go *again* upon your travels. I have put to death one who overheard your design [Meaning so to prevent the thing getting talked about]." The prince protested that he had no such purpose; but his wife said to him, "Go. By cherishing me and reposing here, you are ruining your fame. The prince refused to leave; and she then consulted with Tsze-fan, made the prince drunk, and sent him off, *his followers carrying him with them.* When he awoke, he seized a spear, and ran after Tsze-fan.

'When they came to Ts'aou, duke Kung, having heard that the prince's ribs presented the appearance of one solid bone, wished to see him naked, and pressed near to look at him when he was bathing. The wife of He Foo-ke [an officer of Ts'aou] said to her husband, "When I look at the followers of the prince of Tsin, every one of them is fit to be chief minister of a State. If he only use their help, he is sure to return to Tsin and be its marquis; and when that happens, he is sure to obtain his ambition, and become leader of the States. He will then punish all who have been discourteous to him, and Ts'aou will be the first to suffer. Why should you not go quickly, and show yourself to be a different man *from the earl and his creatures.* On this, Foo-ke sent the prince a dish of meat, with a *peih* of jade also in it. The prince accepted the meat, but returned the *peih.*

'When they came to Sung, the duke presented to the prince 20 teams of horses; but when they came to Ch'ing, duke Wăn there was another to behave uncivilly. Shuh-chen remonstrated with him, saying, "I have heard that men cannot attain to the excellence of him whose way is opened by Heaven. The prince of Tsin has three things which make it likely that Heaven may be going to establish him;—I pray your lordship to treat him courteously. When husband and wife are of the same surname, their children do not prosper and multiply. The prince of Tsin [himself a Ke] had a Ke for his mother; and yet he continues till now:—this is one thing. During all his troubles, a fugitive abroad, Heaven has not granted quiet to the State of Tsin, which would seem as if it were preparing the way for his return to it:—this is a second thing. There are three of his officers, sufficient to occupy the highest places; and yet they adhere to him:—this is the third thing. Tsin and Ch'ing, moreover, are of the same stock. You might be expected to treat courteously any scions of Tsin passing through the State; and how much more should you so treat him whose way Heaven is thus opening!" To this remonstrance, the earl of Ch'ing would not listen.

'When they came to Ts'oo, the viscount of Ts'oo was *one day* feasting the prince, and said, "If you return to Tsin, and become its marquis, how will you recompense my kindness to you?" The prince replied, "Women, gems, and silks, your lordship has. Feathers, hair, ivory and hides, are all produced in your lordship's country; those of them that come to Tsin, are but your superabundance. What then should I have with which to recompense your kindness?" 'Nevertheless," urged the viscount, "how would you recompense me?" The prince replied, "If by your lordship's powerful influence I shall recover the State of Tsin, should Ts'oo and Tsin go to war and meet in the plain of the Middle Land, I will withdraw from your lordship three stages [each of 30 *le*]. If then I do not receive your commands *to cease from hostilities*, with my whip and my bow in my left hand, and my quiver and my bow-case on my right, I will manœuvre with your lordship."

'*On this,* Tsze-yuh, [Ch'ing Tih-shin of the Chuen on p. 3], begged that the prince might be put to death, but the viscount said, "The prince of Tsin is a grand character, and yet distinguished by moderation, highly accomplished and yet courteous. His followers are severely grave and yet generous, loyal and of untiring ability. The present marquis of Tsin has none who are attached to him. In his own State and out of it, he is universally hated. I have heard, moreover, that the Kes *of Tsin*, the descendants of Shuh of T'ang [See the Shoo, V. ix.], though they might afterwards decay, *yet would not perish;*—may not this be about to be verified in the prince? When Heaven intends to prosper a man, who can stop him? He who opposes Heaven must incur great guilt."

'After this, the viscount sent the prince away with an escort to Ts'in, where the earl presented him with five ladies, Hwae Ying [the earl's daughter, who had been given to Yu, who fled from Ts'in, and became duke Hwae of Tsin] among them. *The prince made her* hold a goblet, and pour water from it for him to wash his hands. When he had done, he ordered her away with a motion of his *wet* hands [the meaning of the Chuen here is variously taken], on which she said in anger, "Ts'in and Tsin are equals; why do you treat me so, as if I were mean?" The prince became afraid, and humbled himself, putting off his robes, and assuming the garb of a prisoner.

Another day, the earl invited him to a feast, when Tsze-fan said, "I am not so accomplished as Ts'uy; pray make him attend you. The prince sang the Ho-shwuy [a lost ode; unless, indeed, as is likely, the Mëen-shwuy, II. iii. IX., is intended, so that the prince would compare himself to the Ho, and Ts'in to the sea, to which the Ho flows], and the earl, the Luh-yueh [She, II. iii. ode II. The ode celebrates the services of an ancient noble in the cause of the kingdom, as if the earl of Ts'in were auspicing such services to be rendered hereafter by the prince of Tsin]. Chaou Ts'uy said, "Ch'ung-urh, render thanks for the earl's gift." The prince then descended the steps, and bowed with his head to the ground. The earl also descended a step, and declined such a demonstration. Ts'uy said, "When your lordship laid your charge on Ch'ung-urh as to how he should assist the son of Heaven, he dared not but make so humble an acknowledgement."']

Twenty-fourth year.

一章 二十有四年、春、王正月。

二章 夏、狄伐鄭。

三章 秋、七月。

四章 冬、天王出居于鄭。

五章 晉侯夷吾卒。

㊀左傳曰、二十四年、春、王正月、秦伯納之、不書、不告入也。及河、子犯以璧授公子曰、臣負羈紲、從君巡於天下、臣之罪甚多矣、臣猶知之、而況君乎、請由此亡。公子曰、所不與舅氏同心者、有如白水。投其璧于河。濟河、圍令狐、入桑泉、取白衰。二月、甲午、晉師軍于廬柳、秦伯使公子縶如晉師、師退、軍于郇。辛丑、狐偃及秦晉之大夫盟于郇。壬寅、公子入于晉師、丙午、入于曲沃、丁未、朝于武宮、戊申、使殺懷公于高梁、不書、亦不告也。

㊁呂、郤畏偪、將焚公宮而弒晉侯、寺人披請見、公使讓之、且辭焉、曰、蒲城之役、君命一宿、女卽至、其後余從狄君以田渭濱、女爲惠公來求殺余、命女三宿、女中宿至、雖有君命、何其速也、夫袪猶在、女其行乎。對曰、臣謂君之入也、其知之矣、若猶未也、又將及難、君命無二、古之制也、除君之惡、唯力是視、蒲人狄人、余何有焉、今君卽位、其無蒲狄乎、齊桓公置射鉤、而使管仲相、君若易之、何辱命焉、行者甚衆、豈唯刑臣。公見之、以難告。三月、晉侯潛會秦伯于王城。己丑、晦、公宮火、瑕甥郤芮不獲公、乃如河上、秦伯誘而殺之。晉侯逆夫人嬴氏以歸。秦伯送衞於晉三千人、實紀綱之僕。

㊂初、晉侯之豎頭須、守藏者也、其出也、竊藏以逃、盡用以求納之、及入、求見、公辭焉以沐、謂僕人曰、沐則心覆、心覆則圖反、宜吾不得見也、居者爲社稷之守、行者爲羈紲之僕、其亦可也、何必罪居者、國君而讐匹夫、懼者甚衆矣。僕人以告、公遽見之。

㊃狄人歸季隗于晉、而請其二子、文公妻趙衰、生原同、屛括、樓嬰、趙姬請逆盾與其母、子餘辭、姬曰、得寵而忘舊、何以使人、必逆之。固請、許之、來、以盾爲才、固請于公、以爲嫡子、而使其三子下之、以叔隗爲內子、而己下之。

㈠晉侯賞從亡者、介之推不言祿、祿亦弗及。推曰、獻公之子九人、唯君在矣、惠懷無親、外內棄之、天未絕晉、必將有主、主晉祀者、非君而誰、天實置之、而二三子以爲己力、不亦誣乎。竊人之財、猶謂之盜、況貪天之功、以爲己力乎、下義其罪、上賞其姦、上下相蒙、難與處矣。其母曰、盍亦求之、以死誰懟。對曰、尤而效之、罪又甚焉、且出怨言、不食其食。其母曰、亦使知之、若何。對曰、言身之文也、身將隱、焉用文之、是求顯也。其母曰、能如是乎、與女偕隱。遂隱而死。晉侯求之不獲、以緜上爲之田、曰、以志吾過、且旌善人。

㈡鄭之入滑也、滑人聽命、師還、又即衛、鄭公子士、洩堵俞彌、帥師伐滑、王使伯服、游孫伯、如鄭請滑、鄭伯怨惠王之入而不與厲公爵也、又怨襄王之與衛滑也、故不聽王命、而執二子、王怒、將以狄伐鄭。富辰諫曰、不可、臣聞之、大上以德撫民、其次親親以相及也、昔周公弔二叔之不咸、故封建親戚、以蕃屏周、管蔡、郕霍、魯衛、毛聃、郜雍、曹滕、畢原、酆郇、文之昭也、邘晉、應韓、武之穆也、凡、蔣、邢、茅、胙、祭、周公之胤也、召穆公思周德之不類、故糾合宗族于成周、而作詩曰、常棣之華、鄂不韡韡、凡今之人、莫如兄弟、其四章曰、兄弟鬩于牆、外禦其侮、如是則兄弟雖有小忿、不廢懿親、今天子不忍小忿、以棄鄭親、其若之何、庸勳親親、暱近尊賢、德之大者也、即聾從昧、與頑用嚚、姦之大者也、棄德崇姦、禍之大者也、鄭有平惠之勳、又有厲宣之親、棄嬖寵而用三良、於諸姬爲近、四德具矣、耳不聽五聲之和爲聾、目不別五色之章爲昧、心不則德義之經爲頑、口不道忠信之言爲嚚、狄皆則之、四姦具矣、周之有懿德也、猶曰莫如兄弟、故封建之、其懷柔天下也、猶懼有外侮、扞禦侮者、莫如親親、故以親屏周、召穆公亦云、今周德既衰、於是乎又渝周召、以從諸姦、無乃不可乎、民未忘禍、王又興之、其若文武何。王弗聽、使頹叔桃子出狄師。

夏、狄伐鄭、取櫟、王德狄人、將以其女爲后、富辰諫曰、不可、臣聞之曰、報者倦矣、施者未厭、狄固貪惏、王又啟之、女德無極、婦怨無終、狄必爲患、王又弗聽。初甘昭公有寵於惠后、惠后將立之、未及而卒、昭公奔齊、王復之、又

通於隗氏、王替隗氏。頽叔桃子曰、我實使狄、狄其怨我。遂奉大叔、以狄師攻王、王御士將禦之、王曰、先后其謂我何、寧使諸侯圖之。王遂出、及坎欿、國人納之、秋、頽叔桃子奉大叔以狄師伐周、大敗周師、獲周公忌父、原伯、毛伯、富辰、王出適鄭、處于氾、大叔以隗氏居于温。

⨸鄭子華之弟子臧出奔宋、好聚鷸冠、鄭伯聞而惡之、使盜誘之、八月、盜殺之于陳宋之閒。君子曰、服之不衷、身之災也、詩曰、彼己之子、不稱其服、子臧之服、不稱也夫、詩曰、自詒伊慼、其子臧之謂矣、夏書曰、地平天成、稱也。

⨸宋及楚平。宋成公如楚、還入於鄭、鄭伯將享之、問禮於皇武子、對曰、宋、先代之後也、於周爲客、天子有事膰焉、有喪拜焉、豐厚可也。鄭伯從之、享宋公有加、禮也。

冬、王使來告難曰、不穀不德、得罪于母弟之寵子帶、鄙在鄭地氾、敢告叔父。臧文仲對曰、天子蒙塵于外、敢不奔問官守。王使簡師父告于晉、使左鄢父告于秦。天子無出、書曰、天王出居于鄭。辟母弟之難也、天子凶服降名、禮也。鄭伯與孔將鉏、石甲父、侯宣多、省視官具于氾、而後聽其私政、禮也。

⨸衞人將伐邢、禮至曰、不得其守、國不可得也、我請昆弟仕焉。乃往得仕。

XXIV. 1 It was the duke's twenty-fourth year, the spring, the king's first month.

2 In summer, the Teih invaded Ch'ing.

3 It was autumn, the seventh month.

4 In winter, the king [by] Heaven's [grace] left [Chow], and resided in Ch'ing.

5 E-woo, marquis of Tsin, died.

Par. 1. [The Chuen continues the account of the fortunes of Ch'ung-urh in the following narratives:—

1st. 'In spring, the earl of Ts'in restored Ch'ung-urh:—the event is not recorded in the text, because the marquis of Tsin did not announce his entrance to Loo. When the invaders came to the Ho, Tsze-fan delivered up to the prince a *pair of peih* [which he had received from the earl of Ts'in], saying, "Your servant has followed your lordship all about under heaven, as if bearing a halter and bridle; and my offences have been very many. I know them myself, and much more does your lordship know them. Allow me from this time to disappear." The prince said, "Wherein I do not continue to be of the same mind as my uncle [Tsze-fan was the brother of the prince's mother], *may the Spirit of* this clear water *punish me!*" And at the same time he threw the *peih* into the stream. Having crossed the Ho, the troops laid siege to Ling-hoo, entered Sang-

ts'euen. and took Këw-ts'uy. In the 2d month, on Këah-woo, the army of Tsin came to meet them, and took post at Leu-lëw. The earl of Ts'in sent *his general* Chih, a son of duke *Ch'ing*, to it, when it retired, and encamped in Sun. There, on Sin-ch'ow, Hoo Yen and the great officers of Ts'in and Tsin made a covenant. On Jin-yin the prince entered the army of Tsin; on Ping-woo, he entered K'ëuh-yuh; on Ting-we, he went solemnly to the temple of duke Woo; and on Mow-shin, he caused duke Hwae to be put to death in Kaou-lëang. This does not appear in the text for the same reason that no announcement of it was made to Loo.'

2d. 'Leu and Këoh [Leu E-sang and Këoh Juy, ministers of dukes Hwuy and Hwae], fearing lest the new marquis should be hard upon them, planned to burn the palace and murder him. P'e, the chief of the eunuchs [who had been commissioned by his father, duke Hëen, and afterwards, by his brother, duke Hwuy, to kill Ch'ung-urh], begged an interview, but the marquis sent to reproach him, and refused to see him, saying, "In the affair at the city of P'oo, my father ordered you to be at the place the next day, and you came on that same day. Afterwards, when I was hunting on the banks of the Wei with the chief of the Teih, you came, in behalf of duke Hwuy, to seek for me and kill me. He ordered you to reach the place in three days, and you reached it in two. Although the undertaking was by your ruler's orders, why were you so rapid in the execution? The sleeve [of which you cut off a part at P'oo] is still in my possession;—go away." P'e replied, "I said to myself that his lordship, entering the State [after so long a period of trial], was sure to have knowledge [of the world]. If he still have it not, he will again find himself in difficulties. It is the ancient rule, that, when an officer receives his ruler's commands, he think of no other individual. Charged to remove the danger of my ruler, I regarded nothing but how I might be able to do it. What was his lordship at P'oo, or among the Teih, to me? Now his lordship is master of the State;—is there no P'oo, are there no Teih [against which he may need my help]? Duke Hwan of Ts'e forgot all about the shooting of the buckle of his girdle, and made Kwan Chung his chief minister. If his lordship is going to act differently, I shall not trouble him to say anything to me. There are very many who will have to go away, and not a poor eunuch like me only." The marquis then saw him, when he told him of the impending attempt, on which the marquis, in the 3d month, secretly withdrew, and joined the earl of Ts'in in the [old] royal city. On Ke-ch'ow, the last day of the moon, the palace was set on fire; but Săng of Hëa and Këoh Juy [of course] did not find the marquis. They then proceeded to the Ho, from which the earl of Ts'in contrived to wile them to his presence, when he put them to death. The marquis then met his wife, the lady Ying, and took her with him to Tsin. The earl sent an escort also of 3,000 men as guards, and who should superintend all the departments of service about the court.'

3d. 'In earlier years, the marquis had a personal attendant called T'aou-seu, who had charge of his treasury. This boy, when the prince was obliged to flee, ran away, carrying the contents of the treasury with him. He had used them all, however, in seeking to procure the marquis's return; and when he did re-enter the State, he sought an interview with him. The marquis declined to see him, and sent word that he was bathing. *T'aou-seu* said to the servant [who brought the reply], 'In bathing, the heart is turned upside down [Referring to the position of the body in bathing, with the head bent down], and one's plans are all reversed. It was natural I *should be told* that I cannot see him. Those who stayed in Tsin were his ministers, guarding the altars of the land; and those who went with him were his servants, carrying halter and bridle. Both may stand accepted. Why must he look on those who stayed in the country as criminals? If he, *now* lord of the State, show such enmity to a poor man like me, multitudes will be filled with alarm." The servant reported these words to the marquis, who instantly granted T'aou-seu an interview.'

4th. 'The chief of the Teih sent Ke Wei to Tsin, and asked what should be done with the marquis's two children by her. The marquis had given [a daughter of his own] to Chaou Ts'uy to wife, who bore to him T'ung of Yuen, Kwoh of Ping, and Ying of Low. This lady—Chaou Ke—begged her husband that he would bring home from the Teih *his son* Tun, with his mother *Shuh Wei*. Tsze-yu [Chaou Ts'uy's designation] refused to do so, but Ke said, "He who in the enjoyment of present prosperity forgets his old friends is not fit to command others. You must meet them, and bring them here" She pressed the matter so strongly, that at last he agreed that they should come. Finding that Tun was possessed of ability, she further pressed it earnestly on the marquis, *her father*, to cause him to be declared Ts'uy's eldest son and heir, while her own three sons were ranked below him. She also caused Shuh Wei to be made mistress of the harem, and occupied herself in an inferior position.'

5th. 'When the marquis of Tsin was rewarding those who had followed and adhered to him during his *long* exile, Këae Che-ts'uy [who had once cut off a portion of his own thigh, to relieve the prince's extreme hunger] did not ask for any recompense, and it so happened that none came to him. "The sons of duke Hëen," said he, "were nine, and only the marquis remains. Hwuy and Hwae made no friends, and were abandoned by all, whether in the State or out of it. But Heaven had not abandoned the House of Tsin, and was sure to raise some one to preside over its sacrifices;—and who should do that but the marquis? It was Heaven who placed him in his present position; and how false it is in those officers to think it was their strength which did it! He who steals but the money of another man is pronounced a thief; what name shall be given to them who seek to appropriate to themselves the work of Heaven? They, below, think their guilt is their righteousness, and the marquis, above, rewards their unworthiness. He above and they below are deceiving and deceived; it is difficult for me to dwell along with them!" His mother said to him, "Why not go, as well as others, and ask for some recompense? If you die without receiving any, [never having asked], of whom can you complain?" He replied, "Were I to imitate them in their wrongdoing, my offence would be greater than theirs.

And I have spoken [what may seem] words of resentment and complaint;—I will eat none of *their* food." His mother said, "But what say you to letting your case at least be known?" "Words," answered he, "are an embellishment of the person. I shall withdraw my person entirely from the world, and why should I use what is employed to seek its embellishment?" His mother said, "Can you take this course? Then I will retire and hide myself from the world with you." The marquis of Tsin afterwards sought for Këae Che-ts'uy, but in vain, and endowed a sacrifice to him with the fields of Mëen-shang. "It will be a memento," said he, "of my neglect, and a mark of distinction for the good man.'

Par. 2. The Chuen says on this:—'When the troops of Ch'ing entered Hwah [see XX. 4], the people of Hwah received its commands; but when they withdrew, it went over again to Wei. Sze, son of the earl of Ch'ing, and Sëeh Too-yumei went against it with a force, when the king sent Pih-fuh and Yëw-sun Pih to intercede with Ch'ing in behalf of Hwah; but the earl, resenting how king Hwuy, on his restoration [to the capital], had not conferred a cup on duke Le [See the Chuen at III. xxi. 2. 3], and also how king Sëang *now* took the part of Wei and Hwăh, would not listen to his commands, and made the two officers prisoners. The king was angry, and wished to invade Ch'ing with the Teih. Foo Shin remonstrated with him, saying, 'Do not do this. Your servant has heard that in the highest antiquity the people were kept in tranquillity by virtue. Subsequently to this, the sovereigns showed favour to their own relatives, and went on from them to others. Thus the duke of Chow, grieved by the want of harmony in the concluding times [of the two previous dynasties], raised the relatives of the royal House to the rule of States, that they might act as fences and screens to Chow. The princes of Kwan, Ts'ae, Shing, Hoh, Loo, Wei, Maou, Tan, Kaou, Yung, Ts'aou, T'ăng, Peih, Yuen, Fung, and Seun were all sons of king Wăn. Those of Yu, Tsin, Ying, and Han were sons of king Woo. Those of Fan, Tsëang, Hing, Maou, Tsoo, and Chae were descendants of the duke of Chow. Duke Muh of Shaou, thinking of the defectiveness of the virtue of Chow, assembled all the members of the royal House in Ch'ing-chow, and made the ode which says [She, II. i. ode IV.],

> 'The flowers of the cherry tree,—
> Are they not gorgeously displayed?
> Of all the men in the world,
> There are none like brothers.'

In the 4th stanza it is said,

> 'Brothers may squabble inside the walls,
> But they will resist insult from without.'

Thus, although brothers may have small quarrels among themselves, they will not for them cast away their relative affection. But now, when Your Majesty, unable to bear the resentment of a slight quarrel, is casting away the affection of Ch'ing, what is to be said? And to employ the meritorious, to show affection to one's relatives, to cultivate the acquaintance of those near at hand, and to honour the worthy:—these are the greatest of virtues. To approach the deaf and to follow the blind, to agree with the wayward and to use the stupid:—these are the greatest of evils. To cast away what is virtuous and give honour to what is evil, is the greatest of calamities. To Ch'ing belongs the merit of assisting king P'ing and king Hwuy, and its [first earl] was most intimate with Le and Seuen; it *recently* put away its favoured minister and son, and has been employing the three good men; of all the States of the Kes it lies nearest to us:—it gives the opportunity for displaying the [above] four virtues. He whose ear does not hear the harmony of the five sounds is deaf; he whose eye does not distinguish the beauty of the five colours is blind; he whose mind does not accord with the rules of virtue and righteousness is wayward; he whose mouth does not speak the words of loyalty and faith is a stupid chatterer. The Teih approximate to all these four conditions, and to follow them will display the *above* four evils. When Chow was distinguished by admirable virtue, it still said that none were equal to brothers, and advanced them to the rule of States. While it was cherishing with gentle indulgence all under heaven, it was still afraid lest insult should be offered from without; and knowing that to withstand such insult there was no plan so good as to treat with distinguishing affection its relatives, it therefore made them a screen to its domains. Muh of Shaou also expressed himself to the same effect. And now, when the virtue of Chow is in decay, to proceed at this time to depart farther from the maxims of the dukes of Chow and Shaou, and follow the way of all evil, surely this is wrong. Before the people have forgotten their sufferings, you make them commence again;—how will this affect the inheritance transmitted by Wăn and Woo?" The king would not listen to this advice, but sent T'ui Shuh and the officer T'aou forth with the army of the Teih.

'In summer, the Teih invaded Ch'ing, and took Leih. The king, feeling grateful for their service, was minded to make the daughter of their chief his queen. *Again* Foo Shin remonstrated, saying, "Do not. Your servant has heard that the rewarder gets tired, and the receiver is never satisfied. The Teih most certainly are covetous and greedy, and yet your Majesty is ministering to their disposition. It is the nature of women to be limitless in their desires, and their resentment is undying. The Teih will certainly be your majesty's sorrow." Again, the king would not listen to him. Before this, duke Ch'aou of Kan [The king's brother Tae, whom we have met with before] had been the favourite of king Hwuy's queen, who wished to get the throne for him, but dying before this could be secured, duke Ch'aou fled to Ts'e [See the 12th year]. King Sëang had restored him [in the 22d year]; and now he went on to have intercourse with the lady Wei [the king's Teih wife], who was thereupon degraded by the king. T'ui Shuh and the officer T'aou said, "It was we who procured the employment of the Teih; their resentment will fall on us." On this they set up T'ae-shuh [duke Ch'aou], and with an army of the Teih attacked the king. His guards wished to withstand them, but the king said, "What will my father's queen say of me? It is better to let the States take measures for the occasion." He then left the capital, and proceeded to K'an-t'an, from which the people brought him back. In autumn, T'ui Shuh and

T'aon-tsze, supporting T'ae-shuh, invaded Chow with an army of the Teih, inflicted a great defeat on the royal forces, and took Ke-foo, duke of Chow, the earls of Yuen and Maou, and Foo Shin. The king betook himself to Ch'ing, and resided in Fan, while T'ae-shuh and the lady Wei dwelt in Wăn.'

[The Chuen appends here two other narratives:—'Tsze-tsang, younger brother of Hwa, heir-son of Ch'ing [who was put to death in the 16th year], had fled to Sung. There he was fond of wearing a cap made of the feathers of the kingfisher. The earl of Ch'ing heard of it, and was displeased, and employed some ruffians to induce him *to follow them*, when, in the 8th month, they killed him between Ch'in and Sung. The superior man may say that when the clothes are not befitting, it indicates calamity to the person. The ode [She I. xiv. ode II.] says,

> "Those creatures
> Are not equal to their apparel."

The clothes of Tsze-tsang were not such as were befitting him. The language of another ode (II. vi. ode III. 3),

> "I have myself caused the distress,"

may be considered applicable to Tsze-tsang. In the Books of Hea [Shoo, II. ii. 8] it is said, "The earth is reduced to order, and the influences of Heaven operate with effect:"—there was a correspondency between them.'

'Sung having made peace with Ts'oo, duke Ch'ing of Sung went to Ts'oo. On his return, he entered the capital of Ch'ing, when the earl, wishing to feast him, asked Hwang Woo-tsze about the ceremonies to be employed. Woo-tsze replied, "The dukes of Sung are the descendants of the last dynasty. They appear as guests at the court of Chow. When the son of Heaven sacrifices, he sends them portions of the flesh; when they condole with him on occasion of a death, he bows to them and thanks them. Let your ceremonies be abundant and generous." The earl acted accordingly, and feasted the duke of Sung with extraordinary ceremonies.']

Par. 4. The Chuen says:—"In winter, the king sent a messenger to announce his troubles to Loo, saying, "Without goodness, without virtue, I offended my own brother Tae, the favoured son of our mother, and I am now as a borderer in the country of Ch'ing, in Fan. I venture to make this known to my uncle." Tsang Wăn-chung said, "The son of Heaven is covered with dust, driven out from Chow. We dare not but fly to ask for his officers and guards." The king sent Këen Sze-foo to inform Tsin of his circumstances, and Tso Yen-foo to inform Ts'in. The son of Heaven cannot be said to leave his country, and yet he is said in the text to have done so;—because he was avoiding the troubles raised by his own brother. For the son of Heaven to wear mourning garments, and to assume such depreciating names for himself, [as in his message to Loo], was proper [in king Sëang's circumstances]. The earl of Ch'ing, with K'ung Tsëang-tsoo, Shih Këah-foo, and How Seuen-to, examined and saw that the officers sent sufficient supplies to Fan, and then attended to the government of their own State;—which was proper.'

Par. 5. E-woo, or duke Hwuy, died the previous year; but it is supposed that the announcement of his death was only now made to Loo.

[The Chuen adds here the following account:—'A force from Wei was about to invade Hing, when Le Che said [to the marquis of Wei], "If you do not make sure of *some of* its ministers, the State cannot be secured." Let me and my brother go and take office there." On this the two went to Hing, and became officers in it.']

Twenty-fifth year.

一章 二十有五年、春、王正月、丙午、衛侯燬滅邢。

二章 夏、四月、癸酉、衛侯燬卒。

三章 宋蕩伯姬來逆婦。

四章 宋殺其大夫。

五章 秋、楚人圍陳、納頓子于頓。

六章 葬衛文公。

七章 冬、十有二月、癸亥、公會衛子、莒慶、盟于洮。

左傳曰、二十五年、春、衛人伐邢、二禮從國子巡城、掖以赴外、殺之。正月丙午、衛侯燬滅邢。同姓也、故名。禮至爲銘曰、余掖殺國子、莫余敢止。

○秦伯師于河上、將納王、狐偃言於晉侯曰、求諸侯莫如勤王、諸侯信之、且大義也、繼文之業、而信宣於諸侯、今爲可矣、使卜偃卜之、曰、吉、遇黃帝戰于阪泉之兆。公曰、吾不堪也。對曰、周禮未改、今之王、古之帝也。公曰、筮之。筮之、遇大有之睽、曰、吉、遇公用享于天子之卦、戰克而王饗、吉孰大焉、且是卦也、天爲澤以當日、天子降心以逆公、不亦可乎、大有去睽而復、亦其所也。晉侯辭秦師而下。三月甲辰、次于陽樊、右師圍溫、左師逆王。

○夏四月丁巳、王入于王城、取大叔于溫、殺之于隰城。戊午、晉侯朝王、王饗醴、命之宥、請隧、弗許、曰、王章也、未有代德而有二王、亦叔父之所惡也。與之陽樊、溫、原、欑茅之田、晉於是始啟南陽。陽樊不服、圍之、倉葛呼曰、德以柔中國、刑以威四夷、宜吾不敢服也、此誰非王之親姻、其俘之也。乃出其民。

○秋、秦晉伐鄀。

楚鬬克屈禦寇、以申息之師戍商密、秦人過析、隈入而係輿人、以圍商密、昏而傅焉、宵坎血加書、偽與子儀子邊盟者、商密人懼曰、秦取析矣、戍人反矣。乃降秦師、秦師囚申公子儀、息公子邊、以歸。楚令尹子玉追秦師、弗及、遂圍陳、納頓子于頓。

○冬、晉侯圍原、命三日之糧、原不降、命去之。諜出曰、原將降矣。軍吏曰、請待之。公曰、信、國之寶也、民之所庇也、得原失信、何以庇之、所亡滋多、退一舍而原降、遷原伯貫于冀、趙衰爲原大夫、狐溱爲溫大夫。

衛人平莒于我、十二月、盟于洮、修衛文公之好、且及莒平也。

○晉侯問原守於寺人勃鞮、對曰、昔趙衰以壺飧從徑、餒而弗食、故使處原。

XXV. 1 In the [duke's] twenty-fifth year, in spring, in the king's first month, on Ping-woo, Wei, marquis of Wei, extinguished Hing.

2 In summer, in the fourth month, on Kwei-yëw, Wei, marquis of Wei, died.

3 The duke's eldest daughter, married to a Tang of Sung, came [to Loo] to meet the wife [for her son].

4 Sung put to death [one of] its great officers.

5 In autumn, a body of men from Ts'oo invested [the capital of] Ch'in, and restored the viscount of Tun to Tun.

6 There was the burial of duke Wăn of Wei.

7 In winter, in the twelfth month, on Kwei-hae, the duke had a meeting with the *heir*-son of Wei and K'ing of Keu, when they made a covenant in T'aou.

Par. 1. The Chuen says:—'In spring, a force from Wei invaded Hing. The two Le [see the last Chuen] were following Kwoh-tsze and going round the city-wall, when they held him fast in their arms, and went off with him to the outside, killing him. In the 1st month, on Ping-woo, Wei, marquis of Wei, extinguished Hing. *The lords of Wei and Hing were of* the same surname, and therefore the text gives the name *of the marquis;*—[to his disgrace]. Le Che had the words engraved *on a vessel,*—"I grasped Kwoh-tsze in my arms and killed him. No one dared to stop me;"—[thus publishing his own shame.]

We see that the preservation of Hing, one of the great achievements of duke Hwan of Ts'e [see III. xxxii. 7; V. i. 2, 3, 4] did not long avail for that State. What is remarkable, is that it should perish at last at the hands of Wei, which had been reduced by the same Teih to even greater straits than itself [see IV. ii. 7]. Most of the critics lay great stress, like Tso-she, on the name of the marquis of Wei being found here in the text; and a passage of the Le Ke [I. Pt. II. ii. 21] is referred to, which would make it out that the mention of the name is condemnatory, and stamps the wickedness of the marquis of Wei in extinguishing a State held by a prince of the same surname as himself. But the canon in that passage was, no doubt, made to suit this single text. Choo He imagines that the 燬 here has got into the text, by the error of a copyist, from the next paragraph.

Par. 2. From the last Chuen on IV. ii. it appears that this prince was a man of perseverance and resources. His character, however, does not stand high with the critics;—see the remarks of Ke Pun in the 集說 on this passage.

Par. 3. There was a powerful family of the clan-name of Tang in Sung, and duke He's eldest daughter must have been married to the head, or some principal scion of it, though the match is not mentioned in the classic. Here she comes to Loo to take back a wife, we must suppose for her son; but nothing is said from what family the young lady was taken. On the phrase 逆婦, instead of 逆女, compare 求婦, in XXXI. 7. The 婦 is determined by the 姑, the husband's mother, being the other party in the transaction.

Par. 4. Comp. III. xxvi. 3. It is folly to seek for mysteries in the silence of the text as to the name of the officer here spoken of. Kung-yang thinks that the duke of Sung had married his daughter, and did not dare therefore, in announcing his death to Loo, to mention his wife's father. Kuh-lëang thinks he was a K'ung (孔), and that Confucius purposely kept back the name of one of his ancestors!

[The Chuen appends here:—'The earl of Tsin was with an army on the Ho, intending to restore the king [See 4th par. of last year], when Hoo Yen said to the marquis of Tsin, "If you are seeking the adherence of the States, you can do nothing better than to show an earnest interest in the king's behalf. The States will thereby have faith in you, and you will have done an act of great righteousness. Now is the time to show again such service as was rendered by *the marquis* Wăn [See the Shoo, V. xxviii], and to get your fidelity proclaimed among the States." *The marquis* made the master of divination, Yen, consult the tortoise-shell about the undertaking. *He did so* and said, 'The oracle is auspicious,—that of Hwang-te's battle in Fan-ts'ëuen." The marquis said, "That oracle is too great for me." The diviner replied, "The rules of Chow are not changed. The king of to-day is the emperor of antiquity." The marquis *then* said, "Try it by the milfoil." They consulted the reeds, and found the diagram Ta-yëw [䷍], which then became the diagram K'wei [䷥]. The diviner said, "*This also is* auspicious. In this diagram we have the oracle,—'A prince presents his offerings to the son of Heaven.' A battle and victory; the king receiving your offerings:—what more fortunate response could there be? Moreover, in these diagrams, the trigram of heaven (☰) becomes that of a marsh, (☱) lying under the sun, indicating how the son of Heaven condescends *to meet your lordship;*—

is not this also encouraging? If we leave the diagram K'wei, and come back to Ta-yëw, it also tells of success where its subject goes." On this the marquis of Tsin declined the assistance of the army of Ts'in, and went down *the Ho*. In the 3d month, on Këah-shin, he halted at Yang-fan, when the army of the right proceeded to invest Wăn, and that of the left to meet the king.'

'In summer, in the 4th month, on Ting-sze, the king *re*-entered the royal city. T'ae-shuh was taken in Wăn, and put to death at Seih-shing. On Mow-woo, the marquis of Tsin had an audience of the king, who feasted him with sweet spirits, and gave him gifts to increase his joy. *The marquis* asked that the privilege of being carried to his grave through a subterranean passage might be granted him, but the king refused, saying, "This is the distinction of us kings. Where there is not conduct to supersede the holders of the kingdom, to make one's-self a second king is what you yourself, my uncle, would hate." Notwithstanding this refusal, the king conferred on Tsin the lands of Yang-fan, Wăn, Yuen, Tswan-maou; and Tsin proceeded to occupy the district of Nan-yang. Yang-fan refused to submit, and the troops of Tsin laid siege to it. Ts'ang Koh cried out, "It is virtue by which the people of the Middle State are cherished; it is by severity that the wild tribes around are awed. It is right we should not venture to submit to you. Here are none but the king's relatives and kin;—and will you make them captive?" On this the marquis allowed the people to quit the city.'

Par. 5. Tun was a small State, whose lords were Kes, with the title of viscounts;—in the pres. Ho-nan, dis. Shang-shwuy, dep. Ch'in-chow. It was extinguished by Ts'oo in the 14th year of duke Ting. The Chuen says:—"In autumn, Ts'in and Tsin invaded the State of Joh. *At that time*, Tow K'ih and K'ëuh Yu-k'ow, with the forces of Shin and Seih, were guarding *the territory of* Shang-meih on behalf of Ts'oo. The troops of Ts'in, passing by a shaded spot near Seih [a town of Ts'oo], entered it, and bound many of their people [to make them appear as prisoners whom they had taken], with whom they proceeded to besiege Shang-meih, taking care to approach it in the dusk. During the night, they dug a pit, in which they placed a quantity of blood, showing also a writing over it, pretending that these were the proofs of a covenant with Tsze-e and Tsze-peen [the above Tow and K'ëuh]. The people of Shang-meih became afraid, and concluded that Ts'in had taken Seih, and that the guards had gone away to their own State. They surrendered, therefore, to the army of Ts'in, which also made prisoners of Tsze-e duke of Shin, and Tsze-pëen, duke of Seih. Tsze-yuh, chief minister of Ts'oo, pursued the army of Ts'in, but could not overtake it, on which he laid siege to the capital of Ch'in, and restored the viscount of Tun to his State.'

Par. 6. [The Chuen introduces here the following narrative:—'In winter, the marquis of Tsin laid siege to Yuen, and, having ordered the soldiers to be provided with 3 days' provisions, said that if within 3 days Yuen did not surrender, he would give up the siege. *On the third day*, spies came out and told that Yuen was going to surrender *next evening*. The officers of the army entreated the marquis to wait till then; but he said, "Good faith is the precious jewel of a State, and what the people depend upon. If I get Yuen and lose my good faith, of what protection could the people be assured? My loss would be much greater than my gain." *He then withdrew the troops*, but when they had retired 30 *le*, Yuen sent and surrendered. The marquis removed Pih-kwan, governor of Yuen, to Ke. Chaou Ts'ui was made governor of Yuen, and Hoo Tsin governor of Wăn.']

Par. 7. T'aou,—see on III. xxvii. 1. K'ing of Keu, see III. xxvii. 5. The Chuen says:—'Wei had brought about peace between Keu and us. By this covenant at T'aou, the duke renewed *with his son* the good understanding which he had had with duke Wăn of Wei, and declared his friendship with Keu.' The late marquis of Wei was now buried, but his successor is still mentioned here simply as 子, 'son,' and not by the title 'marquis.' The reason probably is that the year in which the father died had not yet expired, and not to praise him as 'son-like,' carrying out the wishes of his father to reconcile Loo and Keu.

[The Chuen adds here:—'The marquis of Tsin consulted Poh-t'e, chief of the eunuchs, as to who should be put in charge of Yuen. Poh-t'e [the eunuch P'e, mentioned before], replied, "Formerly, when Chaou Ts'uy was following your wanderings, carrying with him a pot of food, he did not take any of it, though he was suffering from hunger." On this account, *Ts'uy* was appointed to the charge of Yuen.']

Twenty-sixth year.

一章 二十有六年、春、王正月、己未、公會莒子衞甯速、盟于向。

二章 齊人侵我西鄙、公追齊師、至酅、弗及。

二章 夏、齊人伐我北鄙。

四章 衛人伐齊。

五章 公子遂如楚乞師。

六章 秋、楚人滅夔、以夔子歸。

七章 冬、楚人伐宋、圍緡。

八章 公以楚師伐齊、取穀。

九章 公至自伐齊。

左傳曰、二十六年、春、王正月、公會莒茲丕公甯莊子、盟于向。尋洮之盟也。

齊師侵我西鄙。討是二盟也。

夏、齊孝公伐我北鄙、衛人伐齊。洮之盟故也。公使展喜犒師、使受命于展禽、齊侯未入竟、展喜從之、曰、寡君聞君親舉玉趾、將辱於敝邑、使下臣犒執事。齊侯曰、魯人恐乎。對曰、小人恐矣、君子則否。齊侯曰、室如縣罄、野無青草、何恃而不恐。對曰、恃先王之命、昔周公大公股肱周室、夾輔成王、成王勞之、而賜之盟、曰、世世子孫、無相害也、載在盟府、大師職之、桓公是以糾合諸侯、而謀其不協、彌縫其闕、而匡救其災、昭舊職也、及君卽位、諸侯之望曰、其率桓之功、我敝邑用不敢保聚、曰豈其嗣世九年、而棄命廢職、其若先君何、君必不然、恃此以不恐。齊侯乃還。

東門襄仲、臧文仲、如楚乞師、臧孫見子玉、而道之伐齊、宋、以其不臣也。

夔子不祀祝融與鬻熊、楚人讓之、對曰、我先王熊摯有疾、鬼神弗赦、而自竄于夔、吾是以失楚、又何祀焉。秋、楚成得臣、鬬宜申、帥師滅夔、以夔子歸。

宋以其善於晉侯也、叛楚卽晉。冬、楚令尹子玉、司馬子西、帥師伐宋、圍緡。

公以楚師伐齊、取穀、凡師能左右之曰以、寘桓公子雍於穀、易牙奉之以爲魯援、楚申公叔侯戍之。桓公之子七人、爲七大夫於楚。

XXVI. 1 In his twenty-sixth year, in spring, in the king's first month, on Ke-we, the duke had a meeting with the viscount of Keu and Ning Suh of Wei, when they made a covenant in Hëang.

2 A body of men from Ts'e made an incursion into our western borders, when the duke pursued the army of Ts'e to He, but did not come up with it.

3 In summer, a body of men from Ts'e invaded our northern borders.

4 A body of men from Wei invaded Ts'e.

5 Suy, son of duke [Chwang], went to Ts'oo, to beg [the assistance of] an army.

6 In autumn, an officer of Ts'oo extinguished K'wei, and carried the viscount of K'wei back with them.

7 In winter, a body of men from Ts'oo invaded Sung, and besieged Min.

8 The duke, with an army of Ts'oo, invaded Ts'e, and took Kuh.

9 The duke arrived from the invasion of Ts'e.

Par. 1. Hëang,—see on I.ii.2: II.xvi.4. This Hëang was probably that of Keu. The Chuen tells us that the count of Keu was styled Tsze-p'ei (茲丕), and that Ning Suh [Kung-yang, here and afterwards, has 遬], was the officer known by his honorary title of Chwang (莊子), adding that this meeting was to confirm the previous one at T'aou. The count of Keu had only been there by one of his officers, while here he attended in person:—the reconciliation of Loo and Keu might be considered complete.

Par. 2. Kung-yang has here 巂, and Kuh-lëang 嶲, instead of 酅. Tso-she has 不 for 弗. He says that the incursion was made by Ts'e, to punish Loo for the two covenants at T'aou and Hëang. A better reason may be found in the antagonistic position which Loo took to the present marquis of Ts'e on his accession;—see on XVIII. 2. He was a town of Ts'e, in the south-west of pres. dis. of Tung-o, dep. Yen-chow. The K'ang-he editors have a long note on the change of style in the par. from 齊人 to 齊師, which has wonderfully vexed the critics. If the commonly accepted view, that the term 人 is used of a *small* body of men under a commander of mean rank, and 師 is used of a *large* body of men under a similar command, were indubitably certain, we might be perplexed by the change of terms; but the text surely is an instance in point to show that the two forms of expression may be used to convey the same meaning. Or if it be insisted on that 齊人='an officer of Ts'e,' one of no great rank, commanding in the incursion, the 齊師 can only mean 'the army' or force which he conducted.

Par. 3. Duke Hëaou of Ts'e was himself present with these invading forces. The Chuen says:—'Duke Hëaou of Ts'e invaded our northern borders. Duke He sent Chen He to offer provisions to the invading forces, having first made him receive instructions from Chen K'in [the famous Lëw-hëa Hwuy, He's father]. Accordingly, before the marquis of Ts'e had entered our borders, Chen He followed in his track, came up with him, and said, "My prince, hearing that your lordship was on the march and condescending to come to his small city, has sent myself, his poor servant, with these presents for your officers." The marquis asked whether the people of Loo were afraid. "Small people," replied He, "are afraid; but the superior men are not." "Your houses," said the marquis, "are empty as a hanging musical-stone, and in your fields there is no green grass;—on what do they rely that they are not afraid?" He answered, "They rely on the charge of a former king. Formerly the duke of Chow and T'ae-kung were legs and arms to the House of Chow, and supported and aided king Ch'ing, who rewarded them, and gave them a charge, saying, 'From generation to generation let your descendants refrain from harming one another.' It was preserved in the repository of Charges, under the care of the grand-master [of Chow]. Thus it was that when duke Hwan assembled the various States, taking measures to cure the want of harmony among them, to heal their short-comings, and to relieve those who were in distress. In all this he was illustrating that ancient charge. When your lordship took his place, all the States were full of hope, saying, 'He will carry on the meritorious work of Hwan.' On this account

our poor State did not presume to protect itself by collecting its multitudes; *and now* we say, 'Will he, after possessing Ts'e nine years, forget that *ancient* charge, and cast aside the duty enjoined in it? What in that case would his father say?' Your lordship surely will not do such a thing. It is on this that we rely, and are not afraid." On this the marquis of Ts'e returned.'

Par. 4. Tso-she says this movement of Wei was a consequence of the covenant of T'aou. Wei and Loo had probably then agreed to support each other against Ts'e.

Par. 5. Though Loo had succeeded in inducing the marquis of Ts'e to withdraw his army, as related in the last Chuen, it wished to be prepared against Ts'e in the future, and even to commence hostilities against it in its turn;—this was the reason of this mission to Ts'oo. The Suy in the text had the clan-name of Tung-mun, [because he had his residence by the 'eastern gate']. The Chuen says:—'Tung-mun Sëang [the hon. title]-chung, and Tsang Wăn-chung went to Ts'oo to ask the assistance of an army. Tsang-sun [the above Wăn-chung] had an interview with Tsze-yuh [the minister of Ts'oo], and tried to persuade him to attack Ts'e and Sung, on the ground of their not performing their duty to the king.'

Par. 6. K'wei (Kung-yang has 隗) was a small State in the pres. dis. of Kwei-chow (歸州), dep. E-ch'ang (宜昌), Hoo-pih. Its ruling family was of the same surname as the lords of Ts'oo,—an off-shoot from the ruling House of that State. The Chuen says:—'The count of K'wei did not sacrifice to Chuh-yung and Yuh-hëung [the remote ancestors of the House of Ts'oo and also of K'wei], and an officer *was sent* from Ts'oo to reprove him. He replied, "The founder of our State, Hëung Che, was afflicted with a disease, from which those Spirits did not deliver him, and he was obliged to hide himself *here* in K'wei. In this way we lost *our connection with* Ts'oo, and why should we offer these sacrifices?" In autumn, Ch'ing Tih-shin [the prime minister of Ts'oo, Tsze-yuh] and Tow E-shin led an army and extinguished K'wei, when they carried the viscount back with them to Ts'oo."

Par. 7. For 緡 Kuh-lëang has 閔. Min,—see on XXIII. 1. The Chuen says:—'*The duke of* Sung, in consequence of the service which he had rendered to the *marquis of* Tsin *in his wanderings* [see the Chuen at the end of the 23d year], *ventured* to revolt from Ts'oo and adhere to Tsin. In winter, Tsze-yuh, chief minister of Ts'oo, and Tsze-se, minister of War, invaded Sung with a force, and laid siege to Min.'

Par. 8. This is the sequel of par. 5. Kuh,—see III. vii. 4, *et al.* The Chuen says:—'Whenever an army is at one's disposal to move it to the right or left, we have the term 以. *On this occasion,* the duke placed Yung, one of the sons of duke Hwan of Ts'e in Kuh, where Yih-ya supported him, as an aid to Loo, while Shuh-how, duke of Shin, guarded the place on behalf of Ts'oo. Seven of the sons of duke Hwan were great officers in Ts'oo.'

Twenty-seventh year.

一章 二十有七年、春、杞子來朝。

二章 夏、六月、庚寅、齊侯昭卒。

三章 秋、八月、乙未、葬齊孝公。

四章 乙巳、公子遂帥師入杞。

五章 冬、楚人、陳侯、蔡侯、鄭伯、許男、圍宋。

六章 十有二月、甲戌、公會諸侯、盟于宋。

左傳曰、二十七年、春、杞桓公來朝。用夷禮、故曰子、公卑杞、杞不共也。

夏、齊孝公卒。有齊怨、不廢喪紀、禮也。

秋、入杞。責無禮也。

㊂楚子將圍宋、使子文治兵於睽、終朝而畢、不戮一人。子玉復治兵於蔿、終日而畢、鞭七人、貫三人耳。國老皆賀子文、子文飲之酒、蔿賈尚幼、後至不賀、子文問之、對曰、不知所賀、子之傳政於子玉、曰以靖國也、靖諸內而敗諸外、所獲幾何、子玉之敗、子之舉也、舉以敗國、將何賀焉、子玉剛而無禮、不可以治民、過三百乘、其不能以入矣、苟入而賀、何後之有。

冬、楚子及諸侯圍宋。宋公孫固如晉告急、先軫曰、報施救患、取威定霸、於是乎在矣。狐偃曰、楚始得曹、而新昏於衞、若伐曹衞、楚必救之、則齊宋免矣。於是乎蒐于被廬、作三軍、謀元帥、趙衰曰、郤縠可、臣亟聞其言矣、說禮樂而敦詩書、詩書、義之府也、禮樂、德之則也、德義、利之本也、夏書曰、賦納以言、明試以功、車服以庸、君其試之。乃使郤縠將中軍、郤溱佐之、使狐偃將上軍、讓於狐毛而佐之、命趙衰爲卿、讓於欒枝、先軫、使欒枝將下軍、先軫佐之、荀林父御戎、魏犨爲右。晉侯始入而教其民、二年、欲用之、子犯曰、民未知義、未安其居。於是乎出定襄王、入務利民、民懷生矣。將用之、子犯曰、民未知信、未宣其用。於是乎伐原以示之信、民易資者、不求豐焉、明徵其辭、公曰、可矣乎。子犯曰、民未知禮、未生其共。於是乎大蒐以示之禮、作執秩以正其官。民聽不惑、而後用之、出穀戍、釋宋圍、一戰而霸、文之教也。

XXVII. 1 In the [duke's] twenty-seventh year, the viscount of Ke paid a court-visit to Loo.

2 In summer, in the sixth month, on Kăng-yin, Ch'aou, marquis of Ts'e, died.

3 In autumn, in the eighth month, on Yih-we, there was the burial of duke Hëaou of Ts'e.

4 On Yih-sze, Suy, son of duke [Chwang], led an army and entered Ke.

5 In winter, an officer of Ts'oo, the marquis of Ch'in,

the marquis of Ts'ae, the earl of Ch'ing, and the baron of Heu, laid siege to [the capital of] Sung.

6 In the twelfth month, on Këah-seuh, the duke had a meeting with the [above] princes, when they made a covenant in Sung.

Par. 1. The Chuen says:—'Duke Hwan of Ke paid a court-visit, and used the ceremonies of the E, for which reason he is called *merely* viscount. The duke despised Ke, because of its want of respectfulness.' This explanation of the title *viscount* here must be incorrect; see what is said on 杞子 in XXIII. 4. Even the K'ang-he editors reject Tso-she's view in this place. The lords of Ke had been degraded by the king to the rank of viscount; we shall find hereafter that they regained one step of dignity. It may be mentioned that the viscount in the text is the same who is mentioned in V. 2, as presented by his mother, a sister of duke He, at the court of Loo, when he was a child. He himself became, a few years after this, a son-in-law of He.

Par. 2. The Chuen says:—'*At this time* Loo had reason for resentment against Ts'e, but the duke did not neglect the observances proper in cases of death;—which was proper.'

Par. 3. For some reason or other the interment was hurried.

Par. 4. Too observes that the date here must be wrong;—there was no Yih-sze in the 8th month of this year, but that day was the 6th of the 9th month. The Chuen says that this attack of Ke was to punish it for the neglect of the proper ceremonies, assumed in the Chuen on the 1st par. Most critics condemn the action of Loo in making this return to the viscount for his visit in the spring;—and properly. Chaou P'ăng-fei (趙鵬飛) says that the true character of Loo may be seen in it (魯之爲魯,抑可見矣), timorous and crouching before the strong, arrogant and oppressive to the weak.

Par. 5. The Chuen says here:—'The viscount of Ts'oo, wishing to lay siege to *the capital of* Sung, made Tsze-wăn exercise and inspect the troops for the expedition in K'wei, and at the end of a whole morning, he had not punished a single man. Tsze-yuh in the next place was employed to exercise the troops in Wei, and at the day's end he had scourged seven men, amd bored through the ears of three. The elders of the State all congratulated Tsze-wăn [on his recommendation of Tsze-yuh], when he detained them to drink with him. Wei Këa was then still a boy, and came late, offering no congratulations. Tsze-wăn asked the reason of his conduct, and he replied, "I do not know on what I should congratulate you. You have resigned the government to Tsze-yuh, thinking, no doubt, that his appointment would quiet the State. But with quietness in the State and defeat abroad, what will be gained? The defeat of Tsze-yuh will be owing to your recommendation of him; and what cause for congratulation is there in a recommendation which will bring defeat to the State? Tsze-yuh is a violent man, and regardless of the observances of propriety, so that he is unfit to rule the people. If he be entrusted with the command of more than 300 chariots, he will not enter the capital again. If I congratulate you after he has returned from being entrusted with a larger command, my congratulations will not be too late."

'In winter, the viscount of Ts'oo and *several* other princes laid siege to the capital of Sung, the duke of which sent Kung-sun Koo to Tsin to report the strait in which he was. Sëen Chin said *to the marquis*, '*Now* you may recompense the favours *received from Sung*, and relieve its distress. The opportunity is now presented to acquire the *proper* majesty and make sure of the leadership of the States." Hoo Yen said, "Ts'oo has just secured the adherence of Ts'aou, and recently contracted a marriage with Wei. If we invade Ts'aou and Wei, Ts'oo will be sure to go to their help, and so Sung and Ts'e will be delivered from it." On this, the marquis ordered a hunting in Pe-leu, and formed a third army [see the Chuen after IV. 1. 6]. He then consulted about a commander-in-chief. Chaou Ts'ui said, "Këoh Hwoh is the man. I have heard him speak. He explains all about music and proprieties, and is versed in the Books of Poetry and History. Those Books are the repository of righteousness, and in music and proprieties we have the patterns of virtue, while virtue and righteousness are roots of all advantage. In the Books of Hëa [Shoo, II. i. 8, where there is some difference in the text] it is said, 'They were appointed by their speech; they were tested by their works; they received chariots and robes according to their services.' Let your lordship make trial of him." On this the marquis appointed Këoh Hwoh to command the second army, that of the centre, with Këoh Tsin as his assistant. Hoo Yen was made commander of the first army, but he declined in favour of Hoo Maou, and acted as his assistant. The marquis ordered Chaou Ts'uy to take the third command, but he declined in favour of Lwan Che and Sëen Chin, on which Lwan Che was made commander of the third army, with Sëen Chin as his assistant. Seun Lin-foo acted as charioteer for the marquis, and Wei Ch'ow was the spearman on the right.

'When the marquis of Tsin got possession of the State, he taught the people for two years, and then wished to employ them *in war*. Tsze-fan said, "While the people do not know righteousness, they will not live quietly." On this, beyond the State, the marquis settled the troubles of king Sëang, and in it he studied the people's advantage, till their lives were happy and cherished by them. He then wished to employ them, but Tsze-fan *again* said, 'The people do not yet know good faith, and do not understand how they are to be employed." On this the marquis attacked Yuen, and showed them what good faith was, so that in their

bargains they sought no advantage, and intelligently fulfilled all their words. "May they now be employed?" asked the marquis, but Tsze-fan once more replied, 'While they do not know the observances of propriety, their respectfulness is not brought out.' On this, the marquis made great huntings, and showed them the gradations of different ranks, making special officers of degrees to adjust all the services. When the people could receive their orders, without making any mistake, then he employed them, drove out the guards of Kuh [see XXVI. 8], and relieved the siege of Sung. The securing of his leadership of the States by one battle was owing to this intelligent training.'

The 'man of Ts'oo' in the text was Tsze-yuh; but though he commanded, the viscount himself was with the army,—as the Chuen relates.

Par. 6. Loo now belonged to the party of Ts'oo, and the duke therefore went to Sung, to prove his adhesion. The critics needlessly find a great significance in the express mention of 'the duke' (公), and in the use of the general phrase 'the princes' (諸侯), without any special mention of 'the viscount of Ts'oo.'

Twenty-eighth year.

一章 二十有八年、春、晉侯侵曹、晉侯伐衞。

二章 公子買戍衞、不卒戍、刺之。 三章 楚人救衞。

四章 三月、丙午、晉侯入曹、執曹伯、畀宋人。

五章 夏、四月、己巳、晉侯、齊師、宋師、秦師及楚人、戰于城濮、楚師敗績。

六章 楚殺其大夫得臣。 七章 衞侯出奔楚。

八章 五月、癸丑、公會晉侯、齊侯、宋公、蔡侯、鄭伯、衞子、莒子、盟于踐土。

九章 陳侯如會。 十章 公朝于王所。

十一章 六月、衞侯鄭自楚復歸于衞、衞元咺出奔晉。

十二章 陳侯款卒。 十三章 秋杞伯姬來。
十四章 公子遂如齊。
十五章 冬公會晉侯、齊侯、宋公、蔡侯、鄭伯、
陳子、莒子、邾子、秦人于溫。
十六章 天王狩于河陽。
十七章 壬申、公朝于王所。
十八章 晉人執衛侯、歸之于京師。
十九章 衛元咺自晉復歸于衛。
二十章 諸侯遂圍許。
廿一章 曹伯襄復歸于曹、遂會諸侯圍許。

左傳曰、二十八年、春、晉侯將伐曹、假道于衛、衛
人弗許、還、自南河濟、侵曹伐衛、正月戊申、取五
鹿。二月、晉郤縠卒、原軫將中軍、胥臣佐下軍、上
德也、晉侯、齊侯盟于斂盂、衛侯請盟、晉人弗許。
衛侯欲與楚、國人不欲、故出其君以說于晉、衛
侯出居于襄牛。
公子買戍衛、楚人救衛、不克、公懼於晉、殺子叢
以說焉、謂楚人曰、不卒戍也。
晉侯圍曹、門焉多死、曹人尸諸城上、晉侯患之、
聽輿人之謀、曰稱舍於墓、師遷焉、曹人兇懼、為
其所得者、棺而出之、因其兇也而攻之、三月丙
午、入曹、數之以其不用僖負羈、而乘軒者三百
人也、且曰獻狀、令無入僖負羈之宮、而免其族、
報施也。魏犨、顛頡怒曰、勞之不圖、報於何有、爇
僖負羈氏、魏犨傷於胸、公欲殺之、而愛其材、使
問、且視之、病、將殺之。魏犨束胸見使者曰、以君
之靈、不有寧也、距躍三百、曲踊三百、乃舍之、殺
顛頡以徇于師、立舟之僑以為戎右。宋人使門

尹般如晉師告急、公曰、宋人告急、舍之則絕、告楚不許、我欲戰矣、齊秦未可、若之何。先軫曰、使宋舍我而賂齊秦、藉之告楚、我執曹君、而分曹衛之田、以賜宋人、楚愛曹衛、必不許也、喜賂怒頑、能無戰乎。公說、執曹伯、分曹衛之田、以畀宋人。

楚子入居于申、使申叔去穀、使子玉去宋、曰、無從晉師、晉侯在外十九年矣、而果得晉國、險阻艱難、備嘗之矣、民之情僞、盡知之矣、天假之年、而除其害、天之所置、其可廢乎、軍志曰、允當則歸、又曰、知難而退、又曰、有德不可敵、此三志者、晉之謂矣。子玉使伯棼請戰、曰、非敢必有功也、願以閒執讒慝之口。王怒、少與之師、唯西廣東宮與若敖之六卒實從之。子玉使宛春告於晉師、曰、請復衛侯而封曹、臣亦釋宋之圍。子犯曰、子玉無禮哉、君取一、臣取二、不可失矣。先軫曰、子與之、定人之謂禮、楚一言而定三國、我一言而亡之、我則無禮、何以戰乎、不許楚言、是棄宋也、救而棄之、謂諸侯何、楚有三施、我有三怨、怨讎已多、將何以戰、不如私許復曹衛以攜之、執宛春以怒楚、既戰而後圖之。公說、乃拘宛春於衛、且私許復曹衛、曹衛告絕於楚。子玉怒、從晉師、晉師退、軍吏曰、以君辟臣、辱也、且楚師老矣、何故退。子犯曰、師直爲壯、曲爲老、豈在久乎、微楚之惠、不及此、退三舍辟之、所以報也、背惠食言、以亢其讎、我曲楚直、其衆素飽、不可謂老、我退而楚還、我將何求、若其不還、君退臣犯、曲在彼矣。退三舍、楚衆欲止、子玉不可。夏四月戊辰、晉侯、宋公、齊國歸父、崔夭、秦小子憖、次于城濮、楚師背酅而舍、晉侯患之、聽輿人之誦、曰、原田每每、舍其舊而新是謀。公疑焉。子犯曰、戰也、戰而捷、必得諸侯、若其不捷、表裏山河、必無害也。公曰、若楚惠何。欒貞子曰、漢陽諸姬、楚實盡之、思小惠而忘大恥、不如戰也。晉侯夢與楚子搏、楚子伏己而盬其腦、是以懼。子犯曰、吉、我得天、楚伏其罪、吾且柔之矣。子玉使鬬勃請戰、曰、請與君之士戲、君馮軾而觀之、得臣與寓目焉。晉侯使欒枝對曰、寡君聞命矣、楚君之惠、未之敢忘、是以在此、爲大夫退、其敢當君乎、既不獲命矣、敢煩大夫謂二三子、戒爾車乘、敬爾君事、詰朝將見。晉車七百乘、韅靷鞅靽。晉侯登有莘之

虛以觀師、曰、少長有禮、其可用也、遂伐其木以益其兵。己巳晉師陳于莘北、胥臣以下軍之佐當陳蔡、子玉以若敖之六卒將中軍、曰、今日必無晉矣。子西將左、子上將右。胥臣蒙馬以虎皮、先犯陳蔡、陳蔡奔、楚右師潰。狐毛設二旆而退之、欒枝使輿曳柴而僞遁、楚師馳之、原軫郤溱以中軍公族橫擊之、狐毛狐偃以上軍夾攻子西、楚左師潰、楚師敗績。子玉收其卒而止、故不敗。晉師三日館穀、及癸酉而還。

初楚子玉自爲瓊弁玉纓、未之服也、先戰、夢河神謂己曰、畀余、余賜女孟諸之麋。弗致也。大心與子西、使榮黃諫、弗聽、榮季曰、死而利國、猶或爲之、況瓊玉乎、是糞土也、而可以濟師、將何愛焉、弗聽、出告二子曰、非神敗令尹、令尹其不勤民、實自敗也。既敗、王使謂之曰、大夫若入、其若申息之老何。子西孫伯曰、得臣將死、二臣止之曰、君其將以爲戮。及連穀而死。晉侯聞之、而後喜可知也、曰、莫余毒也已。蔿呂臣實爲令尹、奉己而已、不在民矣。

甲午、至于衡雍、作王宮于踐土。鄉役之三月、鄭伯如楚、致其師、爲楚師既敗而懼、使子人九行成于晉、晉欒枝入盟鄭伯、五月丙午、晉侯及鄭伯盟于衡雍。丁未、獻楚俘于王、駟介百乘、徒兵千、鄭伯傅王、用平禮也。己酉、王享醴、命晉侯宥、王命尹氏及王子虎內史叔興父策命晉侯爲侯伯、賜之大輅之服、戎輅之服、彤弓一、彤矢百、玈弓矢千、秬鬯一卣、虎賁三百人、曰、王謂叔父、敬服王命、以綏四國、糾逖王慝。晉侯三辭、從命、曰、重耳敢再拜稽首、奉揚天子之丕顯休命、受策以出、出入三覲。衛侯聞楚師敗、懼、出奔楚、遂適陳、使元咺奉叔武以受盟。癸亥、王子虎盟諸侯于王庭、要言曰、皆獎王室、無相害也、有渝此盟、明神殛之、俾隊其師、無克祚國、及而玄孫、無有老幼。君子謂是盟也信、謂晉於是役也、能以德攻。

或訴元咺于衛侯曰、立叔武矣。其子角從公、公使殺之、咺不廢命、奉夷叔以入守、六月、晉人復衛侯、甯武子與衛人盟于宛濮、曰、天禍衛國、君臣不協、以及此憂也、今天誘其衷、使皆降心以相從也、不有居者、誰守社稷、不

有行者、誰扞牧圉、不協之故、用昭乞盟于爾大神、以誘天衷、自今日以往、旣盟之後、行者無保其力、居者無懼其罪、有渝此盟、以相及也、明神先君、是糾是殛、國人聞此盟也、而後不貳、衛侯先期入、甯子先、長牂守門、以爲使也、與之乘而入、公子歂犬、華仲前驅、叔武將沐、聞君至、喜、捉髮走出、前驅射而殺之、公知其無罪也、枕之股而哭之、歂犬走出、公使殺之、元咺出奔晉。

⨸城濮之戰、晉中軍風于澤、亡大旆之左旃、祁瞞奸命、司馬殺之、以徇于諸侯、使茅茷代之、師還、壬午、濟河、舟之僑先歸、士會攝右、秋七月丙申、振旅愷以入于晉、獻俘授馘、飲至大賞、徵會討貳、殺舟之僑以徇于國、民於是大服。君子謂文公其能刑矣、三罪而民服、詩云、惠此中國、以綏四方、不失賞刑之謂也。

冬、會于溫。討不服也。

是會也、晉侯召王、以諸侯見、且使王狩。仲尼曰、以臣召君、不可以訓、故書曰、天王狩于河陽。言非其地也、且明德也、壬申、公朝于王所。

衛侯與元咺訟、甯武子爲輔、鍼莊子爲坐、士榮爲大士、衛侯不勝、殺士榮、刖鍼莊子、謂甯俞忠而免之、執衛侯、歸之于京師、寘諸深室、甯子職納櫜饘焉。

元咺歸于衛、立公子瑕。

丁丑、諸侯圍許。晉侯有疾、曹伯之豎侯獳貨筮史、使曰、以曹爲解、齊桓公爲會而封異姓、今君爲會而滅同姓、曹叔振鐸、文之昭也、先君唐叔、武之穆也、且合諸侯而滅兄弟、非禮也、與衛偕命、而不與偕復、非信也、同罪異罰、非刑也、禮以行義、信以守禮、刑以正邪、舍此三者、君將若之何。公說、復曹伯、遂會諸侯圍許。

⨸晉侯作三行以禦狄、荀林父將中行、屠擊將右行、先蔑將左行。

XXVIII. 1 In the duke's twenty-eighth year, in spring, the marquis of Tsin made an incursion into Ts'aou. He [also] invaded Wei.

2 Mae, son of duke [Chwang], was guarding Wei. [Because] he did not do so successfully, [the duke] put him to death.

3 A body of men from Ts'oo [endeavoured to] relieve Wei.

4 In the third month, on Ping-woo, the marquis of Tsin entered [the capital of] Ts'aou, seized the earl of Ts'aou, and gave him to the people of Sung.

5 In summer, in the fourth month, on Ke-sze, the marquis of Tsin, and the armies of Ts'e, Sung, and Ts'in, fought with the men of Ts'oo in Shing-puh, when the army of Ts'oo was disgracefully defeated.

6 Ts'oo put to death its great officer, Tih-shin.

7 The marquis of Wei left his State, and fled to Ts'oo.

8 In the fifth month, on Kwei-ch'ow, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Tsin, the marquis of Ts'e, the duke of Sung, the marquis of Ts'ae, the earl of Ch'ing, the viscount of Wei, and the viscount of Keu, when they made a covenant at Tsëen-t'oo.

9 The marquis of Ch'in went to the [above] meeting.

10 The duke paid a court-visit in the place where the king was.

11 In the sixth month, Ch'ing, marquis of Wei, returned from Ts'oo to his rule in Wei. Yuen Heuen of Wei left the State, and fled to Tsin.

12 Kwan, marquis of Ch'in, died.

13 In autumn, duke [Chwang's] eldest daughter, [married to the former viscount] of Ke, came to Loo.

14 Suy, son of duke [Chwang], went to Ts'e.

15 In winter, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Tsin, the marquis of Ts'e, the duke of Sung, the marquis of Ts'ae, the earl of Ch'ing, the *heir*-son of Ch'in, the viscount of Keu, the viscount of Choo, and an officer of Ts'in, in Wăn.

16 The king [by] Heaven's [grace] held a court of reception in Ho-yang.

17 On Jin-shin, the duke paid a court-visit in the place where the king was.

18 An officer of Tsin seized the marquis of Wei, and carried him to the capital.

19 Yuen Heuen of Wei returned from Tsin to his place in Wei.

20 The princes then besieged [the capital of] Heu.

21 Sëang, earl of Ts'aou, was restored to his State, and forthwith joined the other princes in the siege of Heu.

Par. 1. The Chuen says:—'In spring, the marquis of Tsin, wishing to invade Ts'aou, asked to be allowed to march through Wei, but the people of Wei refused the privilege. On this he retraced his steps, and crossed the Ho at its most southern part, made an incursion into Ts'aou, and invaded Wei. In the 1st month, on Mow-shin, he took Woo-luh. In the 2d month, Këoh Hwoh of Tsin died, and Chin of Yuen got the command of the second army, Seu Shin *taking his place* as assistant-commander of the third, —from the marquis's high consideration of his ability. The marquis of Tsin and the marquis of Ts'e made a covenant at Lëen-yu. The marquis of Wei begged to be admitted to it, but Tsin refused. He then wished to take the side of Ts'oo, but the people of the State did not wish this, and thrust him out,—in order to please Tsin. On this he left the capital, and resided at Sëang-nëw.'

The repetition of 'the marquis of Tsin' in the text indicates that the raid into Ts'aou and the attack of Wei were two distinct undertakings, previously determined on. If the meaning were that Tsin seized the opportunity of being in Ts'aou to attack Wei as an afterthought, instead of the second 晉侯 we should have 遂.

Par. 2. The Chuen says:—'Mae was guarding Wei *in the interest of Ts'oo*, and when the people of Ts'oo were unsuccessful in relieving it, the duke became afraid of Tsin, and put Tsze-ts'ung [*i.e.*, Mae] to death to please it, saying at the same time to the people of Ts'oo that *he put him to death* because he failed in maintaining his guard.' Maou K'e-ling calls this account of the execution of Mae into question, principally because the action of Ts'oo to relieve Wei had not yet been taken, the mention of it being made only in the next par. But this is being hypercritical. The conduct of Loo in the case illustrates the weakness and vacillation in its government, which have already been pointed out. We have here 刺 instead of 殺, the former term being proper to the execution of a great officer in the record made by the historiographers of the State, as Kung-yang says:—內諱殺大夫謂之刺之也. The K'ang-he editors approve of this explanation, and show that the use of the term in the Chow Le, BK. XVI., pp. 47,48, often adduced in illustration of the text, is different.

Par. 3. Here is another instance of the modified signification that must often be allowed to 救. As Ch'in Foo-lëang says, 楚欲救衞而不能也, 'Ts'oo wished to relieve Wei, but was not able to do so.'

Par. 4. The Chuen says:—'The marquis of Tsin besieged *the capital of* Ts'aou, and in an attack on one of its gates, many of his soldiers were killed. The people of Ts'aou took their bodies, and exposed them on the top of the wall, to his great distress. Having heard his men planning among themselves, and saying, "Let us say that we will go and encamp among their graves," he removed *part of the army* there. The people of Ts'aou shuddered in their fear, made coffins for the bodies which they had got, and sent them forth from the city. The army of Tsin attacked it while in this consternation, and in the 3d month, on Ping-woo, *the marquis* entered the city, declared to the earl his fault in not employing He Hoo-ke; and finding that there were 300 men, who rode in the carriages of great officers, he required him to produce the record of their services. He gave orders *also* that no one should enter the mansion of He Hoo-ke, and granted protection to all his relatives; thus recompensing the favour that He had formerly done him [See the long Chuen at the end of the 23rd year]. Wei Ch'ow and Tëen Hëeh were angry at this, and said, "*The marquis* has not tried to recompense all our labour in his cause, and here he makes such a return for a trifling service." *On this* they *went* and burned the house of He, when Wei Ch'ow was hurt in the breast *in the conflagration*. The marquis wished to put him to death [for violating his command]; but regretting to lose his ability and strength, he sent a messenger to ask for him, and to see how he was, intending, should he be very ill, to execute him. Ch'ow bound up his breast, and, when he saw the messenger, said, "By the good influence of his lordship, I have no serious hurt," jumping up thrice at the same time, and leaping crosswise thrice. On this the marquis let him alone, but he put to death Tëen Hëeh, and sent his head round the army, appointing also Chow Che-k'ëaou to be spearman on the right of his chariot in the room of Wei Ch'ow.

'*At this time*, the duke of Sung sent Pan, the warden of the gates, to the army of Tsin, to tell the marquis in what straits he was. The marquis said, "Sung here announces its distress. If we leave it unrelieved, Sung will break off from us. If we ask Ts'oo to abandon the siege, it will refuse us. And I want to fight with Ts'oo, but Ts'e and Ts'in are still unwilling to join us. What is to be done?" Sëen Chin said, "Let Sung leave us; offer bribes to Ts'e and Ts'in; and get them to intercede with Ts'oo on its behalf. In the meanwhile, let us hold the earl of Ts'aou, and give a portion of the lands of Ts'aou and Wei to the people of Sung. Ts'oo, being fond of Ts'aou and Wei, will be sure to refuse the request of Ts'e and Ts'in. and they, pleased with *Sung's* bribes, and indignant at *Ts'oo's* obstinacy, will be ready to take the field with us." The marquis was pleased with the advice, made the earl of Ts'aou his prisoner, and gave over to Sung a portion of the lands of Ts'aou and Wei.'

According to the Chuen, the marquis of Tsin did not give the earl of Ts'aou over to Sung, but only a portion of his State. In the text, however, we can supply no other direct object to 畀, but the 曹伯, which precedes. The policy of Tsin will be perceived by the reader:—The marquis's object was to set Ts'oo at variance with Ts'e and Ts'in, so that these States should join him against it. By heaping favours, at the expense of Ts'aou and Wei, on Sung, he irritated Ts'oo still more against that State, so as not to listen to the solicitations of Ts'e and Ts'in, and be more determined than before to wreak its anger upon it. Ts'oo would thus offend the two powerful States, and be goaded on to try a battle with Tsin.

Par. 5. Shing-puh,—see III. xxvii. 7. The Chuen says:—'The viscount of Ts'oo had *in the*

meantime taken up his residence in the chief town of Shin, from which he sent word to Shuh-how of Shin to withdraw from Kuh [See on XXVI. 8], and to Tsze-yuh to withdraw from Sung, saying *also to the latter*, "Do not follow the army of Tsin. The marquis of Tsin was a fugitive abroad for 19 years, and yet he has succeeded in getting possession of the State. He has experienced perils, difficulties, and hardships; he is thoroughly acquainted with the truth and the falsehood of men; Heaven has given him length of years, and removed those who wished to injure him:—can he whom Heaven thus establishes be displaced? The Art of War says, 'When things are properly arranged, then return;' 'When you know yourself to be in difficulties, then withdraw;' and also, 'The virtuous man is not to be opposed.' These three rules are all applicable to the *present* case of Tsin.

'Tsze-yuh sent Pih-fun *to Shin* to beg to be allowed to fight, saying, "I do not presume to say that I shall certainly conquer; but I wish to shut the mouth of my calumniators." The king [*i. e.* the viscount of Ts'oo] was angry, and gave him but a few additional troops;—only the cohort of the west, the guards of the prince of Ts'oo, and the six troops of Joh-gaou, went to join the army in Sung. Tsze-yuh then sent Yuen Ch'un with this message to the army of Tsin:—"Please to restore the marquis of Wei, and re-instate the earl of Ts'aou, and I, in my turn, will give up the siege of Sung." Tsze-fan said, "Tsze-yuh has no sense of courtesy or propriety!—Our lord is to get one advantage, and he himself, a subject, is to get two. We must not lose *this opportunity of fighting*." Sëen Chin said to Tsze-fan, "Accede to the proposal. To settle *the affairs of* men may be called *the highest exercise of* propriety. Ts'oo by one proposal would settle the difficulties of three States;—if we by one word in *reply* prevent this settlement, then we are chargeable with the want of propriety;—and on what grounds can we go on to fight? If we refuse to accede to Ts'oo's proposal, we abandon Sung. Our object has been to relieve it; and if we abandon it instead, what will the States think of us? There will be, *on our refusal*, three States which Ts'oo has sought to benefit, three States whose resentment we have provoked. When those who are displeased with us become so numerous, where will be our means to fight? Our best plan will be privately to promise to restore the princes of Ts'aou and Wei, so alienating them from Ts'oo; and at the same time let us seize Yuen Ch'un to make Ts'oo still more angry. After we have fought, we can take further measures on all these points." The marquis was pleased with this advice, and accordingly he kept Yuen Ch'un a prisoner in Wei, at the same time privately promising the princes of Ts'aou and Wei to restore them to their States; and they, in consequence, announced *to Tsze-yuh* their separation from the side of Ts'oo. Tsze-yuh was so angry with these things that he followed the marquis of Tsin, who retreated before him. The smaller officers of the army said, "It is disgraceful for the prince of one State thus to avoid the minister of another. The army of Ts'oo, moreover, has been long in the field; why do we retreat before it?' Tsze-fan said to them, "It is the goodness of its cause which makes an army strong; you cannot call it old because it may have served a long time. But for the kindness of Ts'oo, we should not be in our present circumstances; and this retreat of three stages is to repay that kindness. If the marquis showed ingratitude for that and ate his words [See the Chuen at the end of the 23d year], so meeting Ts'oo as an enemy, we should be in the wrong and Ts'oo would be in the right;—its host would be as if it had abundant rations, and could not be pronounced old *and wearied*. If, when we retire, Ts'oo also withdraw its army, what *can it be said that* we are requiring of it? But if it do not do so, then our prince retires, and its subject keeps pressing upon him;—Ts'oo will be in the wrong." When Tsin had *thus* retreated 90 *le*, the host of Ts'oo wished to stop, but Tsze-yuh would not do so.

'In summer, in the 4th month, on Mow-shin, the marquis of Tsin, the duke of Sung, Kwoh Kwei-foo and Ts'uy Yaou of Ts'e, and Yin, a younger son of the earl of Ts'in, all halted at Shing-puh, while the army of Ts'oo encamped with the height of E in its rear. The marquis was troubled *by the strength of the enemy's position*, but he heard the soldiers singing to themselves the lines,

"Beautiful and rich is the field on the plain;
The old crop removed, the new comes amain."

The marquis was doubting about their meaning, but Tsze-fan said to him, "Fight. If we fight and are victorious, you are sure to gain all the States; if we do not succeed, we have the outer and inner defences of the mountains and the Ho, and shall not receive any serious injury." "But," said the marquis, "what of the kindness which I received from Ts'oo?" Lwan Ching-tsze said, "All the Ke States north of the Han have been absorbed by Ts'oo. You are thinking of the small kindness which you received yourself, and forgetting the great disgrace done to your surname;—the best plan is to fight." The marquis dreamt that he was boxing with the viscount of Ts'oo, when the viscount knelt down upon him, and sucked his brains. This made him afraid again, but Tsze-fan said, 'The dream is lucky. We lie looking to heaven, while Ts'oo is kneeling, as if acknowledging its guilt; and moreover, we deal gently with it."

'Tsze-yuh sent Tow Poh, to request that Tsin would fight with him, saying, "Let me have a game with your men. Your lordship can lean on the cross-board of your carriage and look on, and I will be there to see you." The marquis made Lwan Che give the following reply, "I have heard your commands. I dared not to forget the kindness of the lord of Ts'oo, and therefore I am here. I retired before his officer;—should I have dared to oppose himself? Since I have not received your orders not to fight, I will trouble you, Sir, to say to your leaders, 'Prepare your chariots; see reverently to your prince's business; to-morrow morning I will see you.'"

'The chariots of Tsin were 700, with the harness of the horses on back, breast, belly, and hips, all complete. The marquis ascended the old site of Yëw-sin to survey the army, when he said, "The young and the old are all properly disposed. The troops are fit to be employed." Thereafter, he caused the trees about to be cut

down to increase his munitions of war. On Ke-sze, the army was drawn out for battle on the north of Sin, Seu Shin, with his command, as the assistant leader of the 3d army, being opposed to the troops of Ch'in and Ts'ae. Tsze-yuh, with the 6 troops of Joh-gaou, commanded the army of the centre, and said, "To-day shall make an end of Tsin;" while Tsze-se commanded on the left, and Tsze-shang on the right. Seu Shin, having covered his horses with tiger skins, commenced the battle by attacking the troops of Ch'in and Ts'ae, which took to flight, and the right army of Ts'oo was scattered. Hoo Maou set up two large flags, and them he carried back, while Lwan Che, also pretended to fly, dragging branches of trees behind his chariots [To increase the dust, and make his movement all the more resemble a flight]. The army of Ts'oo dashed after the fugitives, when Yuen Chin and Këoh Tsin, with the 1st army and the marquis's own, came cross-wise upon it. At the same time, Hoo Maou and Hoo Yen attacked Tsze-se on the other side, and the left army of Ts'oo was scattered. The army of Ts'oo indeed was disgracefully defeated, for Tsze-yuh only did not suffer as the other leaders, because he collected his forces, and desisted from the fight. The army of Tsin occupied his camp, and feasted on his provisions for 3 days, retiring on the day Kwei-yëw.'

Par. 6. Tih-chin died by his own hand, his ruler refusing to forgive his waywardness in seeking a battle with Tsin, and the disgrace incurred by his defeat. That the text should describe his death as if he had been publicly executed, or at least put to death by the command of the viscount of Ts'oo, is an instance, tho' only a minor one, of the misrepresentations of fact that abound in the classic, and in which Chinese critics will see only the sagely wisdom of Confucius. The Chuen says:—'At an earlier time, Tsze-yuh had made for himself a cap of fawn-skin, adorned with carnation gems and with strings ornamented with jade: but he had not worn it. Before the battle, he dreamed that the spirit of the Ho said to him, "Give your cap to me, and I will give you the marsh of Măng-choo," and that he would not make the exchange. *The dream becoming known, his son* Ta-sin and Tsze-se sent Yung Hwang to remonstrate with him; but it was in vain. Yung Ke [Ke was the designation of Yung Hwang] said, "If by dying you could benefit the State, peradventure you would do it; how much more should you be prepared to give up those gems and jade! They are but dirt, and if by them you can benefit the operations of the army, why should you grudge them?" The general would not listen to this counsel; and when he came forth, he said to his son and Tsze-se, "A Spirit cannot ruin a minister like me. If the minister do not do his utmost in the service of the people, he will ruin himself."

'After the defeat, the viscount of Ts'oo sent to him the message, "If you come here, how will you answer to the elders of Shin and Seih *for the death of their children?*" Tsze-se and Sun-pih [Tsze-yuh's son] said *to the messenger*, "Tih-shin was going to die, but we stopped him, saying that the viscount would himself like to put him to death." Tsze-yuh then proceeded to Lëen-kuh, and there died [committed suicide]. When the marquis of Tsin heard of it, his joy was great. "There is no one," he said, "to poison my *joy* now. Wei Leu-shin will indeed be chief minister *in Tsze-yuh's room.* But he will himself be his own care; he will not be devoted to the people."'

Par. 7. We have seen, in the Chuen on par. 5, that the marquis of Tsin had promised to restore the prince of Wei to his State. But the latter probably did not believe the promise; and in an accession of alarm, on hearing of the battle of Shing-puh, he fled to Ts'oo. According to the canon that princes who have lost their States should be mentioned by name, the critics vex themselves to account for the omission of the name here:—see the note of the K'ang-he editors on the subject.

Par. 8. Tsëen-t'oo was Ch'ing, in the north-west of the pres. dis. of Yung-tsih (滎澤), dep. K'ae-fung, Ho-nan. The only difficulty in translating the par. is with 衛子. We are told in the Chuen on the 1st par. how the people of Wei had driven out their ruler, who took up his residence in Sëang-nëw, till he fled to Ts'oo, as related in the last par. He had left his brother Shuh-woo, however, in charge of the State; and he it was who took part in this meeting and covenant. We cannot translate 子 by 'son' or 'heir-son,' because Shuh-woo was not the son, but the brother, of the ruler of Wei. He seems to be here called 'viscount,' and have his place assigned after the earl of Ch'ing, of whom in other places the 'marquis' of Wei takes precedence.

According to the Chuen, the king himself was present at Tsëen-t'oo, and conferred high honours on the marquis of Tsin, appointing him also to be the chief of the princes, and leader of the States. These things should have been recorded in the classic. That they are not recorded, is another instance—more important than the last—of the peculiarity of the Book, now silent as to certain events, now misrepresenting them.

The Chuen says:—'On Këah-woo, *the marquis of Tsin* arrived at Hăng-yung, and caused a palace for the king to be reared in Tsëen-t'oo. Three months before the battle of Shing-puh, the earl of Ch'ing had gone to Ts'oo, and offered the service of his army; but after the defeat of Ts'oo he was afraid, and sent Tsze-jin Këw to offer his submission to Tsin. Lwan Che of Tsin went thereon to the capital of Ch'ing, and made a covenant with the earl, and in the 5th month the marquis himself and the earl made a covenant in Hăng-yung. On Ting-we, the marquis presented the spoils and prisoners of Ts'oo to the king,—100 chariots with their horses all in mail, and 1000 foot-soldiers. The earl of Ch'ing acted as assistant to the king in treating the marquis with the ceremonies with which king P'ing had treated his ancestor [Shoo, V.xxviii]. On Ke-yëw, the king feasted him with sweet spirits, and conferred on him various gifts. He also commissioned the minister Yin and his own brother Hoo, with the historiographer of the Interior, Shuh Hing-foo, to convey the written appointment of the marquis of Tsin to be the chief of the princes, giving him the robes to be worn in the carriage adorned with metal, and those proper for a chariot of war, one red bow and a hundred red arrows, a black bow and a

thousand arrows, a jar of spirits, made from the black millet, flavoured with herbs, and three hundred life-guards. The words of the appointment were, "The king says to his uncle, Reverently discharge the king's commands, so as to give tranquillity to the States in every quarter, and drive far away all who are ill-affected to the king." Thrice the marquis declined his honours; but at last accepting them, he said, "I, Ch'ung-urh, venture twice to do obeisance, with my head bowed to the earth,—and so do I receive and will maintain the great, distinguished, excellent charge of the son of Heaven." With this he received the tablet, and went out. At this meeting, from first to last, thrice he had audience of the king. When the marquis of Wei heard of the defeat of the army of Ts'oo, he became afraid, and fled *from Sëang-new* to go to Ts'oo. He went, however, to Ch'in, and sent Shuh-woo under the care of Yuen Heuen to take part in the covenant *of the princes*. On Kwei-hae, Hoo, a son of king Hwuy, presided over a covenant of them all in the court of the king's *palace*. The words of it were, "We will all assist the royal House, and do no harm to one another. If any one transgress this covenant, may the intelligent Spirits destroy him, so that he shall lose his people and not be able to possess his State, and, to the remotest posterity, let him have no descendant old or young!" The superior man will say that this covenant was sincere, and that in all this service *the marquis of* Tsin overcame by the virtuous training which he had given to his people.'

In the text no mention is made of king Sëang's brother Hoo taking part in the covenant of Tsëen-t'oo. Maou says that he is not mentioned, because, though he presided over the covenant, he was not a party to it, and did not smear his lips with the blood of the victim. The covenant was made, acc. to the text, on Kwei-ch'ow, the 18th day of the month; acc. to the Chuen, on Kwei-hae, the 28th day. Too observes that one or other of these dates must be wrong.

Par. 9. The marquis of Ch'in had been one of the adherents of Ts'oo, but now he wished, like other princes, to join the party of the victorious Tsin. He went to the meeting, but did not arrive at Tsëen-t'oo, till the covenant was over.

Par. 10. This par. implies what is related in the Chuen on p. 8, that the king in person had met the marquis of Tsin on his return from the victory at Shing-puh. 'The king's place' was of course 'the palace' built for him at Tsëen-t'oo. Kuh-lëang says that when 朝 are mentioned, the place should not be given, and that the mention of the place, where the visit is made or the audience had, intimates that it is not the proper place for the king to be in; but the criticism is groundless. I translate 朝 here as usual. 'Had an audience' would be equally suitable. Wang K'ih-kwan (汪克寬; A. D. 1304—1372) observes that 朝 is a general term to describe audiences with the ruler (朝者覲君之總稱也).

Par. 11. 復歸,—see on II. xv. 5. The Chuen says:—'Some one accused Yuen Heuen to the marquis of Wei. saying that he was raising Shuh-woo to the real marquisate, and the marquis thereupon caused Heuen's son, Këoh, who was in attendance on him, to be put to death. *Notwithstanding this*, Heuen did not disregard the charge which he had received from the marquis, but supported E-shuh [E is the hon. title of Shuh-woo, the marquis's brother] in the guardianship of the State. In the 6th month. the people of Tsin restored the marquis, and then the officer Ning Woo [on the marquis's part] and the people of Wei made the following covenant in Yuen-puh:—"Heaven sent down calamity on the State of Wei, so that the ruler and his subjects were not harmonious, and we were brought to our present state of sorrow. But now Heaven is guiding all minds, bringing them in humility to a mutual accord. If there had not been those who abode in the State, who would have kept the altars for the ruler? If there had not been those who went abroad *with him*, who would have guarded his cattle and horses? Because of the *former* want of harmony, we now clearly beg to covenant before you, great Spirits, asking you to direct our consciences;—from this time forward after this covenant, those who went abroad *with the marquis* shall not presume upon their services, and those who remained in the State need not fear that any crime will be imputed to them. If any break this covenant, exciting dissatisfactions and quarrels, may the intelligent Spirits and our former rulers mark and destroy them!" When the people heard this covenant, they had no longer any doubts in their minds. *After this*, the marquis wished to enter the capital before the the time agreed upon, the officer Ning going before him [to prepare the people]. Ch'ang Tsang who had charge of the gate, thinking he was a messenger, entered in the same carriage with him. Meanwhile the marquis's brother Ch'uen-keuen, and Hwa Chung, rode on ahead of him. Shuh-woo was then about to bathe; but when he heard that the marquis was come, he ran joyfully out to meet him, holding his hair in his hand, and was killed by an arrow from *one of* those who had rode on before. The marquis knew that he had been guilty of no crime, pillowed the corpse on his own thigh, and wept over it. Ch'uen-k'euen ran away, but the marquis sent after him, and put him to death. Yuen Heuen fled to Tsin.'

The text says that the marquis of Wei returned 'from Ts'oo (自楚),' to which he had fled in p. 7. The Chuen on p. 8, however, makes us think that he never went so far as Ts'oo, but stopt short in his flight, and went to Tsin. This is also the account of him given in the 列國志. Kuh-lëang infers from the 自楚 that it was Ts'oo which restored the marquis to his State (楚有奉焉); but Ts'oo was not in a condition at present to put forth such an influence in behalf of its adherents.

Par. 13. In the 1st par. of last year we have the viscount of Ke, son of the lady in the text, at the court of Loo. and in p. 4, an officer of Loo attacks Ke. The visit here was probably

undertaken with reference to the misunderstanding between the two States, the mother of the viscount of the one and sister of the marquis of the other wishing to reconcile them.

Par. 14. This was a visit of friendly inquiry. (聘), for which many reasons can be assigned. A likely one is that it was a sequel to the covenant at Tsëen-t'oo, in which both Loo and Ts'e had taken part.

[The Chuen appends here :—' At the battle of Shing-puh, the cattle of the army of Tsin ran, being in heat, into a marsh, *and were lost;* the left flag, belonging to the great banner, was lost;—through K'e Mwan's disobeying orders. The provost-marshal caused him to be put to death *in consequence;* the punishment was made known to all the *assisting* princes; and Maou Fei was appointed in his place. On the return of the army, it crossed the Ho on Jin-woo. Chow Che-k'ëaou had gone home before, and Sze Hwuy was temporarily made spearman on the right. In autumn, in the 7th month, on Ping-shin, the troops in triumphal array entered the capital of Tsin. The spoils were presented, and the left ears that had been cut off *from the soldiers of* Ts'oo were set forth, *in the temple. There also the marquis* drank the cup of return; and distributed rewards on a great scale, publishing the summons for *another* assembly *of the States,* and the punishment of those who wavered in their adherence. Chow Che-k'ëaou was put to death, and his doom declared throughout the State, so that the people were awed into a great submission. The superior man will declare that duke Wăn excelled in the use of punishments, awing the people by the execution of three criminals [Tëen Hëeh, K'e Mwan, and Chow Che-k'ëaou]. What we read in the Book of Poetry [She, III. ii. ode IX. 1.],

"Cherish this centre of the State,
To give rest to all within its
four quarters,"

is descriptive of the right use of the regular punishments.']

Par. 15. Wăn,—see V. x. 2. It had been conferred by king Sëang on Tsin, as related in the Chuen appended to par. 4 of the 25th year. This meeting was the one, the summons to which is mentioned in the last Chuen. Kuh-lëang has not the characters 齊侯. The meeting is memorable as the 1st of these gatherings of the States at which Ts'in, destined to absorb them all, was represented.

The marquis of Ch'in, known as duke Kung (共公), had succeeded to his father, whose death is recorded in p. 12, but the father being not yet buried, he appears here only as 'son,' and is ranked after the earl of Ch'ing. The Chuen says that at this meeting, measures were taken 'to punish the States which were not submissive;' meaning Heu, and perhaps also Wei.

Par. 16. Ho-yang was in pres. dep. of Hwae-k'ing, Ho-nan,—within the territory of Wăn. For 狩 Kuh has 守. The Chuen says:—'As to the assembly here, the marquis of Tsin called the king to it, and then with all the princes had an interview with him, and made him hold a court of inspection. Chung-ne said, "For a subject to call his ruler to any place is a thing not to be set forth as an example." Therefore the text says,—"The king held a court of reception at Ho-yang." *The text thus* shows that here was not the place for the king to hold a court, and also illustrates the excellent service *of the marquis of Tsin.*' In this Chuen we have a remarkable admission by Confucius himself, that he misrepresented facts, relating events not according to the truth of his knowledge. I suppose that his words stop at 訓, and that in 故書云云 we have the language of Tso-she, intimating that Confucius wanted to give some intimation—which is very indistinct indeed—that the thing was not exactly as he said, and at the same time to acknowledge the good intention of the marquis of Tsin in the whole transaction.

Par. 17. See on par, 10. Jin-shin was in the 10th month. The characters 十月 have probably been lost from the commencement of the par.

Par. 18. The marquis of Wei had been persuaded by Ning Woo to go to the meeting at Wăn; but the marquis of Tsin refused to allow him to take part in it, and indeed put him under guard, till he should have determined on his guilt in the death of his brother. Ning Woo and two other officers, K'ëen Chwang and Sze Yung, accompanied their ruler to Wăn.

The Chuen says :—' The marquis of Wei and Yuen Heuen pleaded against each other. The officer K'ëen Chwang *was representative of the marquis, as* the defendant, with Ning Woo to assist him, and Sze Yung as his advocate. The marquis's pleas could not be sustained ; and *the marquis of Tsin* put Sze Yung to death, and cut off the feet of K'ëen Chwang. Considering that Ning Yu [the name of Ning Woo] had acted a faithful part, he let him off; but he seized the marquis himself, and conveyed him to the capital, where he was confined in a dark room, with Ning Woo to attend to the supplying him with provisions in a bag.'

Par. 19. The 復歸 here is of course merely = "was restored to his place" as minister. Heuen had fled from Wei to Tsin, as related under par. 11, to escape from the marquis. Things were now changed. The marquis was a prisoner, and the disposal of the State seemed to rest with the officer. The Chuen says :—' Yuen Hëuen returned to Wei, and raised Hëa, another son of duke Wăn, to be marquis.' We must suppose that Heuen had the authority of the marquis of Tsin for what he did; but the critics are unanimous in condemning him. The case of the marquis was now in the king's hands, and Heuen should have waited for the royal decision about him and the affairs of the State.

Par. 20. Heu, though only a small State, was the most persistent in adhering to the fortunes of Ts'oo, influenced probably by the consideration of its own contiguity to that State. The 遂 implies that the princes proceeded from their meeting at Wăn and audience of the king, to the attack of Heu, without returning to their States, or engaging in any other enterprise.

Par. 21. The Chuen says:—' On Ting-ch'ow the princes all laid siege to the capital of Heu. The marquis of Tsin falling ill, How Now, a personal attendant of the earl of Ts'aou, bribed

the officer of divination, and got him to attribute the marquis's illness to his dealing with Ts'aou. "Duke Hwan of Ts'e," *represented the officer*, "assembled the princes, and established States of different surnames from his own [*e.g.*, Hing and Wei]; but your lordship now assembles them, and extinguishes States of your own surname; for Shuh Chin-toh, the first lord of Ts'aou was a son of king Wăn, and T'ang-shuh, our first lord, was a son of king Woo. Not only is it not proper to assemble the princes and extinguish any of your own surname, but you made the same promise to the earl of Ts'aou as to the marquis of Wei, and you have not restored the earl as you did the marquis;—you have not shown good faith. Their crime was the same, and their punishment is different;—you do not show an equal justice. It is by propriety that righteousness is carried out; it is by good faith that propriety is maintained; it is by equal justice that depravity is corrected. If your lordship let these three things go, in what position will you be placed?" The marquis was pleased, and restored the earl of Ts'aou, who immediately joined the other princes at Heu.'

[The Chuen has here an additional article:—'The marquis of Tsin formed three *new* columns *of army* to withstand the Teih. Seun Lin-foo had the command of that of the centre; Too Keih of that of the right, and Sëen Mëeh of that of the left.']

Twenty-ninth year.

一章 二十有九年、

二章 春、介葛盧來。

三章 公至自圍許。

夏、六月、會王人、晉人、宋人、齊人、陳人、蔡人、秦人、盟于翟泉。

四章 秋、大雨雹。

五章 冬、介葛盧來。

左傳曰、二十九年、春、介葛盧來朝、舍于昌衍之上、公在會、饋之芻米、禮也。

夏、公會王子虎、晉狐偃、宋公孫固、齊國歸父、陳轅濤塗、秦小子慭、盟于翟泉、尋踐土之盟、且謀伐鄭也。卿不書、罪之也、在禮、卿不會公侯、會伯、子、男、可也。

秋、大雨雹、爲災也。

冬、介葛盧來、以未見公故、復來朝、禮之、加燕好、介葛盧聞牛鳴、曰、是生三犧、皆用之矣、其音云、問之而信。

XXIX. 1 In the [duke's] twenty-ninth year, in spring, Koh-loo of Këae came to Loo.

2 The duke arrived from the siege of [the capital of] Heu.

3 In summer, in the sixth month, [the duke] had a meeting with an officer of the king, an officer of Tsin, an officer of Sung, an officer of Ts'e, an officer of Ch'in, an officer of Ts'ae, and an officer of Ts'in, when they made a covenant in Teih-ts'euen.

4 In autumn, there was great fall a of hail.

5 In winter, Koh-loo of Këae came [again] to Loo.

Par. 1. Këae was a small State held by one of the E or wild tribes of the east;—in the south of the pres. Këaou Chow (膠州), dep. Laechow. Koh-loo was the name of its chief at this time. His coming to Loo would be equivalent to a court-visit (朝); but such visits were not interchanged by the princes of China with the barbarous chieftains, and therefore, we have simply 來, 'he came.' The Chuen says:—'Koh-loo of Këae came to pay a court-visit to the duke, and camped in the country above Ch'ang-yen. The duke being absent at the meeting *with the other princes*, they sent him forage and rice;—which was proper.'

Par. 2. Kung and Kuh both have 公 before 會. 翟 in Kung is 狄. Teih-ts'euen was near the capital,—20 *le* north-east from the pres. dis. city of Loh-yang, dep. Ho-nan. The name was taken from that of a spring which formed a small lake. The Chuen says:—'The duke had a meeting with king Hwuy's son Hoo, Hoo Yen of Tsin, Kung-sun Koo of Sung, Kwoh Kwei-foo of Ts'e, Yuen T'aou-t'oo of Ch'in, and the earl of Ts'in's son Yin, when they made a covenant at Teih-ts'euen;—to renew and confirm the covenant at Tsëen-t'oo, and to consult about invading Ch'ing. The names of the ministers of the difft. States are not in the text;—to condemn them. According to rule, a minister of a State ought not to hold a meeting with a duke or a marquis, though he may do so with an earl, a viscount, or a baron.' This decision of Tso-she may be called in question. The view of Hoo Gan-kwoh and others, that the title 'duke (公)' is omitted in the text to conceal the disgrace of the marquis meeting with his inferiors, is ridiculous.

Par. 4. Tso-she says the hail amounted to a plague, or great calamity; and that therefore we have a record of it.

Par. 5. The Chuen says:—'He came again, because he had not seen the duke the former time. He was received in the court, treated with ceremony, and feasted in an extraordinary way. Hearing a cow lowing, he said, 'She has had three calves that have all been used as victims. Her voice says so." On inquiry this was found to be really the case!'

Thirtieth year.

一章 三十年、春、王正月。

二章 夏、狄侵齊。

三章 秋、衞殺其大夫元咺、及公子瑕。

四章 衞侯鄭歸于衞。

五章 晉人、秦人、圍鄭。

六章 介人侵蕭。

七章 冬、天王使宰周公來聘。

八章 公子遂如京師、遂如晉。

左傳曰、三十年、春、晉人侵鄭、以覾其可攻與否、狄間晉之有鄭虞也、夏、狄侵齊。晉侯使醫衍酖衞侯、甯俞貨醫、使薄其酖、不死、公爲之請、納玉於王與晉侯、皆十瑴、王許之、秋、乃釋衞侯。衞侯使賂周歂冶廑曰、苟能納我、吾使爾爲卿、周冶殺元咺、及子適子儀、公入祀先君、周冶既服將命、周歂先入、及門、遇疾而死、冶廑

辭卿。
九月甲午、晉侯秦伯圍鄭。以其無禮於晉、且貳于楚也。晉軍函陵、秦軍氾南。佚之狐言于鄭伯曰、國危矣、若使燭之武見秦君、師必退。公從之。辭曰、臣之壯也、猶不如人、今老矣、無能爲也已。公曰、吾不能早用子、今急而求子、是寡人之過也、然鄭亡、子亦有不利焉。許之。夜縋而出、見秦伯曰、秦晉圍鄭、鄭既知亡矣、若亡鄭而有益於君、敢以煩執事。越國以鄙遠、君知其難也、焉用亡鄭以陪鄰、鄰之厚、君之薄也、若舍鄭以爲東道主、行李之往來、共其乏困、君亦無所害、且君嘗爲晉君賜矣、許君焦瑕、朝濟而夕設版焉、君之所知也。夫晉何厭之有、既東封鄭、又欲肆其西封、若不闕秦、將焉取之、闕秦以利晉、唯君圖之。秦伯說、與鄭人盟、使杞子逢孫楊孫戍之、乃還。子犯請擊之。公曰、不可、微夫人之力不及此、因人之力而敝之、不仁、失其所與、不知、以亂易整、不武、吾其還也。亦去之。初鄭公子蘭出奔晉、從於晉侯伐鄭、請無與圍鄭、許之、使待命于東、鄭石甲父侯宣多逆以爲大子、以求成于晉、晉人許之。

冬、王使周公閱來聘、饗有昌歜、白、黑、形鹽、辭曰、國君文足昭也、武可畏也、則有備物之饗、以象其德、薦五味、羞嘉穀、鹽虎形、以獻其功、吾何以堪之。

東門襄仲將聘于周、遂初聘于晉。

XXX. 1 It was the [duke's] thirtieth year, the spring, the king's first month.

2 In summer, the Teih made an incursion into Ts'e.

3 In autumn, Wei put to death its great officer, Yuen Heuen, and duke [Wăn's] son, Hëa.

4 Ch'ing, marquis of Wei, returned to Wei.

5 A body of men from Tsin and one from Ts'in laid siege to [the capital of] Ch'ing.

6 A body of men from Këae made an incursion into Sëaou.

7 In winter, the king [by] Heaven's [grace] sent his chief minister, the duke of Chow, to Loo, on a mission of friendly inquiries.

8 Duke [Chwang's] son, Suy, went to the capital, and at the same time went to Tsin.

Par. 2. The Chuen says:—'An officer of Tsin was conducting an incursion into Ch'ing, to see whether that State could be attacked *with advantage* or not. The Teih took the opportunity of Tsin's being thus occupied with Ch'ing, and in the summer made an incursion into Ts'e.' Woo Ch'ing says:—'In the winter of the duke's 28th year, Tsin proceeded from the meeting at Wăn to besiege Heu, and yet Heu did not submit. In the summer of the 29th year, at the covenant of Teih-tsëuen, the marquis consulted about an incursion into Ch'ing, and yet Ch'ing showed no signs of fear. And now in the summer of this year, the Teih seized their opportunity, and made an incursion into Ts'e. It is plain that after the battle of Shing-puh and the meeting of Tsëen-t'oo, the power of duke Wăn as leader of the States went on gradually to decay:—the state of things at this time might have led him to reflection!'

Par. 3. Compare on p. 6 of the 28th year. By Wei we must understand the marquis of Wei, who instigated the murder of Yuen, though it was committed before his entrance into the capital. We have in the Chuen:—'The marquis of Tsin employed the physician Yen to poison the marquis of Wei, but Ning Yu bribed the physician to make the poison so weak that his master did not die of it. The duke [of Loo] *after this* interceded on his behalf, and presented the king and the marquis of Tsin each with 10 pairs of jade ornaments. The king acceded to the duke's intercession, and in autumn the marquis of Wei was released. He then bribed Chow Ch'uen and Yay Kin, saying, 'If you can secure my restoration, I will make you my high ministers." On this Chow and Yay killed Yuen Heuen, with Tsze-teih and Tsze-e. When the marquis was entering the ancestral temple to sacrifice to his predecessors, Chow and Yay were there in full dress to receive their charge *as ministers*. Chow preceded, but when he came to the door, he was taken ill, and died, upon which Kin declined the appointment.'

Nothing is said in the Chuen on the 及公子瑕, which in many editions is made to form a paragraph by itself. Two questions have 'vexed' the critics greatly. 1st, Hëa had been marquis of Wei for more than a year [see XXVIII. 19, and the Chuen on it]; how is it that in the text he is simply called 'duke's son' (公子)? To meet this difficulty, Lëw Ch'ang (劉敞; A. D. 1019-1097) denies the truth of the statement, 立公子瑕, in the Chuen referred to, so that Hëa had never been anything but 公子; on which the K'ang-he editors remark that the truth of the Chuen is not to be doubted. Hoo Gan-kwoh thinks that though Yuen Heuen had made Hëa marquis as the Chuen says, yet Hëa had never accepted the dignity, and only considerd himself as holding the place of his brother, till he should be liberated from his captivity; and that consequently the 公子 of the text is the endorsement of his integrity. Wang Yuen (王元; in the end of the Sung dynasty), holds that Hëa had accepted the marquisate from Yuen Heuen, and was as guilty as his minister, so that the text calls him merely 公子, to show that his twelve months' tenure of dignity was only a usurpation. The imperial editors, setting aside these three views approve of that of Too Yu, who admits that Hëa had been made marquis by Yuen, but thinks that the title of 君 or 'ruler' is not given to him, because he had not been recognized by the princes at any general meeting of the States; and they then go on to set forth the usage of the classic in such cases as that of Hëa and his brother more fully than Too had done. 2d, What significancy is there in the record of the death of Hëa following that of Yuen, with the connecting 及 between them? Should the ruler thus follow his officer? The text indicates that Hëa had been the tool of Yuen, and was involved consequently in the same fate. Maou aplty refers to II. ii. 1, where the ruler precedes the officers with the same 及 between:—華督殺孔父及君，書弑君及孔父，以宋公累孔父也，歂冶廑殺咺與瑕，而書咺及瑕，則瑕爲咺累矣.

Par. 4. In XXVIII. 11, the former return of the marquis to his State is described by 復歸; here we have 歸 simply. The reason of the difference in the language probably is, that in the former case the marquis had fled from Wei, and so left it as it were by his own act, while in the other he had been detained from it by the action of the marquis of Tsin, and against his own will.

Par. 5. The Chuen says:—'In the 9th month, on Këah-woo, the marquis of Tsin and the earl of Ts'in laid siege to Ch'ing, because of the want of courtesy which the earl of it had shown to the marquis in his wanderings [See the Chuen at the end of the 23d year], and because he was with double-mindedness inclining to Ts'oo. The army of Tsin took a position at Han-ling, and that of Ts'in one at Fan-nan. Yih Che-hoo said to the earl of Ch'ing, "The State is in imminent peril. If you send Chuh Che-woo to see the earl of Ts'in, his army is sure to be withdrawn." The earl took the advice, but Chuh Che-woo declined the mission, saying, "When your servant was in the strength of his age, he was regarded as not equal to others; and now he is old, and unable to render any service." The earl said, "That I was not able to employ you earlier, and now beg your help in my straits, I acknowledge to be my fault. But if Ch'ing perish, you also will suffer loss." On this Che-woo agreed, and undertook the mission.

'At night he was let down from the city-wall by a rope; and when he saw the earl of Ts'in, he said, "With Tsin and Ts'in both besieging its capital, Ch'ing knows that it must perish. If the ruin of Ch'ing were to benefit your lordship, I should not dare to speak to you:—you might well urge your officers and soldiers in

such a case. But you know the difficulty there would be with such a distant border, another State intervening. Of what advantage is it to you to destroy Ch'ing to benefit your neighbour? His advantage will be your disadvantage. If you leave Ch'ing to be master and host here on the way to the east, when your officers go and come with their baggage, it can minister to their necessities;—and surely this will be no injury to you. And moreover, your lordship was a benefactor to *the former marquis* of Tsin, and he promised you *the cities of* Tsëaou and Hëa; but in the morning he crossed *the Ho*, and in the evening he commenced building *defences against you:*—this your lordship knows. But Tsin is insatiable. Having made Ch'ing its boundary on the east, it will go on to want to enlarge its border on the west. And how will it be able to do that except by taking territory from Ts'in? To diminish Ts'in in order to advantage Tsin:—this is a matter for your lordship to think about."

'The earl of Ts'in was pleased with this speech, and made a covenant with the people of Ch'ing, appointing Ke Tsze, Fung Sun, and Yang Sun to guard the territory, while he himself returned *to Ts'in*. Tsze-fan asked leave to pursue and smite him, but the marquis of Tsin said, "No. But for his assistance I should not have arrived at my present state. To get the benefit of a man's help, and then to injure him, would show a want of benevolence, To have erred in those with whom I was to co-operate shows my want of knowledge. To exchange the orderly array *in which we came here* for one of disorder would show a want of warlike skill. I will withdraw." And upon this he also left Ch'ing.

'Before this, Lan, a son of the earl of Ch'ing, had fled from that State to Tsin. Following the marquis of Tsin in the invasion of Ch'ing, he begged that he might not take any part in, or be present at, the siege. His request was granted, and he was sent to the eastern border of Tsin to wait for further orders. Shih Këah-foo and How Seuen-to now came to meet him, and hail him as his father's successor, that by means of him they might ask peace from Tsin;—and this was granted to them.'

It appears from the Chuen that the lords of Tsin and Ts'in were both with their forces in Ch'ing. We must suppose, however, that they did not themselves command, and hence we have 晉人, 秦人 in the text. Too Yu says the 人 were 微者, 'small men' of inferior rank, but 人 need not be so limited; and in fact we know that Tsze-fan was in the army of Tsin.

Par. 6.. Sëaou appears before this in the Chuen on III. xii. 3. It was a small State, a *Foo-yung* of Sung, and has left its name in the pres. dis. of Sëaou, dep. Seu-chow (徐州), Këang-soo. Chang Heah supposes that the visits of the chief of Këae to Loo in the last year were somehow connected with the movement in the text.

Par. 7. Compare on I. ix. 1. 宰 is here 太宰, 'the prime minister,' as in IX. 2. The Chuen says:—At the entertainment to him, there were the *pickled* roots of the sweet flag cut small, rice, millet, and the salt in the form of a tiger, *all set forth*. Yueh [the prime minister's name] declined *such an entertainment*, saying, 'The ruler of a State, whose civil talents make him illustrious, and whose military prowess makes him an object of dread, is feasted with such a complete array of provisions, to emblem his virtues. The five savours are introduced, and viands of the finest grains, with the salt in the shape of a tiger, to illustrate his services; but I am not worthy of such a feast.'

Par. 8. The Chuen says: 'Tung-mun Sëang-chung [see the Chuen on XXVI. 5] was going with friendly inquiries to Chow, when he took the occasion to pay a similar visit in the first place to Tsin.'

Thirty-first year.

一章 三十有一年、春、取濟西田。

二章 公子遂如晉。

三章 夏、四月、四卜郊、

四章 不從、乃免牲。

五章 猶三望。

六章 秋、七月。

七章 冬、杞伯姬來求婦。

八章 狄圍衞。

九章 十有二月、衞遷于帝丘。

左傳曰、三十一年、春、取濟西田。分曹地也。使臧文仲往、宿於重館、重館人告曰、晉新得諸侯。必親其共、不速行、將無及也。從之、分曹地、自洮以南、東傅于濟、盡曹地也。

襄仲如晉、拜曹田也。

夏、四月、四卜郊、不從、乃免牲。非禮也。猶三望。亦非禮也。禮、不卜常祀、而卜其牲日、牛卜日曰牲、牲成而卜郊、上怠慢也。望、郊之細也、不郊、亦無望、可也。

㊀秋、晉蒐于清原、作五軍以禦狄、趙衰爲卿。

冬、狄圍衞、衞遷于帝丘、卜曰三百年、衞成公夢康叔曰、相奪予享。公命祀相。甯武子不可、曰、鬼神非其族類、不歆其祀、杞鄫何事、相之不享於此久矣、非衞之罪也、不可以間成王周公之命祀、請改祀命。

㊀鄭洩駕惡公子瑕、鄭伯亦惡之、故公子瑕出奔楚。

XXXI. 1 In the [duke's] thirty-first year, we took the lands of Tse-se.

2 Duke [Chwang's] son, Suy, went to Tsin.

3 In summer, in the fourth month, [the duke] divined a fourth time for [the day of] the border sacrifice.

4 The divination was adverse, and so the victim was let go.

5 Still he offered the sacrifices to the three objects of Survey.

6 It was autumn, the seventh month.

7 In winter, duke [Chwang's] eldest daughter—she of Ke—came [to Loo], seeking for a wife [for her son].

8 The Teih besieged [the capital of] Wei.

9 In the twelfth month, Wei removed its capital to Te-k'ëw.

Par. 1. In III. xviii. 2 the characters 濟西 denote simply 'west of the Tse,' but here, and in VII. i. 8, x. 2, they must be the name of a certain district or tract of country, the exact position of which it is now impossible to define. As Too Yu says, 竟界未定. Tso-she says that it was a portion of the territory of Ts'aou, which the marquis of Tsin had apportioned to other States in the duke's 28th year; and he tells the following story about the acquisition of it:—'The duke sent Tsang Wăn-chung *to receive his portion;* who was passing a night at Ch'ung-kwan, the people of which said to him, "Tsin, having recently secured the adherence of the princes, will be most kind to those who are most respectful. If you don't make haste, you will not be in time to get any." The officer acted accordingly, and got for his share of the territory of Ts'aou all the portion extending from T'aou to the south and east as far as the Tse.' But this account of Loo's acquisition of Tse-se has been much questioned. Chaou K'wang, Lëw Ch'ang, and many others, discarding the idea of its being a gift from Tsin, hold that the territory had formerly belonged to Loo, had been taken from it by Ts'aou, and that Loo now claimed and retook it. They make a canon, that wherever Loo is mentioned as 'taking' towns or land, and no name of a State to which they belonged is given, we are to understand that Loo was only retaking its own. Maou, according to his wont, is more bold and decisive in his view, arguing strongly against the alleged grant of Tsin, and saying that Loo took the opportunity of Ts'aou's diffi-

culties to attack it and deprive it of this territory. This is the proper explanation of the text. The canon referred to is exploded by VII. i. 2.

Par. 2. Tso-she says that Sëang-chung went to Tsin to render thanks and acknowledgement for the fields of Ts'aou. But Loo would think it necessary to communicate its acquisition of the territory to the leader of the States, though not indebted for it to his gift.

Parr. 3—5. The question of which border sacrifice is here spoken of has been much agitated. Kung-yang, followed by Hoo Gan-kwoh and others, thinks it is the sacrifice at the winter solstice, the grand sacrifice to Heaven or God, which was proper only in the king, but the right to offer which had been granted, it is said, by king Ch'ing to the duke of Chow, the founder of the House of Loo. Maou and others think the sacrifice intended is that of the spring, —the sacrifice to God, desiring a blessing on the grain. This is mentioned in the Chuen on II. v. 7; and I must believe it is that referred to here. We cannot suppose that duke He was still, in the 4th month, divining about the sacrifice which should have been offered, if offered by him at all, in the first. The divining was to fix the day on which the sacrifice should be offered, which was restricted to one of the *sin* (辛) days in the month, the 1st of the 3 being deemed the luckiest. Kung-yang thinks that if the 1st *sin* day of the 1st month was unlucky, then the 1st of the 2d was tried, and so on to the 3d month; but it is better to suppose that on this occasion the 3 *sin* days of the 3d month were all divined for and proved unlucky, so that a fourth divination was made for the 1st *sin* day of the 4th month, as the sacrifice might be presented up to the time of the equinox. When this also proved unfavourable, the sacrifice was put off for that year, and the victim was let go (免猶縱也). Tan Tsoo (啖助; of the 2d half of the 8th century) says, with regard to the spring sacrifice:—'Two victims were kept and fed;—one for the sacrifice to God, and one for that to How-tseih. If the divinations in the three decades proved all unfavourable, the border sacrifice was not offered. If the former bull died or met with any injury, the tortoise-shell was consulted about using the second in his place. If the divination forbade such a substitution, or that second bull also died, the sacrifice was also in this case abandoned. When this was done, the tortoise-shell was again consulted about letting the victim, if it were alive, go; and it was let go or kept on, as the reply was favourable or not.'

望,—see the Shoo II. i. 7. The *Wang* sacrifice was offered by the emperor or king to all the famous hills and rivers of the country; and by princes of States to those within their own territory. What were the *three* great natural objects sacrificed to in Loo is doubtful. Most critics, after Kung-yang, make them—mount T'ae, the Ho, and the sea. Too Yu makes them certain stars, with the mountains of Loo and its rivers,—after Këa Kwei and Fuh K'ëen. Ch'ing Heuen, considering that the Ho did not flow through Loo, substituted the Hwae for it in Kung-yang's explanation. The K'ang-he editors, arguing from a passage in the Chow Le, Bk. XXII. 8-12, make the Wang sacrifices out to be something different from those to the hills and rivers. Kung-yang's view, or rather Ch'ing Heuen's modification of it, which Maou adopts, is to be preferred.

The *Wang* sacrifices were offered at the same time as the border, and ancillary to them; and might be disused when the greater sacrifice was given up. They remain now in the sacrifices to the heavenly bodies, the wind, and rain, which accompany the sacrifice of the winter solstice, and those to the mountains, seas, and rivers, offered at the summer.

The above remarks on these parr. have been gathered and digested from many sources. Tso-she says on them:—'What is stated in all the paragraphs was contrary to rule. According to rule, there was no consulting about a regular sacrifice; only the victim and the day were divined about. When the day had been fixed, the bull was called the victim; and when the victim was thus determined on, to go further divining about the sacrifice itself, was for the duke to show indifference *to the ancient statutes*, and disrespectful urgency *to the tortoise-shell and the milfoil.*' This view is very questionable.

Par. 6. [To this the Chuen appends a note about Tsin:—'In autumn, the *marquis of* Tsin held a review in Ts'ing-yuen (*i.e.* the plain of Ts'ing), and formed [all his troops into] five armies, [the better] to resist the Teih, Chaou Ts'uy being appointed to the chief command [of the two new armies.']

Par. 7. For 婦 here see on XXV. 3. The lady has been mentioned in XXVIII. 13. The son for whom she sought a wife was, no doubt, the ruling viscount of Ke, mentioned in XXVII. 1, as coming to Loo, soon after his accession to the State.

Parr. 8,9. We saw, in the 2d year of duke Min, what injury the Teih then wrought to Wei. They obliged the removal of its principal city to Ts'oo-k'ëw in the 2d year of duke He; and we find them here necessitating another removal. Te-k'ëw was in K'ae Chow (開州), dep. Ta-ming. As preliminary to the Chuen, it may be mentioned that How-sëang (后相), the 5th of the sovereigns of Hëa, was obliged to reside for a part of his life in Te-k'ëw. The Chuen says:—'The marquis of Wei consulted the tortoise-shell about Te-k'ëw, and was told his House should dwell there for 300 years. *Soon after*, he dreamt that K'ang-shuh, [the 1st marquis of Wei], said to him that Sëang took away from him the supplies of his offerings. The marquis on this gave orders to sacrifice *also* to Sëang; but the officer Ning Woo objected, saying, "Spirits do not accept the sacrifices of those who are not of their own line. What are Ke and Tsăng [States of the line of Hëa] doing? For long Sëang has received no offerings here,—not owing to any fault of Wei. You should not interfere with the sacrifices prescribed by king Ch'ing and the duke of Chow. Please withdraw the order about sacrificing to Sëang.'

[The Chuen appends here:—Sëeh Këa of Ch'ing hated Kung-tsze Hëa, and the marquis also hated him. Hëa therefore fled from the State to Ts'oo.']

Thirty-second year.

一章 三十有二年、春、王正月。
二章 夏四月、己丑、鄭伯捷卒。
三章 衞人侵狄。
四章 秋、衞人及狄盟。
五章 冬、十有二月、己卯、晉侯重耳卒。

㊀左傳曰、三十二年、春、楚鬬章請平于晉、晉陽處父報之、晉楚始通。
夏、狄有亂、衞人侵狄、狄請平焉。
秋、衞人及狄盟。
冬、晉文公卒、庚辰、將殯于曲沃、出絳、柩有聲如牛。卜偃使大夫拜、曰、君命大事、將有西師過軼我、擊之必大捷焉。杞子自鄭使告于秦曰、鄭人使我掌其北門之管、若潛師以來、國可得也。穆公訪諸蹇叔、蹇叔曰、勞師以襲遠、非所聞也、師勞力竭、遠主備之、無乃不可乎、師之所爲、鄭必知之、勤而無所、必有悖心、且行千里、其誰不知。公辭焉、召孟明、西乞、白乙、使出師於東門之外。蹇叔哭之、曰、孟子、吾見師之出而不見其入也。公使謂之、曰、爾何知、中壽、爾墓之木拱矣。蹇叔之子與師、哭而送之、曰、晉人禦師必於殽、殽有二陵焉、其南陵、夏后皐之墓也、其北陵、文王之所辟風雨也、必死是間、余收爾骨焉。秦師遂東。

XXXII. 1 It was the [duke's] thirty-second year, the spring, the king's first month.

2 In summer, in the fourth month, on Ke-ch'ow, Tsëeh, earl of Ch'ing, died.

3 A body of men from Wei made an incursion into [the country of] the Teih.

4 In autumn, an officer of Wei made a covenant with the Teih.

5 In winter, in the twelfth month, on Ke-maou, Ch'ung-urh, marquis of Tsin, died.

Par. 1. [The Chuen here introduces a short note about the relations of Tsin and Ts'oo:—'In the spring, Tow Chang of Ts'oo came to Tsin and requested peace. Yang Ch'oo-foo returned the visit from Ts'oo. This was the commencement of communications between Tsin and Ts'oo.]

Par. 2. For 捷 Kung-yang has 接.

Parr. 3,4. The Teih, it appears, had not done Wei so much injury in the previous year, as in the time of duke Min. The Chuen says:—'In summer, when there was disorder among the Teih, a body of men from Wei made an incur-

sion into their country. The Teih begged for peace, and in autumn an officer of Wei made a covenant with them.'

Par. 5. The marquis of Tsin thus enjoyed the dignity at which he arrived, after so many hardships and wanderings, only for nine years. He had several attributes of the hero about him, and we cannot but wish that he had been permitted a longer time in which to exercise his leadership of the States. Confucius (Ana. XIV. xvi.) compares him unfavourably with Hwan of Ts'e; but his judgment of the two men may be questioned.

'The Chuen says:—'On Kăng-shin, they were conveying his coffin to place it in *the temple at* K'ëuh-yuh, when, as it was leaving Këang, there came a voice from it like *the lowing of* an *angry* bull. The diviner Yen made the great officers do obeisance *to the coffin*, saying, "His lordship is charging us about a great affair. There will be an army of the west passing by us; we shall smite it, and obtain a great victory."

'*Now* Ke Tsze [see the Chuen on XXX. 5] had sent information from Ch'ing to Ts'in, saying, "The people of Ch'ing have entrusted to my charge the key of their north gate. If an army come secretly upon it, the city may be got. Duke Muh [the earl of Ts'in] consulted Këen Shuh about the subject, and that officer replied, 'That a distant place can be surprised by an army toiled *with a long march* is what I have not learned. The strength of the men will be wearied out with toil, and the distant lord will be prepared for them;—does not the undertaking seem impracticable? Ch'ing is sure to know the doings of our army. *Our soldiers*, enduring the toil, and getting nothing, will become disaffected. And moreover, to whom can such a march of a thousand *le* be unknown?" The earl, however, declined this counsel, called for Măng-ming [the son of Pih-le He], Se-k'eih, and Pih-yih, and ordered them to collect an army outside the east gate. K'ëen Shuh wept over it, and said, "General Măng, I see the army's going forth, but I shall not see its entry again." The earl sent to say to him, "What do you know, you centenarian? It would take two hands to grasp the tree upon your grave [*i.e.*, you ought to have died long ago]" Këen Shuh's son also went in the expedition, and the old man escorted him, weeping and saying, "It will be at Hëaou that the men of Tsin will resist the army. At Hëaou there are two ridges. On the southern ridge is the grave of the sovereign Kaou of the Hëa dynasty; the northern is where king Wăn took refuge from the wind and rain. You will die between them. There I will gather your bones." Immediately after this the army of Ts'in marched to the east.'

Thirty-third year.

一章 三十有三年、春、王二月、秦人入滑。

二章 齊侯使國歸父來聘。

三章 夏、四月、辛巳、晉人及姜戎、敗秦師于殽。

四章 癸巳、葬晉文公。

五章 狄侵齊。

六章 公伐邾、取訾婁。

七章 秋、公子遂帥師伐邾。

八章 晉人敗狄于箕。

九章 冬、十月、公如齊。

十章 十有二月、公至自齊。

十一章 乙巳、公薨于小寢。

十二章 隕霜不殺草、李梅實。

十三章 晉人、陳人、鄭人、伐許。

左傳曰、三十三年、春、秦師過周北門、左右免冑而下、超乘者、三百乘、王孫滿尚幼、觀之、言於王曰、秦師輕而無禮、必敗、輕則寡謀、無禮則脫、入險而脫、又不能謀、能無敗乎。及滑、鄭商人弦高將市於周、遇之、以乘韋先牛十二犒師、曰、寡君聞吾子將步師出於敝邑、敢犒從者、不腆敝邑、爲從者之淹、居則具一日之積、行則備一夕之衛。且使遽告于鄭。鄭穆公使視客館、則束載、厲兵、秣馬矣。使皇武子辭焉、曰、吾子淹久于敝邑、唯是脯資餼牽、竭矣、爲吾子之將行也、鄭之有原圃、猶秦之有具囿也、吾子取其麋鹿、以閒敝邑、若何。杞子奔齊、逢孫、楊孫奔宋。孟明曰、鄭有備矣、不可冀也、攻之不克、圍之不繼、吾其還也。滅滑而還。齊國莊子來聘、自郊勞至于贈賄、禮成而加之以敏、臧文仲言于公曰、國子爲政、齊猶有禮、君其朝焉、臣聞之、服于有禮、社稷之衛也。

晉原軫曰、秦違蹇叔、而以貪勤民、天奉我也、奉不可失、敵不可縱、縱敵患生、違天不祥、必伐秦師。欒枝曰、未報秦施、而伐其師、其爲死君乎。先軫曰、秦不哀吾喪、而伐吾同姓、秦則無禮、何施之爲、吾聞之、一日縱敵、數世之患也、謀及子孫、可謂死君乎。遂發命、遽興姜戎、子、墨衰絰、梁弘御戎、萊駒爲右、夏四月、辛巳、敗秦師于殽、獲百里孟明視、西乞術、白乙丙、以歸。遂墨以葬文公、晉於是始墨。文嬴請三帥、曰、彼實構吾二君、寡君若得而食之、不厭、君何辱討焉、使歸就戮于秦、以逞寡君之志、若何。公許之、先軫朝、問秦囚、公曰、夫人請之、吾舍之矣。先軫怒曰、武夫力而拘諸原、婦人暫而免諸國、墮軍實而長寇讎、亡無日矣。不顧而唾。公使陽處父追之、及諸河、則在舟中矣、釋左驂、以公命贈孟明、孟明稽首曰、君之惠、不以纍臣釁鼓、使歸就戮于秦、寡君之以爲戮、死且不朽、若從君惠而免之、三年將拜

君賜。秦伯素服郊次、鄉師而哭曰、孤違蹇叔、以辱二三子、孤之罪也、不替孟明、孤之過也、大夫何罪、且吾不以一眚掩大德。

狄侵齊。因晉喪也。

公伐邾、取訾婁、以報升陘之役。邾人不設備、秋、襄仲復伐邾。

狄伐晉、及箕、八月戊子、晉侯敗狄于箕、郤缺獲白狄子。先軫曰、匹夫逞志於君、而無討、敢不自討乎。免冑入狄師、死焉。狄人歸其元、面如生。初臼季使過冀、見冀缺耨、其妻饁之、敬、相待如賓。與之歸、言諸文公曰、敬、德之聚也、能敬必有德、德以治民、君請用之、臣聞之、出門如賓、承事如祭、仁之則也。公曰、其父有罪、可乎、對曰、舜之罪也殛鯀、其舉也興禹、管敬仲、桓之賊也、實相以濟。康誥曰、父不慈、子不祗、兄不友、弟不共、不相及也、詩曰、采葑采菲、無以下體、君取節焉可也。文公以爲下軍大夫。反自箕、襄公以三命命先且居將中軍、以再命命先茅之縣賞胥臣曰、舉郤缺、子之功也、以一命命郤缺爲卿、復與之冀、亦未有軍行。

冬、公如齊朝、且弔有狄師也。反、薨于小寢、卽安也。

晉、陳、鄭伐許。討其貳於楚也。

㊂楚令尹子上侵陳、蔡。陳、蔡成、遂伐鄭、將納公子瑕、門于桔柣之門、瑕覆于周氏之汪、外僕髡屯禽之以獻、文夫人斂而葬之鄶城之下。

㊃晉陽處父侵蔡、楚子上救之、與晉師夾泜而軍、陽子患之、使謂子上曰、吾聞之、文不犯順、武不違敵、子若欲戰、則吾退舍、子濟而陳、遲速唯命、不然紓我、老師費財、亦無益也。乃駕以待、子上欲涉、大孫伯曰、不可、晉人無信、半涉而薄我、悔敗何及、不如紓之。乃退舍、陽子宣言曰、楚師遁矣、遂歸、楚師亦歸、大子商臣譖子上曰、受晉賂而辟之、楚之恥也、罪莫大焉、王殺子上。

㊂葬僖公、緩、作主、非禮也、凡君薨、卒哭而祔、祔而作主、特祀於主、烝、嘗、禘、於廟。

XXXIII. 1 In the [duke's] thirty-third year, in spring, in the king's second month, an army from Ts'in entered Hwah.

2 The marquis of Ts'e sent Kwoh Kwei-foo to the duke on a mission of friendly inquiries.

3 In summer, in the fourth month, on Sin-sze, the men of Tsin and the Këang Jung defeated [the army of] Ts'in at Hëaou.

4 On Kwei-sze there was the burial of duke Wăn of Tsin.

5 The Teih made an incursion into Ts'e.

6 The duke invaded Choo, and took Tsze-low.

7 In autumn, duke [Chwang's] son, Suy, led an army, and invaded Choo.

8 A body of men from Tsin defeated the Teih in Ke.

9 In winter, in the tenth month, the duke went to Ts'e.

10 In the twelfth month, the duke arrived from Ts'e.

11 On Yih-sze, the duke died in the Small chamber.

12 There fell hoar-frost without killing the grass. Plum trees bore their fruit.

13 A body of men from Tsin, one from Ch'in, and one from Ch'ing, invaded Heu.

Par. 1. Hwah,—see III. iii. 5. From the last Chuen we see that 秦人 here denotes 'an army of Ts'in,' not inconsiderable in numbers, and under commanders of no mean rank. 入者,入其國而不據其地也, '入 denotes that they entered the city, but did not keep possession of the territory.' The Chuen says:—'In spring, the army of Ts'in was passing by the north-gate of [the royal city of] Chow, when the mailed men on the right and left of the chariots [merely] took off their helmets and descended, springing afterwards with a bound into the chariots,—the 300 of them. Wang-sun Mwan was still quite young; but when he saw this, he said to the king, 'The army of Ts'in acts lightly and is unobservant of propriety;—it is sure to be defeated. Acting so lightly, there must be little counsel in it. Unobservant of propriety, it will be heedless. When it enters a dangerous pass, and is heedless, being moreover without wise counsel, can it escape defeat?

'When the army entered Hwah, Hëen Kaou, a merchant of Ch'ing, on his way to traffic in Chow, met it. He went with four dressed hides, preceding 12 oxen, to distribute them among the soldiers, and said [to the general], "My prince, having heard that you were marching with your army, and would pass by his poor city, ventures thus to refresh your attendants. Our poor city, when your attendants come there, can supply them, while they stay, with one day's provisions, and provide them, when they go, with one night's escort." At the same time he sent intelligence of what was taking place with all possible speed to Ch'ing. The earl, [on receiving the tidings], sent to see what was going on at the lodging houses *which had been built for the guards of Ts'in*, and found there bundles all ready, waggons loaded, weapons sharpened, and the horses fed. On this he sent Hwang Woo to decline their further services, and say to them, "You have been detained, Sirs, *too* long at our poor city. Our dried flesh, our money, our rice, our cattle, are all used up. We have our park of Yuen as Ts'in has its of Keu. Suppose you supply yourselves with deer from it to give our poor city some rest." On this Ke Tsze fled to Ts'e, while Fung Sun and Yang Sun fled to Sung. Măng-ming said, "Ch'ing is prepared for us. We cannot hope *to surprise it*. If we attack it, we shall not immediately take it; and if we lay siege to it, we are too far off to receive succour. Let us return." *The army of Ts'in* then proceeded to extinguish Hwah, and returned.']

Par. 2; In the duke's 28th year, Kung-tsze Suy went to Ts'e on a friendly mission. The visit in the text was, probably, the response to it. Kwei-foo was the ambassador's name. The Chuen calls him Kwoh Chwang-tsze, or the officer Kwoh, Chwang being his honorary title. The Chuen says:—'When Kwoh Chwang of Ts'e came on his friendly mission, from his reception in the borders to the parting feast and gifts

to him, he was treated with the utmost ceremony, and also with sedulous attention. Tsang Wăn-chung said to the duke, "Since the officer Kwoh administered its govt., Ts'e has again showed all propriety *towards us*. Your lordship should pay a visit to it. Your servant has heard that submission to those who are observant of propriety is the [surest] defence of the altars."'

Par. 3. After 秦, Tso-she and Kuh-lëang have 師. Hëaou was a dangerous defile,—in the pres. dis. of Yung-ning (永寧), dep. Ho-nan. The Chuen says:—'[Sëen] Chin of Yuen said to the marquis of Tsin, "[The earl of] Ts'in, contrary to the counsel of Këen Shuh, has, under the influence of greed, been imposing toil on his people;—this is an opportunity given us by Heaven. It should not be lost; our enemy should not be let go unassailed. Such disobedience to Heaven will be inauspicious;—we must attack the army of Ts'in." Lwan Che said, "We have not yet repaid the services rendered to our last lord by Ts'in, and if we now attack its army, this is to make him dead indeed!" Sëen Chin replied, "Ts'in has shown no sympathy with us in our loss, but has attacked [two States of] our surname. It is Ts'in who has been unobservant of propriety;—what have we to do with [former] favours? I have heard that if you let your enemy go a single day, you are preparing the misfortunes of several generations. In taking counsel for his posterity, can we be said to be treating our last ruler as dead?"

'The [new marquis] instantly issued orders [for the expedition]. The Këang Jung were called into the field on the spur of the moment. The marquis [joined the army], wearing his son's-garb of unhemmed mourning, stained with black, and also his mourning scarf. Lëang Hwang was his charioteer, and Lae Keu his spearman on the right. In summer, in the 4th month, on Sin-sze, he defeated the army of Ts'in at Hëaou, took [the commanders], Pih-le Măng-ming-she, Se-k'eih Shuh, and Pih-yih Ping, prisoners, and brought them back with him to the capital, from which he proceeded in his dark-stained mourning garb to inter duke Wăn, which thenceforth became the custom in Tsin. Wăn Ying [duke Wăn's Ts'in wife] interceded for the prisoners, saying, "In consequence of their stirring up enmity between you and him, [my father], the earl of Ts'in, will not be satisfied even if he should eat them. Why should you condescend to punish them? Why should you not send them back to be put to death in Ts'in, to satisfy the wish of my lord there?" The marquis acceded to her advice.

'Sëen Chin went to court, and asked about the Ts'in prisoners. The marquis replied, 'My father's widow requested it, and I have let them go." The officer in a rage said, 'Your warriors by their strength caught them in the field, and now they are let go for a woman's brief word in the city. By such overthrow of the services of the army, and such prolongation of the resentment of our enemies, our ruin will come at no distant day." *With this*, without turning round, he spat *on the ground*.

'The marquis sent Yang Ch'oo-foo to pursue after the *liberated commanders*; but when he got to the Ho, they were already on board a boat. Loosing the outside horse on the left of his chariot, he said he had the marquis's order to present it to Măng-ming. Măng-ming bowed his head to the ground, and said, "Your prince's kindness in not taking the blood of me his prisoner to smear his drums [See Mencius, I. Pt. I., vii. 4], but liberating me to go and be killed in Ts'in;—this kindness, should my prince indeed execute me, I will not forget in death. If by your prince's kindness I escape this fate, in three years I will thank him for his gift."

'The earl of Ts'in, in white mourning garments, was waiting for them in the borders of the capital, and wept, looking in the direction where the army had been lost. "By my opposition to the counsel of Këen Shuh," he said, "I brought disgrace on you, my generals. Mine has been the crime; and that I did not [before] dismiss Măng-ming [from such a service] was my fault. What fault are you chargeable with? I will not for one error shut out of view your great merits.'

The last Book of the Shoo is said to have been made by the earl of Ts'in on occasion of this defeat;—see the note on the name of that Book. The few sentences of the Chuen are much more to the point than all its paragraphs. The K'ang-he editors have a long note, in which they discuss the question whether Tsin was justified in attacking Ts'in in Hëaou, and conclude that it was so. The blame implied, as they fancy, in the 人 of 晉人, they explain as kindly meant to hide the fact of the marquis of Tsin, in deepest mourning, and his father yet unburied, taking part in such an affair; but this is unnecessary. The marquis may have been near the defile, but all the arrangements were made by Sëen Chin who was the actual commander in the affair. The Këang Jung, represented as descendants of Yaou's chief minister, came readily to the help of Tsin, because duke Hwuy had kindly received and protected them, when they were driven out of their old seats by Ts'in.

Par. 5. Tso-she says the Teih ventured on this, 'taking advantage of the mourning in Tsin.'

Parr. 6,7. For 訾婁 Kung-yang has 叢; Kuh-lëang has 訾樓. The place must have been in Tse-ning Chow (濟寧州), dep. Yen-chow. The Chuen says:—'The duke invaded Choo, and took Tsze-low, to repay the action at Shing-hing [see p. 3 of the 22d year]. The people of Choo did not make preparations to receive an enemy; and in autumn Sëang-chung again invaded it.'

Par. 8. Ke was 35 *le* south from the pres. dis. city of T'ae-kuh (太谷), dep. T'ae-yuen, Shan-se. The Chuen says:—'The Teih invaded Tsin, and came as far as Ke, where, in the 8th month, on Mow-tsze, the marquis of Tsin defeated them, Këoh Këueh capturing the viscount of the White Teih. Sëen Chin said [to himself], "[No better than] an ordinary man, I vented my feeling on my ruler [Referring to his spitting before the marquis], and I was not punished; but dare I keep from punishing myself?" *With this*, he took off his helmet, entered the army of the Teih, and died. The Teih

returned his head, when his countenance looked as when he was alive.

'Before this, Ke of K'ëw [Seu Shin] was passing by K'e on a mission, and saw Keueh of K'e weeding in a field, when his wife brought his food to him. He showed to her all respect, and behaved to her as he would have done to a guest. Ke *therefore* took him back with him to the capital, and told duke Wăn, saying, "About respect all other virtues gather. He who can show respect is sure to have virtue. Virtue finds its use in the government of the people. I entreat your lordship to employ him. Your servant has heard that outside one's door to behave as if one were receiving a guest, and to attend to all business as if it were a sacrifice [Comp. Ana. XII. ii.], is the pattern of perfect virtue." The duke said, "But should this be done, considering the crime of his father [See the Chuen at the beginning of the 24th year. Keuch's father, Këoh Juy, had planned to murder duke Wăn.]?" "The criminal whom Shun put to death," returned Ke, "was Kwăn; and the man whom he raised to dignity was [Kwăn's son], Yu. The assaulter of Hwan [of Ts'e] was Kwan King-chung, and yet he became his chief minister, and carried him on to success. In the Announcement to the prince of K'ang it is said, 'The father who is devoid of affection, and the son who is devoid of reverence; the elder brother who is unkind, and the younger who is disrespectful,' *are all to be punished*, but not one for the offence of the other [See the Shoo, V. ix. 16, but the quotation is very inaccurate]. The ode says [She, I. iii. Ode X.]:—

> 'When we gather the *fung* and the *fe*,
> They should not be rejected because of their roots.'

On this, duke Wăn made Këoh Keueh great officer of the 3d army.

'On the return of the army from Ke, duke Sëang invested Sëen Tseu-keu [Son of Sëen Chin] with the 3d degree of rank, and made him commander of the 2d or middle army. He gave Seu Shin the second rank, and the city of Sëen Maou, as his reward, saying, "The promotion of Këoh Keueh was due to you." He conferred the 1st degree on Këoh Keueh, and made him a high minister, restoring to him the city of K'e; but Keuch did not yet receive the command of an army.'

Par. 11. See on III. xxxii. 4. Too Yu says that 'the Small chamber was the wife's chamber (夫人寢).' The Chuen says:—'In winter the duke went to Ts'e to pay a court-visit, and to condole with the marquis on the attack of the Teih. On his return, he died in the Small chamber, having retired there to be more at rest.' Kuh-lëang and other critics say he ought not to have breathed his last there.

Par. 12. For 隕 Kung-yang has 霣. *Le* and *mei* are both the names of plum-trees, and their fruits;—I do not know the specific difference between them. The 12th month of Chow was the 10th month of Hëa. To find hoar-frost on the ground, and at the same time the grass still vigorous, and plum-trees still bearing, was strange; and as an unusual phænomenon it is here recorded. The critics delight to dwell upon its moral significance, and Hoo Gan-kwoh quotes a conversation on the paragraph, with duke Gae, ascribed to Confucius, which is in a similar strain.

Par. 13. Tso-she says the object of this invasion was to punish Heu for its inclining to the side of Ts'oo.

[We have here 3 narratives in the Chuen:—'Tsze-shang, chief minister of Ts'oo, made an incursion into Ts'ae and Ch'in, both of which made their submission; and then he went on to invade Ch'ing, intending to place Hëa, son of duke *Wăn*, as marquis in it. He made an attack at the Këch-tëeh gate, when Hëa was overturned in the pond of the Chow family. K'wăn-ch'un, a servant of the marquis stationed outside the walls, caught him and presented his dead body. The marquis's wife covered it with a shroud, put it in a coffin, and buried it near Kwei-shing.'

'Yang Ch'oo-foo of Tsin made an incursion into Ts'ae, and Tsze-yang of Ts'oo came to its relief. Their two armies faced each other with the river Che between them. Yang, being distressed by the position, sent to say to Tsze-shang, "The man of civil virtue will not attack those who are acting according to an agreement; the man of military prowess will not leave his enemy. If you wish to fight, I will withdraw 30 *le*, till you pass over and arrange your battle, receiving your commands as to the time, less or more. If you do not accept this offer, grant the *same* indulgence to me. To keep our armies here long in the field, and waste our resources, is of no use." He then had the horses yoked in his carriage to await the answer. Tsze-shang wished to cross the river, but Ta Sun-pih [the Ta-sin of the Chuen on IV. xxviii. 6. He was the son of Tsze-yuh, or Tih-shin, of Ts'oo] said, "No. The men of Tsin have no good faith. If they attack us, when half our troops are crossed over, it will be too late to repent of our defeat. Better grant the indulgence to them." On this the troops of Ts'oo withdrew 30 *le*. When Yang saw this, he spread abroad the report that the army of Ts'oo had retired, and immediately returned to Tsin. Shang-shin, the eldest son of [the viscount of] Ts'oo, slandered Tsze-shang [to his father], saying, "He was bribed by Tsin, and got out of the way of its army,—to the shame of Ts'oo; there could not be a greater crime." *On this* the viscount put Tsz-shang to death.'

'We buried duke He;—the burial was late [The construction and meaning here are uncertain]. The making the Spirit-tablet was contrary to rule. On occasion of the death of the prince of a State, when the weeping is ended, his spirit is supposed to take its place by that of his grandfather, with reference to which the spirit-tablet has been made, and is now set up. A special sacrifice goes on before this tablet, while the seasonal sacrifices and the fortunate sacrifice at the end of the mourning take place in the temple.']

These immediately preceding remarks are here by some mistake in their wrong place. They belong to the next Book, i. 4, and ii. 2.

BOOK VI. DUKE WAN.

First year.

文公

一章 元年、春、王正月、公卽位。

二章 二月、癸亥、日有食之。

三章 天王使叔服來會葬。

四章 夏、四月、丁巳、葬我君僖公。

五章 天王使毛伯來錫公命。

六章 晉侯伐衞。

七章 叔孫得臣如京師。

八章 衞人伐晉。

九章 秋、公孫敖會晉侯于戚。

十章 冬、十月、丁未、楚世子商臣弒其君頵。

十一章 公孫敖如齊。

左傳曰、元年春、王使內史叔服來會葬。公孫敖聞其能相人也、見其二子焉。叔服曰、穀也食子、難也收子。穀也豐下、必有後於魯國。

(二)於是閏三月、非禮也。先王之正時也、履端於始、舉正於中、歸餘於終。履端於始、序則不愆、舉正於中、民則不惑、歸餘於終、事則不悖。

夏、四月、丁巳、葬僖公。

王使毛伯衛來錫公命。

晉文公之季年、諸侯朝晉、衛成公不朝、使孔達侵鄭、伐綿訾、及匡、晉襄公既祥、使告于諸侯而伐衛、及南陽、先且居曰、效尤、禍也、請君朝王、臣從師、晉侯朝王於温、先且居胥臣伐衛、五月辛酉朔、晉師圍戚、六月戊戌、取之、獲孫昭子。

叔孫得臣如周拜。

衛人使告于陳、陳共公曰、更伐之、我辭之、衛孔達帥師伐晉、君子以爲古、古者越國而謀。

秋、晉侯疆戚田、故公孫敖會之、

初、楚子將以商臣爲大子、訪諸令尹子上、子上曰、君之齒未也、而又多愛、黜乃亂也、楚國之舉、恆在少者、且是人也、蠭目而豺聲、忍人也、不可立也、弗聽、既又欲立王子職、而黜大子商臣、商臣聞之而未察、告其師潘崇曰、若之何而察之、潘崇曰、享江芈而勿敬也、從之、江芈怒曰、呼、役夫、宜君王之欲殺女而立職也、告潘崇曰、信矣、潘崇曰、能事諸乎、曰、不能、能行乎、曰、不能、能行大事乎、曰、能、冬十月、以宮甲圍成王、王請食熊蹯而死、弗聽、丁未、王縊、諡之曰靈、不瞑、曰成、乃瞑、穆王立、以其爲大子之室與潘崇、使爲大師、且掌環列之尹。

穆伯如齊、始聘焉、禮也、凡君卽位、卿出竝聘、踐修舊好、要結外援、好事鄰國、以衛社稷、忠、信、卑讓之道也、忠、德之正也、信、德之固也、卑讓、德之基也。

(一)殽之役、晉人既歸秦師、大夫及左右皆言於秦伯曰、是敗也、孟明之罪也、必殺之、秦伯曰、是孤之罪也、周芮良夫之詩曰、大風有隧、貪人敗類、聽言則對、誦言如醉、匪用其良、覆俾我悖、是貪故也、孤之謂矣、孤實貪以禍夫子、夫子何罪、復使爲政。

I. 1 In the first year, in spring, in the king's first month, the duke came to the [vacant] seat.

2 In the second month, on Kwei-hae, the sun was eclipsed.

3 The king [by] Heaven's [grace] sent Shuh-fuh to be present at the burial [of duke He].

4 In summer, in the fourth month, in Ting-sze, we buried our ruler, duke He.

5 The king [by] Heaven's [grace] sent the earl of Maou to confer on the duke the symbol [of investiture].
6 The marquis of Tsin invaded Wei.
7 Shuh-sun Tih-shin went to the capital.
8 A body of men from Wei invaded Tsin.
9 In autumn, Kung-sun Gaou had a meeting with the marquis of Tsin in Ts'eih.
10 In winter, in the tenth month, on Ting-we, Shang-shin, heir-son of Ts'oo, murdered his ruler, Keun.
11 Kung-sun Gaou went to Ts'e.

TITLE OF THE BOOK.—文公, 'Duke Wăn.' Duke Wăn's name was Hing (興). He was the son of duke He by his wife Shing Këang (聲姜), a daughter of the House of Ts'e. His rule lasted 18 years, B. C. 725—608. His honorary title Wăn denotes—'Gentle and kindly, loving the people (慈惠愛民曰文);' or, 'Loyally truthful, and courteous (忠信接禮曰文).'

His 1st year synchronized with the 26th of king Sëang (襄王); the 2d of Sëang (襄) of Tsin; the 7th of Ch'aou (昭) of Ts'e; the 9th of Ch'ing (成) of Wei; the 10th of Chwang (莊) of Ts'ae; the 2d of Muh (穆) of Ch'ing; the 27th of Kung (共) of Ts'aou; the 6th of Kung (共) of Ch'in; the 11th of Hwan (桓) of Ke; the 11th of Ch'ing (成) of Sung; the 34th of Muh of Tsin; and the 46th of Ch'ing of Ts'oo.

Par. 1. Everything was auspicious at the accession of duke Wăn, and therefore we have the account of it in full, without anything to be said against the 即位, as in II. i. 1. Duke He indeed was not yet buried; but that circumstance was not allowed to interfere with the proclamation of the new rule, and the young marquis's reception of his ministers, on the 1st day of the new year.

Par. 2. Before 日 Kung-yang has 朔, Too Yu, accepting Tso-she's text, observes that the 朔 is omitted through the carelessness of the historiographers. The eclipse took place on the 26th January, B. C. 625.

Par. 3. The prince of one State sent an officer to attend at the interment of the prince of another State; but in the Ch'un Ts'ëw no record is made of the appearance of such envoys at Loo. The record here is because the mission of Shuh-fuh was a special honour done to Loo by the king. The Chuen says that this Shuh-fuh was historiographer of the interior, and adds:—'Kung-sun Gaou had heard that he was a master of physiognomy, and introduced his two sons to him. Shuh-fuh said, "Kuh will feed you; No will bury you. The lower part of Kuh's face is large;—he will have posterity in the State of Loo."'

[Tso-she appends here:—'Here there was an intercalary 3d month;—which was contrary to rule. The method of the former kings in regulating the seasons was—to make a commencement at the *proper* beginning; to determine the correct beginning of the months from the commencement *of the year* to the end; and to reserve the overplus of days for the year's end. By making the commencement at the proper beginning, order was secured, and there was no error. By determining the commencements of the months, the people were preserved from error; by reserving the overplus to the end of the year, affairs proceeded in a natural way.]

Par. 4. The Chuen here repeats the text without any addition, showing that the 緩 of the Chuen at the end of last year belongs to this place. The duke should have been buried 5 months after his death; but 6 had now elapsed, or 7, if we count the intercalary month.

Parr. 5, 7. Maou was a city and territory within the royal domain, assigned by some to the pres. dis. of E-yang (宜陽), dep. Ho-nan. Its lords were earls, descendants of Shuh-ch'ing (叔鄭), one of the sons of king Wăn; and were, one after another, in the service of the court. The 命 here conferred on the duke was doubtless the 'jade token,' proper to his rank as marquis;—see on the Shoo, II. i. 7. Comp. also III. i. 6. The mission of Shuh-sun Tih-shin was to express the duke's acknowledgments for this token of the royal favour;—Tso-she says—如周拜. This Tih-shin was grandson of Ya or Shuh Ya, whose death is mentioned in III. xxxii. 3, and who was the ancestor of the Shuh-sun clan. See the Chuen there.

Par. 6. The Chuen says:—'In the last years of duke Wăn of Tsin, the princes of the States came [most of them] to the court of Tsin; but duke Ch'ing of Wei did not come; and he sent K'ung Tah to make an incursion into Ch'ing, attacking also Mëen-tsze and K'wang. At the end of his 1st year of mourning, duke Sëang sent word to the States, and invaded Wei. When he had got to Nan-yang, Sëen Tseu-keu said to him, "You are imitating the crime [of Wei], and will meet with calamity. Let me ask your lordship to go to the king's court,

and I will go with the army." On this the marquis paid a court-visit to the king in Wăn, while Sëen Tseu-keu and Seu Shin prosecuted the invasion of Wei. On Sin-yĕw, the 1st day of the 5th month, their army laid siege to Ts'eih, took it on Mow-seuh in the 6th month, when the officer Sun Ch'aou was taken prisoner.'

Par. 8. The Chuen says:—'The people of Wei sent to inform Ch'in of their circumstances. Duke Kung of Ch'in said, "Attack Tsin again. I will speak to the marquis [in your behalf].' *On this* K'ung Tah of Wei led a force, and attacked Tsin. The superior man will say that this was the ancient method. The ancients passed from their own to take counsel with another State.'

Par. 9. Ts'eih was the city of Wei, the capture of which is mentioned in the Chuen on par. 6. It was 7 *le* north of the pres. city of K'ae Chow (開州), dep. of Ta-ming. The Chuen says:—'In autumn, the marquis of Tsin was laying out the boundaries of the lands of Ts'eih, and there Kung-sun Gaou had an interview with him.' The K'ang-he editors observe that this is the first instance in the text of the classic of great officers taking it on themselves to have meetings with the princes.

Par. 10. For 頵 Kung and Kuh have 髡. The Chuen says:—"At an earlier period, the viscount of Ts'oo, intending to declare Shang-shin his successor, consulted his chief minister Tsze-shang about it. Tsze-shang said, "Your lordship is not yet old. You are also fond of many [of your children]. Should you degrade him hereafter, he will make disorder. The succession in Ts'oo has always been from among the younger sons. Morever, he has eyes [projecting] like a wasp's, and a wolf's voice;—he is capable of anything. You ought not to raise him to that position." The viscount did it however. But afterwards he wished to appoint his son Chih instead, and to degrade Shang-shin. Shang-shin heard of his intention, but was not sure of it. He therefore told his tutor P'wan Ts'ung, and asked him how he could get certain information. Ts'ung said, "Give a feast to her of Keang [The viscount's sister], and behave disrespectfully to her." The prince did so, when the lady became angry, and cried out, "You slave, it is with reason that the king wishes to kill you, and appoint Chih in your place." Shang-shin told this to his tutor, saying, "The report is true.' Ts'ung then said, "Are you able to serve Chih?" "No." "Are you able to leave the State?" "No." "Are you able to do the great thing?" "Yes."

'In winter, in the 10th month, Shang-shin, with the *guards* of his palace, held the king in siege. The king begged to have bear's paws to eat before he died, which was refused him; and on Ting-we he strangled himself. The prince [immediately] gave him the title of Ling, but his eyes would not shut. He changed it to Ch'ing, and they shut. [Shang-shin] took his place, [and is known as] king Muh. He gave the house where he had lived as the eldest son to P'wan Ts'ung, made him grand-tutor, and commander of the palace guards.'

Par. 11. The Chuen says:—'Muh-pih [The hon. title and family place of Kung-sun Gaou] went to Ts'e on a mission of friendly inquiry at the commencement [of the duke's rule];—which was right. On the accession of princes of States, their ministers should go everywhere on such friendly missions, maintaining and cultivating old friendships, and forming external alliances of support. Attention to the services which are due to other States, in order to defend one's own altars, is the course of leal-heartedness, good faith, and humble complaisance. Leal-heartedness is the correct manifestation of virtue. Good faith is the bond of virtue. Humble complaisance is the foundation of virtue.'

[The Chuen turns here in conclusion to the affairs of Ts'in:—'After the battle of Hëaou, when the people of Tsin had returned the captive generals to Ts'in, his great officers and others about him said to the earl, "This defeat was all the fault of Măng-ming; you must put him to death." But the earl said, "It was owing to my fault. They are the words of the ode of (the earl of) Juy of Chow [She, III. iii. Ode III. 13]:—

'Great winds have a path;—
The covetous men try to subvert their peers.
If he would hear my words, I would speak to him;
But I can [only] croon them over, as if I were drunk.
He will not employ the good,
And on the contrary causes me this distress.'

It was by [my] covetousness. The ode is applicable to me. It was my covetousness which brought the misfortune on him. What crime had he?" Accordingly he again employed [Măng-ming] in the conduct of the government.']

Second year.

一章 二年、春、王二月、甲子、晉侯及秦師戰于彭衙、秦師敗績。

二章 丁丑、作僖公主。

三章 三月、乙巳、及晉處父

盟。

四章 夏六月、公孫敖會宋公、陳侯、鄭伯、晉士穀、盟于垂隴。

五章 自十有二月、不雨、至于秋七月。

六章 八月、丁卯、大事于大廟、躋僖公。

七章 冬、晉人、宋人、陳人、鄭人、伐秦。

八章 公子遂如齊納幣。

左傳曰、二年、春、秦孟明視帥師伐晉、以報殽之役。二月、晉侯禦之、先且居將中軍、趙衰佐之、王官無地御戎、狐鞫居爲右、甲子、及秦師戰于彭衙、秦師敗績、晉人謂秦拜賜之師。戰於殽也、晉梁弘御戎、萊駒爲右、戰之明日、晉襄公縛秦囚、使萊駒以戈斬之、囚呼、萊駒失戈、狼瞫取戈以斬囚、禽之以從公乘、遂以爲右、箕之役、先軫黜之、而立續簡伯、狼瞫怒、其友曰、盍死之、瞫曰、吾未獲死所、其友曰、吾與女爲難。瞫曰、周志有之、勇則害上、不登於明堂、死而不義、非勇也、共用之謂勇、吾以勇求右、無勇而黜、亦其所也、謂上不我知、黜而宜、乃知我矣、子姑待之、及彭衙既陳、以其屬馳秦師、死焉、晉師從之、大敗秦師。君子謂狼瞫於是乎君子、詩曰、君子如怒、亂庶遄沮、又曰、王赫斯怒、爰整其旅、怒不作亂、而以從師、可謂君子矣、秦伯猶用孟明、孟明增修國政、重施於民。趙成子言於諸大夫曰、秦師又至、將必辟之、懼而增德、不可當也、詩曰、毋念爾祖、聿修厥德、孟明念之矣、念德不怠、其可敵乎。

丁丑、作僖公主、書不時也。

晉人以公不朝來討、公如晉、夏四月、己巳、晉人使陽處父盟公、以恥之、書曰、及晉處父盟、以厭之也、適晉不書、諱之也。

公未至、六月、穆伯會諸侯、及晉司空士縠盟于垂隴。晉討衞故也、書士縠、堪其事也。陳侯爲衞請成于晉、執孔達以說。

秋、八月、丁卯、大事于大廟、躋僖公。逆祀也。於是夏父弗忌爲宗伯、尊僖公、且明見曰、吾見新鬼大、故鬼小、先大後小、順也、躋聖賢、明也、明順、禮也。君子以爲失禮、禮無不順、祀、國之大事也、而逆之、可謂禮乎、子雖齊聖、不先父食久矣、故禹不先鯀、湯不先契、文武不先不窋、宋祖帝乙、鄭祖厲王、猶上祖也、是以魯頌曰、春秋匪解、享祀不忒、皇皇后帝、皇祖后稷、君子曰禮、謂其后稷親而先帝也、詩曰、問我諸姑、遂及伯姊、君子曰禮、謂其姊親而先姑也。仲尼曰、臧文仲其不仁者三、不知者三、下展禽、廢六關、妾織蒲、三不仁也、作虛器、縱逆祀、祀爰居、三不知也。

冬、晉先且居、宋公子成、陳轅選、鄭公子歸生、伐秦、取汪、及彭衙、而還、以報彭衙之役。卿不書、爲穆公故、尊秦也、謂之崇德。

襄仲如齊、納幣。禮也。凡君卽位、好舅甥、修昏姻、娶元妃、以奉粢盛、孝也、孝、禮之始也。

II. 1 In the [duke's] second year, in spring, in the king's second month, on Këah-tsze, he marquis of Tsin and the army of Ts'in fought a battle in P'ăng-ya, when the army of Ts'in was disgracefully defeated.

2 On Ting-ch'ow, [the duke] made the Spirit-tablet of duke He.

3 In the third month, on Yih-sze, [the duke] made a covenant with Ch'oo-foo of Tsin.

4 In summer, in the sixth month, Kung-sun Gaou had a meeting with the duke of Sung, the marquis of Ch'in, the earl of Ch'ing, and Sze Hwoh of Tsin, when they made a covenant in Ch'uy-lung.

5 From the twelfth month [of the last year] it had not rained until the autumn [of this] in the seventh month.

6 In the eighth month, on Ting-maou, there was the great [sacrificial] business in the grand temple, when [the tablet of] duke He was advanced [to the place of that of duke Min].

7 In winter, a body of men from Tsin, one from Sung, one from Ch'in, and one from Ch'ing invaded Ts'in.

8 Duke [Chwang's] son, Suy, went to Ts'e, with the marriage offerings [for the duke].

Par. 1. The site of P'ăng-ya (in Kung-yang, 彭牙) is not well ascertained. Probably it was in Ts'in,—as Kung and Kuh say. According to Too, it should be found 60 *le* to the north-east of the pres. dis. city of Pih-shwuy (白水), dept. T'ung-chow, Shen-se. The Chuen says:—'In the 2d year, in spring, Măng-ming She of Ts'in led an army against Tsin, to repay his defeat at Hëaou. In the 2d month, the marquis of Tsin went to meet him, Sëen Tseu-keu commanding the army of the centre, with Chaou Ts'uy as his assistant. Woo-te of Wang-kwan acted as charioteer, and Hoo Kuh-keu was spearman on the right. On Këah-tsze they fought in P'ăng-ya, when the army of Ts'in received a severe defeat, the men of Tsin calling it the army with which Ts'in acknowledged their marquis's gift [See Măng-ming's language at the end of the Chuen on p. 3 of the 33d year of duke He]. At the battle of Hëaou, Lëang Hwang had been charioteer, and Lae Keu the spearman on the right. On the day after it, duke Sëang had one of the prisoners bound, and ordered Lae Keu to kill him with a spear. The prisoner gave a shout, and Keu dropt the spear, on which Lang Shin took it up, killed him, and, taking his *left ear*, followed the marquis's chariot, who made him the spearman on the right.

'At the battle of Ke, Sëen Chin degraded Lang, and appointed Suh Këen-pih in his place. Lang was angry, and one of his friends said to him, "Why not die here?" He replied, "I have here no proper place to die in." "Let me and you do a difficult thing," said the friend [Meaning that they should kill the general]; but Lang replied, "It is said in one of the histories of Chow, 'The brave who kills his superior shall have no place in the hall of Light.' He who dies doing what is not righteous is not brave; he who dies in the public service is brave. By bravery I sought the place of spearman on the right; I am degraded as not being brave;—it is my present place. If I should say that my superior does not know me, and did that which would make my degradation right, I should only prove that he did know me. Wait a little, my friend."

'At P'ăng-ya, when the army was marshalled for the battle, Lang Shin, with his own followers, dashed into the army of Ts'in, and died. The army of Tsin followed him, and gained a great victory. The superior man will say that Lang Shin in this way proved himself a superior man. It is said in the ode [She, II. v. ode IV. 2]:—

> "Let the superior man be angry,
> And disorder will be stopt;"

and again [She, III. i. ode VII. 5]:—

> "The king rose majestic in his wrath,
> And marshalled his troops."

When Lang in his anger would not be guilty of disorder, but went on to do good service in the army, he may be called a superior man.

'The earl of Ts'in, [notwithstanding this fresh defeat], still employed Măng-ming, who paid increased attention to the government of the State, and made great largesses to the people. Chaou Ch'ing [Ch'ing is the hon. title of Chaou Ts'uy] said to the officers of Tsin, "The army of Ts'in will be here again, and we must get out of its way. He who in his apprehension increases his virtue cannot be matched. The ode says [She, III. i. ode I. 6]:

> "Ever think of your ancestors,
> Cultivating your virtue."

It is in this way that Măng-ming thinks. Thinking of his virtue, without remitting his efforts, can he be resisted?"'

Par. 2. Tso says that this records the wrong time at which the thing was done. Here belongs the greater part of the 3d par. in the Chuen at the end of He's last year. According to Maou, the practice of the Chow dynasty on the death of the prince of a State was this:—1st, The spirit-tablets of the former princes were all taken from their shrines, and laid up for 5 months in the 'grand apartment,' during which time no sacrifices were offered to them. 2d, When the time at the end of those months came to place the tablet of the recently deceased prince by that of his grandfather, a procession was made with it to take the other tablets from their repository, and replace them in their shrines. The new tablet was placed in the shrine of the deceased's grandfather, and a sacrifice was offered to them two. 3d, After this, the new tablet was carried back to the chamber where the prince had died, where sacrifices were offered to it, while all the others were left in their shrines, and sacrificed to as usual [As the Chuen says, 特祀于主,烝嘗禘于廟. 4th, At the conclusion of the mourning, the new tablet was taken to its proper shrine in the temple, and one of the older ones was removed;—in the form and order prescribed.

This account seems to be correct. Kung-yang thinks that, after the burial, a tablet of the wood of the mulberry tree was made, and sacrificed to in the chamber; and that, at the end of a year from the death, this was changed for a tablet made of the wood of the chestnut tree. If it were so, and the 2d tablet be here spoken of, yet the time for making and setting it up had long gone by.

Par. 3. The Chuen says:—'The people of Tsin, because the duke had not paid a court visit to their marquis, came to punish him. On this he went to Tsin; and in summer, in the 4th month, on Ke-sze, Yang Ch'oo-foo was commissioned to make a covenant with him. This was done to disgrace the duke. The words of the text 'made a covenant with Ch'oo-foo of Tsin,' indicate dissatisfaction with that individual. The duke's visit to Tsin is not recorded;—purposely, to keep it concealed.' The Chuen correctly gives the day Ke-sze in the 4th month, instead of the 3d month of the text.

Par. 4. Kuh-lëang gives 穀 for 縠; and both Kung and Kuh give 垂歛 for 垂隴. Ch'uy-lung was in the north east of the pres. dis. of Yung-tsih, dep. K'ae-fung.

The Chuen says:—'The duke had not arrived [from Tsin]; and in the 4th month, Muh-pih had a meeting with the princes *named*, and Sze Hwoh, minister of Works in Tsin, at Ch'uy-lung, with reference to Tsin's punishment of Wei. The marquis of Ch'in begged that Tsin would accept the submission of Wei, and *also* seized K'ung Tah, in order to please Tsin.' Tso-she interjects that Sze Hwoh is here mentioned by

his name and surname, because of his ability for his work.

Par. 5. Chaou P'ăng-fei contrasts the way in which so many months of drought are here summarily mentioned with the notices under duke He in V. ii. 5, iii. 4;—which see.

Par. 6. The 'great business' here is what is called the 'fortunate *te* sacrifice' in IV. ii. 2, where its nature has been sufficiently explained. Here, as there, it was performed 3 months before the proper time; and this coincidence might lead us to think that some new regulation affecting the date of the service had been adopted in Loo. The stress of the paragraph, however, is in the conclusion,—the advancing the tablet of duke He into the place which had been for more than 30 years occupied by that of his brother and predecessor, Min. This has given rise to numerous subtle and perplexing discussions. The account of it in the Chuen is the following:—'This was contrary to the order of sacrifice [逆祀. Too explains the phrase thus:—"He was the elder brother, and they could not be placed as father and son; he had been the subject of Min, and his proper place was beneath him. But now his tablet was placed above Min's;—hence the expression 逆祀"]. On this, Hëa-foo Fuh-ke, who was then director of the ancestral temple, *wished to* honour duke He, and told what he had seen, saying, "I saw the new Spirit great, and the old Spirit small. To put the great one first, and the small one after it, is the natural order. And to advance him who was sage and worthy, is the act of intelligence. What is according to natural order and intelligence has a principle of reason in it." But the superior man must consider the act to have been contrary to the propriety of the ceremony. In ceremonies everything must be in the proper natural order; and sacrifice is the great business of the State. How can it be called propriety to go contrary to the order of it? The son may have been reverend and sage, but he does not take precedence of the father, who has enjoyed the sacrifice long. Thus it was that Yu did not take precedence of Kwăn, nor T'ang of Sëeh, nor Wăn and Woo of Puh-chueh. The emperor Yih was the ancestor of the House of Sung, and king Le the ancestor of that of Ch'ing; and notwithstanding their bad character, they keep *in the temples* their superior position. Thus *also* in the Praise-songs of Loo [She IV. ii. Song IV. 3] we have,

"In spring and in autumn, without delay,
He presents his offerings without error,
To the great and sovereign God,
And to his great ancestor How-tseih;"

the superior man thus in effect saying, "Here is the order of ceremony; tho' How-tseih be near in relationship, yet God takes the precedence in the sacrifice." Another ode says [She, I. iii. ode XIV. 2.]:—

"I will ask for my aunts,
And then for my sister;"

the superior man thus saying, "Here is the order of ceremony; tho' the sister be the nearest in relationship, yet the aunts take the precedence of her." Chung-ne said, "There were three things which showed Tsang Wăn-chung's want of virtue, and three which showed his want of knowledge. His keeping Chen K'in [Lëw-hëa Hwuy] in a low position; his removing the six gates; and his making his concubines weave rush mats *for sale*:—these showed his want of virtue. His making vain structures [See Ana. V. xvii.]; his allowing a sacrifice contrary to the proper order [The case in the text]; and his sacrificing to the Yuen-këw [A strange bird]:—these showed his want of knowledge."'

The reader will probably think that this long note does not make the text plainer than it was before.—It was explained on IV. ii. 2, and on the 19th chapter of the Doctrine of the Mean, that in the ancestral temple the shrines were arranged in two rows, on either side of the shrine of the founder of the House. On one side were the shrines of fathers fronting the south. These were called *ch'aou* (昭). On the other side, fronting the north, were those of sons. They were called *muh* (穆). Of course the sons were fathers in their turn; but the situation in the row was determined by reckoning from the founder. His grandson was the 1st *ch'aou*, his son the 1st *muh*, and so on. But what was to be done when brothers followed one another in the succession, as here in the case of Min and He? Some critics say their tablets went all into the same shrine; but this is not the orthodox view. That holds that they were placed just as if they had been father and son, and the theory of the arrangement was overturned. Now when the tablet of Min got its place in the temple, he was a *ch'aou*. That of He should have gone into the other row, opposite to it, pushing out the *muh* which was at the top. But duke Wăn wished his father to have the more honourable *ch'aou* place; and so Min's tablet was removed to the *muh* row, and He's took its place at the bottom of the *ch'aous*. The director of the temple lent himself to this infringement of the rule. He was in reality older than Min; but Min had taken precedence of him in the succession, as the son of duke Chwang's wife, preferable to an elder brother who was only the son of a concubine.

[Tso-she's own remarks in the Chuen begin at 君子以爲失禮. He is the 君子 or 'superior man' there. The other two 君子 are to be take as the authors of the odes which are quoted, adduced by Tso-she in confirmation of his own view. The Praise-song of Loo was made after the time of duke He.]

Par. 7. The Chuen says:—'In winter, Sëen Tseu-keu of Tsin, Kung-tsze Ch'ing of Sung, Yuen Seuen of Ch'in, and Kung-tsze Kwei-săng, of Ch'ing, invaded Ts'in, when they took Wang and P'ăng-ya, and returned. The object of the expedition was to repay Ts'in for the compaign of P'ăng-ya. The ministers are not named in the text, [and they are only called 人], on account of duke Muh [of Ts'in], out of regard to the honour of Ts'in;—an example of the respect paid to virtue.' [This last sentence is merely Tso-she's own erroneous criticism of the text.]

Par. 8. The marriage of the duke with a daughter of Ts'e is recorded in IV. 2. The presenting the offerings of silk, denoted by 幣, was subsequent to the ceremonies of the engagement, and therefore I think, notwithstanding the protest of the K'ang-he editors, that Too's view is very likely,—that the engagement had been made before the death of duke He, and that, as soon as the conclusion of the mourning permitted, Wăn proceeded to take the next step. The Chuen says:—'This visit to Ts'e of Sëang-chung was according to rule. When a prince comes to the rule of a State, he shows his affection for the States whose princes are related to him by affinity, cultivates all relationships by marriage, and takes a head wife, to attend to the grain-vessels of the temple. This is filial piety, and filial piety is the beginning of propriety.'

Third year.

一章 三年、春、王正月、叔孫得臣會晉人、宋人、陳人、衞人、鄭人、伐沈、沈潰。

二章 夏五月、王子虎卒。

三章 秦人伐晉。

四章 秋、楚人圍江。

五章 雨螽于宋。

六章 冬、公如晉、十有二月、己巳、公及晉侯盟。

七章 晉陽處父帥師伐楚、以救江。

左傳曰、三年、春、莊叔會諸侯之師、伐沈。以其服于楚也、沈潰。凡民逃其上曰潰、在上曰逃。

(二)衞侯如陳、拜晉成也。

夏、四月、乙亥、王叔文公卒。來赴弔、如同盟、禮也。

秦伯伐晉、濟河、焚舟、取王官、及郊、晉人不出、遂自茅津濟、封殽尸而還、遂霸西戎、用孟明也。君子是以知秦穆公之爲君也、舉人之周也、與人之壹也、孟明之臣也、其不解也、能懼思也、子桑之忠也、其知人也、能舉善也、詩曰、于以采蘩、于沼于沚、于以用之、公侯之事、秦穆有焉。夙夜匪解、以事一人、孟明有焉。詒厥孫謀、以燕翼子、子桑有焉。

楚師圍江。晉先僕伐楚以救江。

秋、雨螽于宋、隊而死也。

晉人懼其無禮於公也、請改盟。公如晉、及晉侯盟。晉侯饗公、賦菁菁者莪。莊叔以公降拜、曰、小國受命於大國、敢不慎儀、君貺之以大禮、何樂如之、抑小國之樂、大國之惠也。晉侯降辭、登成拜、公賦嘉樂。冬、晉以江故、告于周、王叔桓公、晉陽處父、伐楚以救江、門于方城、遇息公子朱而還。

III. 1 In the [duke's] third year, in spring, in the king's first month, Shuh-sun Tih-shin joined an officer of Tsin, an officer of Sung, an officer of Ch'in, an officer of Wei, and an officer of Ch'ing, in invading Shin, the people of which dispersed.

2 In summer, in the fifth month, king [He's] son, Hoo, died.

3 A body of men from Ts'in invaded Tsin.

4 In autumn, a body of men from Ts'oo besieged Këang.

5 It rained locusts in Sung.

6 In winter, the duke went to Tsin; and in the twelfth month, on Ke-sze, he made a covenant with the marquis of Tsin.

7 Yang Ch'oo-foo of Tsin led a force, and invaded Ts'oo, in order to relieve Këang.

Par. 1. Shin was a small State, whose lords were viscounts, with the surname of the House of Chow;—in the pres. dis. of Joo-yang (汝陽), dep. Joo-ning, Ho-nan. Tso-she says that Chwang-shuh [莊叔; Chwang is the hon. title given to Shuh-sun Tih-shin] joined the armies of the States in this expedition, because Shin had submitted to Ts'oo.' He adds, in explanation of the term 潰, that 'the people's flying and deserting their superior is indicated by that term, while their ruler's fleeing is expressed by 逃.' The first meaning given to 潰 in the dict. is 'a large body of water rushing away by a new channel.' Such is the dispersion of the people fleeing from an enemy.

[The Chuen appends:—'The marquis of Wei went to Ch'in, to express his acknowledgments for the peace with Tsin,'—obtained by the mediation of Ch'in;—see the Chuen on par. 4 of last year.]

Par. 2. Tso-she says:—'In the 4th month, on Yih-hae, the king's uncle, duke Wăn (文公; the hon. title given to Hoo) died. A messenger came to Loo with the announcement, and condolences were sent to Chow as on the death of a prince who had covenanted with the duke.' The Hoo in the text was the 'king's officer' of V. xxix. 3, who covenanted with duke He in Teih-ts'ëuen. The news of his death was sent therefore to duke Wăn, as being He's son, and condolences were returned to Chow, as if Hoo had been the prince of a State. As the Chuen says he was king Sëang's uncle, he must have been a son of king He (僖王). Kuh-lëang wrongly identifies him with the Shuh-fuh of I. 3, who was not yet dead.

Par. 3. The Chuen says:—'The earl of Ts'in invaded Tsin, and burned his boats when he had crossed the Ho. He then took Wang-kwan and Këaou; and as the troops of Tsin did not come out against him, he crossed the Ho at the ford of Maou, collected the bodies in Hëaou [See V. xxxiii. 3], raised mounds over them, and then returned to Ts'in. In consequence of this expedition, he was acknowledged as their leader by the Western Jung, and continued to employ Măng-ming. From this the superior man recognizes the style of ruler that duke Muh of Ts'in was;—what entire confidence he reposed in the men whom he employed, and with what single-heartedness he stood by them. *He recognizes also* the qualities of Măng-ming, how diligent he was and able, from his anxiety to exercise his thoughts *more profitably*; and the loyalty *finally* of Tsze-sang [The Kung-sun Che, who first recommended Măng-ming], well knowing men, and introducing the good to the notice of his prince. What is intimated in the ode [She, I. i. ode I. 3],

"She goes to gather the white southernwood,
By the ponds, by the pools;
And then she employs it,
In the business of our prince,"

was found in duke Muh. *Again*, the words, [She, III. iii. ode VI. 4],

"Never idle day or night,
In the service of the one man,"

were exemplified in Măng-ming. And those [She, III. i. ode X. 8],

"His counsels reached on to his descendants,
To give happiness and strength to his posterity,"

were exemplified in Tsze-sang.'

Acc. to the Chuen, the earl of Ts'in himself was in this expedition. Still the 秦人 of the text shows that he only accompanied it, and that the command was held by one of his ministers. The conclusion of this expedition does seem a more fitting occasion for the Speech of the earl of Ts'in which concludes the Shoo than the defeat at Hëaou, to which it is commonly referred.

Par. 4. Këang.—see V. ii. 4. From the time of the meeting recorded in that par., Këang, notwithstanding its proximity to Ts'oo, had continued to adhere to the northern States, and was now to suffer the consequences from its powerful neighbour. Ts'oo was, no doubt, emboldened to recommence its aggressive movements by the long continued hostilities between Tsin and Ts'in. The Chuen says that, on this occasion, 'Sëen Pih of Tsin invaded Ts'oo in order to relieve Këang.'

Par. 5. 螽,—see II. v. 8. The Chuen says that these 'locusts fell down and died.' This seems to be Tso-she's explanation of the text that 'it rained locusts.' This would be a prodigy, and not a calamity or plague, as Kuh-lëang makes out the visitation to have been. Sung was noted for such strange appearances;—see V. xvi. 1.

Par. 6. The Chuen says:—'They were apprehensive in Tsin that they had behaved uncourteously to the duke [In the matter of the covenant, par. 3 of last year], and asked him to make a new covenant. The duke went accordingly to Tsin, and made a covenant with the marquis, who feasted him, and sang the ode beginning,

"Abundant grows the aster-southernwood" (She, II. iii. ode II.).

Chwang-shuh [See on par. 1] descended the steps with the duke, that he might acknowledge [the honour done to him], saying, "My small State having received the orders of your great State, I dare not but be most careful in my observances. Your lordship has conferred on me a great honour, and nothing could exceed my happiness. The happiness of my small State is from the kindness of your great one." The marquis *also* descended the steps, and declined the acknowledgments [which the duke was going to make]. They then re-ascended the steps, when the duke bowed *twice*, and sang the ode beginning "Our admirable, amiable Sovereign" (She, III. ii. ode V).'

Par. 7. The Chuen says:—'In winter, Tsin represented the case of Këang to the court of Chow. *In consequence*, Wang-shuh, the duke Hwan, and Yang Ch'oo-foo of Tsin, invaded Ts'oo in order to relieve Këang. They attacked Fang-shing, and having met with Tsze-choo, duke of Seih, they returned.' This narrative of the Chuen is not clear. Tsze-choo was the commander of the expedition of Ts'oo against Këang. He retired before the troops of Tsin, and then the relieving force also withdrew, having accomplished its object very imperfectly. Kung and Kuh leave out the 以 before 求. The K'ang-he editors enter here into a defence of the conduct of Tsin in this transaction, against the condemnation of Hoo Gan-kwoh and other critics. Too Yu says that the duke Hwan in the Chuen was a son of duke Wăn, king's son Hoo, whose death is recorded in the second par. If it was so, then the Wang-shuh (王叔) in the Chuen here must be taken as a clan-name and not as= 'the king's uncle.' I have so translated the characters in the former Chuen, because the relationship of Hoo seems to be determined by his being called both 'king's son,' and king's uncle.'

Fourth year.

一章 四年、春、公至自晉。

二章 夏、逆婦姜于齊。

三章 狄侵齊。

四章 秋、楚人滅江。

五章 晉侯伐秦。

六章 衛侯使甯俞來聘。

七章 冬、十有一月、壬寅、夫人風氏薨。

㊀左傳曰、四年、春、晉人歸孔達于衞、以爲衞之良也、故免之。
㊀夏、衞侯如晉拜。
㊀曹伯如晉、會正。
逆婦姜于齊。卿不行、非禮也。君子是以知出姜之不允於魯
也、曰、貴聘而賤逆之、君而卑之、立而廢之、棄信而壞其主、在
國必亂、在家必亡、不允、宜哉。詩曰、畏天之威、于時保之、敬主
之謂也。
楚人滅江、秦伯爲之降服、出次、不舉、過數、大夫諫、公曰、同盟
滅、雖不能救、敢不矜乎、吾自懼也。君子曰、詩云、惟彼二國、其
政不獲、惟此四國、爰究爰度、其秦穆之謂矣。
秋、晉侯伐秦、圍邧、新城、以報王官之役。
衞甯武子來聘、公與之宴、爲賦湛露及彤弓、不辭、又不答賦、
使行人私焉。對曰、臣以爲肄業及之也、昔諸侯朝正於王、王
宴樂之、于是乎賦湛露、則天子當陽、諸侯用命也、諸侯敵王
所愾、而獻其功、王於是乎賜之彤弓一、彤矢百、玈弓矢千、以
覺報宴、今陪臣來繼舊好、君辱貺之、其敢干大禮以自取戾。
冬、成風薨。

IV. 1 In his fourth year, in spring, the duke arrived from Tsin.
2 In summer, [the duke] met his wife Këang in Ts'e.
3 The Teih made an incursion into Ts'e.
4 In autumn, a body of men from Ts'oo extinguished Këang.
5 The marquis of Tsin invaded Ts'in.
6 The marquis of Wei sent Ning Yu to Loo on a mission of friendly inquiries.
7 In winter, in the eleventh month, on Jin-yin, the wife [of duke Chwang], the lady Fung, died.

Par. 1. [The Chuen appends here three short notices:—1st, 'In spring they returned K'ung T'ah from Tsin to Wei [See the Chuen on II. 4], considering him to be Wei's good man, and therefore letting him go.' 2d, 'In summer, the marquis of Wei went to Tsin to make his acknowledgments [for the restoration of K'ung Tah].' 3d, 'The earl of Ts'aou went to Tsin to have an understanding about the contributions [to the marquis, as the leader of the States.]'

Par. 2. This par. has reference to duke Wăn's marriage,—his bringing home to Loo the daughter of Ts'e, on whose account Kung-tsze Suy conveyed the marriage gifts as related in II. 8. There are difficulties, however, in the interpretation and translation of it, arising from there being no subject of the verb expressed, and from the phrase 逆婦 instead of the regular one 逆女;—comp. II. iii. 5, and III. xxiv. 3. Tso-she holds that the subject of 逆 is some person of mean rank, who was employed on this mission. The Chuen says:—'A high minister did not go to meet the lady;—which was contrary to rule.' It is then added 'The superior man, knowing from this that Ch'uh Keang (so the lady was afterwards styled) would not be trusted in Loo, might say, "A man of noble rank acted at her betrothal, and a mean man met her [at her marriage]. While she was becoming duchess, she was treated as mean, and in the act of establishing her she was disowned. *The duke* threw away his confidence

in her, and her authority as mistress of the harem was overthrown. This was a sure presage of disorder in the State, and of ruin in the family. Right was it that she should not be trusted. What is said in the ode (She, IV.i. [i.] ode VII.),

"Revere the majesty of Heaven,
And ever preserve its favour,"

may be considered as spoken of the reverence to be accorded to the mistress of the harem.'

Kung-yang sees in this notice the indication of the indifference with which the lady was treated, and supposes she was not a daughter of the marquis of Ts'e, but only of one of his officers, of the same surname as the ruling House. But there can be no doubt the lady was a daughter of the marquis. Kuh-lëang would supply 公 as the subject of 逆. The duke went in person to Ts'e for his bride, as duke Chwang is said to have done in III.xxiv.3. There the 公 is expressed, while here it is wanting; but we have fonnd it wanting in the same way in more than a score of other paragraphs. Here, therefore, I must agree, as the K'ang-he editors do, with Kuh-lëang rather than with Tso The duke went himself to Ts'e to receive his bride.

But how have we 逆婦, instead of 逆女, as in III xxiv.3? Tso-she does not meet this question, but Too repeats the explanation of the term 婦, which is given under V.xxv.3. Kuh-lëang also adduces it, but I do not see how it can be admitted in this case. And there is no necessity for it. The duke went to Ts'e, and in his impatience completed the marriage there, instead of escorting his bride to Loo, and there going through the ceremonies proper to the occasion;—as he ought to have done. Instead of 姜 simply, we might have 姜氏 as in II. iii. 6,8, *et al.;* but it is needless to find either praise or blame in the omission of the 氏.

Par. 3. See V. xxx. 3. These northern hordes seem to have become more and more restless and daring.

Par. 4. The relief of Këang in the end of last year proved of little value. The Chuen says:—'When Ts'oo extinguished Këang, the earl of Ts'in wore mourning an account of it; removed from his proper bed-chamber; and did not allow his table to be fully spread:—going beyond the regular bounds [of sorrow]. One of his great officers remonstrated with him, but he said, "When a State with whose lord I had covenanted is extinguished, although I could not save it, I dare not but feel compassion. And I fear for myself." The superior man will say that the words of the ode (She, III.i. Ode VII. I)

'There were those two dynasties,
But they failed in their government.
Throughout all the States in all the kingdom,
He examined, he exercised consideration.'

might be spoken of Muh of Ts'in.'

Par. 5. Tso-she says that in this invasion the marquis of Tsin besieged Yuen and Sin-shing, to repay Ts'in for the campaign of Wang-kwan;' —see the Chuen on par.3 of last year. The marquis of Tsin conducted the invasion in person. It is absurd to seek for any other reason for the text's saying so, and yet the K'ang-he editors express their agreement with Chang Hëah in the view that the marquis's title is here given to indicate the sage's emphatic condemnation of his persistence in hostilities!

Par. 6. The Chuen says:—'Ning Woo of Wei having come to Loo with friendly inquiries, the duke was feasting with him, and had the "Heavy lies the dew," (She, II. ii. ode X.) and the "Red Bows" (She, II. iii. ode I), sung on his account. He did not protest against these odes, nor did he make answer with any other. The duke sent the officer of communication with envoys from other States to ask him privately [the reason of his conduct]. He replied, "I supposed that the musicians, in practising their art, happened to come to the two pieces. Formerly, when princes of States appeared at the king's court to receive instructions about their government, and the king gratified them with an entertainment, then the 'Heavy lies the dew' was sung, the son of Heaven being the sun [There spoken of], and the princes receiving his commands, [As the dew is affected by the sun]. When they had battled with any against whom the king was angry, and were reporting their successful services, the king gave them a red bow with a hundred red arrows, and a black bow with a thousand arrows, to show how the feast was one of recompense. Now I, an officer of a State, am here to perpetuate the old friendship between Wei and Loo; and though his lordship condescends to bestow them, how dare I accept such grand honours to bring on myself the charge of crime?" Confucius has celebrated the virtue of Ning Woo in the Ana., V. xx., and especially a 'stupidity that could not be equalled.' The critics are fond of finding in the narrative of the Chuen an illustration of that stupidity.

Par 7. Tso says that 'in winter Ch'ing Fung died,' Ch'ing being the title or epithet by which she was called after death. She had been a concubine of duke Chwang, and she is mentioned in two Chuen:—that in V.xxi.5. and the 2d one appended to IV.ii. On her son's coming to be marquis she partook of his nobility (母以子貴), and she here appears as 夫人 or 'wife' of duke Chwang. She was of the House of Jin (任), which had the surname of Fung.

Fifth year.

一章 五年、春、王正月、王使榮叔歸含且賵。

二章 三月、辛亥、葬我小君成風。

三章 王使召伯來會葬。

四章 夏、公孫敖如晉。

五章 秦人入鄀。

六章 秋、楚人滅六。

七章 冬、十月、甲申、許男業卒。

左傳曰、五年、春、王使榮叔來含且賵。召昭公來會葬、禮也。

初、鄀叛楚卽秦、又貳於楚、夏、秦人入鄀。

六人叛楚、卽東夷、秋、楚成大心、仲歸、帥師滅六。冬、楚公子燮滅蓼、臧文仲聞六與蓼滅、曰、皐陶庭堅、不祀忽諸、德之不建、民之無援、哀哉。

㈡晉陽處父聘于衞、反過甯、甯嬴從之、及溫而還、其妻問之、嬴曰、以剛、商書曰、沈漸剛克、高明柔克、夫子壹之、其不沒乎、天爲剛德、猶不干時、況在人乎、且華而不實、怨之所聚也、犯而聚怨、不可以定身、余懼不獲其利、而離其難、是以去之。

㈢晉趙成子、欒貞子、霍伯、臼季、皆卒。

V. 1 In the [duke's] fifth year, in spring, in the king's first month, the king sent Shuh of Yung, with mouth-jewels and a carriage and horses [for the funeral of Ch'ing Fung.]

2 In the third month, on Sin-hae, we buried our duchess, Ch'ing Fung.

3 The king sent the earl of Shaou to be present at the burial.

4 In summer, Kung-sun Gaou went to Tsin.

5 A body of men from Ts'in entered Joh.

6 In autumn, a body of men from Ts'oo extinguished Luh.

7 In winter, in the tenth month, on Këah-shin, Yeh, baron of Heu, died.

Par. 1. Comp. I. i. 4, and III. i. 6. On the former of these passage 賵 is explained. 含 was the name of certain jewels,—Too calls them 珠玉, 'pearls and gems,'—which were put into the mouth of the corpse (口實). A Yung Shuh was the king's messenger, mentioned in the second passage referred to, as well as here; but it could not be the same man. The messenger on

this occasion was probably a son of the former. On that passage, Too Yu says that Yung was the 氏 or clan-name. Here Fan Ning says that Yung Shuh was a great officer of the 1st rank in the service of the king, and that Yung was the name of his 采邑, or the territory from which he derived his revenue. This is probably correct, but the name of the territory became the clan-name of the family. The 且 between 含 and 賵 intimates, acc. to Kung and Kuh, that the two gifts were distinct, and that each should have been conveyed by its proper envoy, while here they were both entrusted to Yung Shuh;—contrary to rule. But this criticism is more than doubtful. The K'ang-he editors, after a host of critics, see, in the omission of 天 before 王, a strong expression of the sage's condemnation of the king in thus sanctioning the elevation of duke Chwang's concubine to the rank of wife. This criticism is no more valuable than the former.

Par. 2. Comp. III. xxii. 2. As the lady Fung was now regarded as duke Chwang's wife, there is no difficulty with the terms of this paragraph. Hoo Gan-kwoh, indeed, says that this would involve a further departure from the rules of propriety, as there would be the spirit-tablets of two wives to go into duke Chwang's temple-shrine. It is admitted that in the shrine of a king only the tablet of his proper queen could be placed; but the tablets admissible into the shrines of great officers were not so limited; and what the rule was in regard to princes of States and their wives is not ascertained. See Maou K'e-ling *in loc.*

Par. 3. For 召伯 Kuh-lëang has 毛伯. The earl of Shaou was a minister of the king, who derived his revenue from Shaou, in the present dis. of Yuen-k'ëuh (垣曲), Këang Chow (絳州), Shan-se. Tso-she says his mission was according to rule, as well as that of Yung Shuh, in par. 1;—an opinion vehemently disputed by many of the critics

Par. 4. The Chuen says nothing about this mission. Kaou K'ang (高閌) and other critics dwell with justice on the court Loo paid to Tsin, while no messenger went to Chow to acknowledge all the king's favours.

Par. 5. Joh was at this time a small State in the south-west of the pres. dis. of Neu-hëang (內鄉), dep. Nan-yang, Ho-nan. It was afterwards removed by Ts'oo farther south, to the dis. of E-shing (宜城) dep. Sëang-yang, Hoo-pih. See the Chuen on V. xxv. 5. The Chuen here says:—'Before this, Joh had revolted from Ts'oo, and become an adherent of Ts'in. Now it was inclining again to Ts'oo, and in the summer, a body of men from Ts'in entered it.'

Par. 6. Luh was a small State,—in the pres. Chow of Luh-gan (六安州), Gan-hwuy. Its lords were Yens (偃), representatives of the ancient Kaou-yaou. The Chuen says:—'The people of Luh had revolted from Ts'oo, and joined the E of the east. In autumn, therefore, Ch'ing Ta-sin and Chung-kwei, of Ts'oo led a force and extinguished Luh. In winter, Kung-tsze Sëeh of Ts'oo extinguished Lëaou. When Tsang Wăn-chung heard of the extinction of the two States, he said, "Thus suddenly have ceased the sacrifices to Kaou-yaou T'ing-këen [See on the title of Bk. iii., Pt. II. of the Shoo]! Alas that the virtue [of their lords] was not established, and that there was no help for the people!"'

Par. 7. This was duke He; he was succeeded by his son, Seih-go (錫我). [The Chuen appends here:—'Yang Ch'oo-foo of Tsin had gone to Wei on a mission of friendly inquiries, and on his return passed by Ning. Ying of Ning followed him, but returned when they had got to Wăn. His wife asked him [why he had left Yang Ch'oo-foo so soon], and he replied, "Because of his hard rigour. In the Shang Shoo [See the Shoo, V. iv. 17] it is said, 'For the reserved and retiring there is the rigorous rule; for the lofty and intelligent there is the mild rule.' This officer is all for rigour;—he will probably not die a natural death. Heaven displays the virtue of rigour, yet not so as to disturb the seasons;—how much more should this be the case with men! Moreover, round a man of flowers without fruit resentments will collect. Coming into collision with men, and the object of many resentments, he will not be able to maintain himself. I was afraid I should not share in advantages he might secure, but would be involved in his difficulties, and so I left him."'

There is added an additional short notice:—

'*At this time*, the officers of Tsin, Chaou Ch'ing [Chaou Ts'uy, general of the 1st army], Lwan Ch'ing [Lwan Che, general of the 3d army], Hoh Pih [Sëen Tseu-keu, general of the army of the centre], and K'ëw Ke [Seu Shin, assistant-general of the 3d army], all died.']

Sixth year.

一章 六年、春、葬許僖公。

二章 夏、季孫行父如陳。

三章 秋、季孫行父如晉。

四章 八月、乙

亥、晉侯驩卒。

五章 冬、十月、公子遂如晉、葬晉襄公。

六章 晉殺其大夫陽處父。

七章 晉狐射姑出奔狄。

八章 閏月不告月、猶朝于廟。

㈠左傳曰、六年春、晉蒐于夷、舍二軍。使狐射姑將中軍、趙盾佐之。陽處父至自溫、改蒐于董、易中軍。陽子、成季之屬也、故黨於趙氏、且謂趙盾能、曰、使能、國之利也。是以上之。宣子於是乎始為國政。制事典、正法罪、辟獄刑、董逋逃、由質要、治舊洿、本秩禮、續常職、出滯淹。既成、以授大傅陽子、與大師賈佗、使行諸晉國、以為常法。

臧文仲以陳衞之睦也、欲求好於陳。夏、季文子聘于陳、且娶焉。

㈡秦伯任好卒、以子車氏之三子、奄息仲行鍼虎為殉、皆秦之良也。國人哀之、為之賦黃鳥。君子曰、秦穆之不為盟主也宜哉、死而棄民。先王違世、猶詒之法、而況奪之善人乎。詩曰、人之云亡、邦國殄瘁、無善人之謂、若之何奪之。古之王者、知命之不長、是以竝建聖哲、樹之風聲、分之采物、著之話言、為之律度、陳之藝極、引之表儀、予之法制、告之訓典、教之防利、委之常秩、道之以禮、則使毋失其土宜、衆隸賴之、而後即命。聖王同之。今縱無法以遺後嗣、而又收其良以死、難以在上矣。君子是以知秦之不復東征也。

秋、季文子將聘於晉、使求遭喪之禮以行、其人曰、將焉用之。文子曰、備豫不虞、古之善教也。求而無之、實難、過求何害。

八月乙亥、晉襄公卒。靈公少、晉人以難故、欲立長君。趙孟曰、立公子雍、好善而長、先君愛之、且近於秦。秦、舊好也。置善則固、事長則順、立愛則孝、結舊則安。為難故、故欲立長君、有此四德者、難必抒矣。賈季曰、不如立公子樂、辰嬴嬖於二君、立其子、民必安之。趙孟曰、辰嬴賤、班在九人、其子何震之有。且為二嬖、淫也。為先君子、不能求大、

而出在小國、僻也、母淫子僻、無威、陳小而遠、無援、將何安焉、杜祁以君故、讓偪姞而上之、以狄故、讓季隗而己次之、故班在四、先君是以愛其子而仕諸秦、爲亞卿焉、秦大而近、足以爲援、母義子愛、足以威民、立之、不亦可乎、使先蔑士會如秦、逆公子雍、賈季亦使召公子樂于陳、趙孟使殺諸郫。

冬十月、襄仲如晉、葬襄公。

賈季怨陽子之易其班也、而知其無援於晉也、九月、賈季使續鞫居殺陽處父、書曰、晉殺其大夫、侵官也。十一月、丙寅、晉殺續簡伯、賈季奔狄、宣子使臾駢送其帑。夷之蒐、賈季戮臾駢、臾駢之人欲盡殺賈氏以報焉。臾駢曰、不可、吾聞前志有之、曰、敵惠敵怨、不在後嗣、忠之道也、夫子禮於賈季、我以其寵報私怨、無乃不可乎、介人之寵、非勇也、損怨益仇、非知也、以私害公、非忠也、釋此三者、何以事夫子。盡具其帑、與其器用財賄、親帥扞之、送致諸竟。

閏月不告朔。非禮也、閏以正時、時以作事、事以厚生、生民之道、於是乎在矣、不告閏朔、棄時政也、何以爲民。

VI. 1 In the [duke's] sixth year, in spring, there was the burial of duke He of Heu.

2 In summer, Ke-sun Hăng-foo went to Ch'in.

3 In autumn, Ke-sun Hăng-foo went to Tsin.

4 In the eighth month, on Yih-hae, Hwan, marquis of Tsin, died.

5 In winter, in the tenth month, duke [Chwang's] son, Suy, went to Tsin, to [be present at] the burial of duke Sëang of Tsin.

6 Tsin put to death its great officer, Yang Ch'oo-foo.

7 Hoo Yih-koo of Tsin fled to the Teih.

8 In the intercalary month, [the duke] did not inaugurate the month with the usual ceremonies, but still he appeared in the ancestral temple.

Par. 1. [The Chuen appends here:—'In the 6th year, in spring, Tsin had a military review in E, and disbanded two of its [five] armies [See the Chuen after V. xxxi. 6. The death of so many of its great officers, mentioned in the previous notice, rendered this disbandment necessary]. *The marquis* appointed Hoo Yih-koo to the command of the 2d or army of the centre [In room of Sëen Tseu-keu], with Chaou Tun as assistant commander. When Yang Ch'oo-foo came from Wăn [See the first Chuen at the end of last year], there was a second review at Tung, when these appointments were changed. Yang had been attached as assistant to Ch'ing-ke [Chaou Ts'uy, the father of Tun. Ch'ing is the hon. title, and Ke is the designation], and was therefore a partizan of the Chaou family. Considering, moreover, the ability of Chaou Tun, he said that to employ so able a man would be advantageous to the State. On this account Tun was advanced above [Yih-koo], and now he, the officer Seuen (宣 was afterwards Tun's honorary title), began to administer the government of the State. He appointed regular rules for *the various departments of* business; adjusted

the laws for *the various degrees of* crime; regulated all criminal and civil actions at law; searched out runaways; ordered the employment of securities and bonds; dealt with old ordinances that had fallen into foul disorder; restored to their original order the distinctions of rank; renewed according to their normal pattern offices that had fallen into disuse; brought out men whose path had been stopped, and who were in obscurity. When he had completed his regulations, he delivered them to the grand-assistant, Yang, and the grand-master, Këa T'o, that they might have them carried into practice in the State of Tsin, as its regular laws.']

Par. 2. Too says that this Hăng-foo was the grand-son of Yëw, who is first mentioned in III. xxv. 6, and who subsequently played a most important part in the affairs of Loo. He was either his grandson, or great grandson;—which of the two is uncertain. The Chuen says:—'Tsang Wăn-chung, looking at the good relations of Ch'in and Wei, wished to seek the friendship of Ch'in [for Loo]. In summer, *therefore*, Ke Wăn [Wăn was Hăng-foo's posthumous title; see Ana. V. xix.] went on a friendly mission to Ch'in, marrying there himself at the same time.'

[There is a narrative about Ts'in appended here:—'Jin-haou, the earl of Ts'in, died, and the three sons of Tsze-keu, Yen-seih, Chung-hang, and K'ëen-hoo, were buried alive along with him. They were *known as* the three good men of Ts'in; and the people bewailed their fate in the strains of the ode called "The Yellow Birds (She, I. xi. VI.)." The superior man says, "It was right that Muh of Ts'in should not be master of covenants [*i.e.*, leader of the States]! In his death he threw away *the lives of* his people. When the ancient kings left the world, they yet left behind them a *good* example;—would they ever have snatched away from it its good men? The words of the ode (She, III. iii. ode X. 5),

'Men there are not,
And the empire must go to ruin
and misery,'

have reference to the want of good men. What shall be said of this case when such men were taken away? The ancient kings, knowing that their life would not be long, largely established the sagely and wise [as princes and officers]; planted their instructions in *the soil of* the manners [of the people]; instituted the several modes of distinguishing rank and character; published excellent lessons; made the standard tubes and measures; showed [the people] the exact amount of their contributions; led them on by the rules of deportment; gave them the rules of their own example; declared to them the instructions and statutes [of their predecessors]; taught them to guard [against what was evil] and obtain what was advantageous; employed for them the regular duties [of the several officers]; and led them on by the rules of propriety:—thus securing that the earth should yield its proper increase, and that all below them might sufficiently depend on them. It was after they had done all this that *those ancient kings* went to their end. *Succeeding* sage kings have acted in the same way. But now, granting that *duke Muh* had no such example to leave to his posterity, yet when he proceeded to take away the good with him in his death, it would have been hard for him to be in the highest place. The superior man might know from this that Ts'in would not again march in triumph to the east."'

Alas for this prognostication of Tso-she, so falsified by the future history of Ts'in!]

Par. 3. The Chuen says:—'In autumn, when Ke Wăn was about to go on a mission of friendly inquiries to Tsin, he caused inquiry to be made for him into all the observances to be practised on occasion of a death [Having heard that the marquis of Tsin was ill.] One of his people said to him, "Of what use will it be?" when he replied, "To be prepared beforehand, so as to have no occasion for anxiety, is a good old lesson. To have to seek for the rules, and not be able to find them, would be a hard case. If I go beyond what is necessary in searching for them *now*, what harm can it do?"' Too and other critics find in this an illustration of Ke Wăn's 'thinking thrice,' which is mentioned in the Analects.

Par. 4. The Chuen says:—'When duke Sëang died, *his son*, duke Ling was still young, and the people of Tsin, fearing the difficulties that might arise, wished to have a grown up ruler appointed. Chaou Măng [Măng was the designation of Chaou Tun] said, "Let us appoint duke *Wăn's* son, Yung. He is fond of what is good, and is grown up; our former marquis loved him; he is near at hand in Ts'in; and Ts'in is our old friend. By the appointment of a good man, the State will be strengthened. In serving the elder, we shall follow the natural order. In calling the loved son to the State, we act a filial part. And by binding anew the old ties of friendship, we shall secure our repose. Because of the difficulties *with which the State is threatened*, we wish to call a grown up ruler to its head, and with Yung, possessed of these four advantages, those difficulties will be removed." Këa Ke [Hoo Yih-koo] said, "Our better plan will be to appoint duke *Wăn's* son, Loh. Shin Ying enjoyed the favours of two marquises [See the Chuen to V. xxiii. 4]; if we raise her son to be our ruler, the people will repose under him." Chaou Măng replied, "Shin Ying was mean, her rank being only ninth in the harem;—what feeling of majesty can her son inspire? And she was the favourite of two marquises;—therein was lewdness. He, moreover, though the son of our former marquis, was unable to find the patronage of a great State, but went out to a small State, a long way off. His mother lewd, and himself far away, without majesty, Ch'in small and distant, incapable of helping him, what grounds are there for reposing under him? The lady K'e of Too [The mother of Yung], out of regard to our marquis *just deceased*, yielded her place to to K'eih of Peih [duke Sëang's mother]; and out of regard to the [kindness shown to duke Wăn by the] Teih, she yielded again in favour of Ke Wei, making herself *only* the 4th in the harem. On these accounts our former ruler loved her son, and sent him to serve in Ts'in, where he has been a minister of the second rank. Considering that Ts'in is a great State and near at hand, able to afford him support; considering also how the righteousness of his mother and the love of his father are sufficient to awe the people, will it not be right to call him to the head

of the State?" After this, Tun sent Sëen Mëeh and Sze Hwuy to Ts'in to bring the prince Yung to Tsin, while Këa Ke sent also to call prince Loh from Ch'in. Ch'aou Măng, however, caused Loh to be put to death [on the way] at Pe.' For 驩 Kung-yang has 讙.

Par. 5. The K'ang-he editors make this into two paragraphs, the second beginning with 葬. Tso-she, however, considered the whole as one, as is evident from his brief note, that 'Sëang-chung went to Tsin, to bury duke Sëang.'

Parr. 6,7. The K'ang-he editors give these paragraphs as one, but I think it is better to follow the arrangement of Kuh-lëang. He also has 夜 instead of 射. The Chuen says:—'Këa Ke resented Yang's causing him to be superseded in the command of the army of the centre [See the Chuen after p. 1]; and knowing that he had not friends to succour him in Tsin, in the 9th month, he employed Suh Kuh-keu [Belonged to a branch of the Hoo family] to kill him. The language of the text, that 'Tsin put to death its great officer;' is because Yang had interfered with the offices of others. In the 11th month, on Ping-yin, Tsin put Suh K'ëen-pih [Kuh-keu] to death, on which Këa Ke fled to the Teih. Chaou Măng [Called the officer Seuen; see the Chuen after p. 1.] *by and by* employed Yu Pëen, to escort his family to join him there. Now at the grand review in E, Këa Ke had disgraced Yu Pëen, whose people wished on this occasion to put all Ke's family to death in repayment of that injury. But he said, "No. I have heard that it is contained in an old book, that neither kindness nor wrong can be repaid in the persons of a man's children; and that is a principle with leal-hearted people. My master [Chaou Măng] is behaving courteously to Këa Ke, and would it not be bad if I took advantage of his favour to myself to avenge my private wrong? To depend on another's favour [to do this] would not show bravery. In satisfying my own resentment, to increase the number of my enemies [By making Chaou Măng his foe] would not show knowledge. To injure the public service for my private ends would not show loyalty. If I let go these three qualities, wherewith should I do service to my master?" So he collected all the members of Këa Ke's family, his household stuff, and his treasures, led the protecting force in person, and conveyed them to the borders [of the Teih].'

It appears from the Chuen that the death of Yang Ch'oo-foo was procured by Hoo Yih-koo; and it is difficult to account for the language of the text which ascribes it to 'Tsin,'—to the act of the State. Tso-she's explanation is altogether unsatisfactory. In advising duke Sëang to supersede the less able by the abler man, Yang had only done his duty; and whether it were so or not, his action affords no explanation of the ascription of this death to Tsin. Kaou K'ang says the record of the flight of Hoo Yih-koo, immediately after that of the death of Yang, sufficiently shows that he was the murderer; but this does not account for the 晉殺.

Kung-yang relates that duke Sëang told Këa Ke that he superseded him on the representation of Yang; and some, accepting this account, hold that by the 'Tsin' we are to understand duke Sëang, who was now deceased! I can suggest nothing myself as a solution of the difficulty.

Par. 8. Tso-she says:—'Not to inaugurate solemnly the first day of the intercalary month was an infringement of the proper rule. The intercalary month is intended to adjust the seasons. *The observance of* the seasons is necessary for the performance of the labours of the year. It is those labours by which provision is made for the necessities of life. Herein then lies the caring for the lives of the people. Not to inaugurate properly the intercalary month was to set aside the regulation of the seasons;—what government of the people could there be in such a case?'

The inauguration of the month intended seems to be the offering of a sheep, alluded to in Ana. III. xvii. After this ceremony, the duke, it would appear, presented himself before the shrines of his ancestors, with what ceremonies we are not told; and this over, he proceeded to give audience to his officers. Maou K'e-ling thinks that that audience and the attention to the government which it implied is what is here intended by 朝于廟; but I cannot think so. The 猶 indicates that the ceremony which follows was less important than that which precedes it, which could not be said of attention to the business of the government.

Seventh year.

一章 七年、春、公伐邾。

二章 三月、甲戌、取須句、遂城郚。

三章 夏、四月、宋公王臣卒。

四章 宋人殺其大夫。

五章 戊子、晉人及秦人戰于令狐。

六章 晉先蔑奔秦。

七章 狄侵我西鄙。

八章 秋八月、公會諸侯、晉大夫、盟于扈。

九章 冬、徐伐莒。

十章 公孫敖如莒涖盟。

左傳曰、七年、春、公伐邾、閒晉難也。

三月、甲戌、取須句、寘文公子焉、非禮也。

夏四月、宋成公卒。於是公子成爲右師、公孫友爲左師、樂豫爲司馬、鱗矔爲司徒、公子蕩爲司城、華御事爲司寇。昭公將去羣公子、樂豫曰、不可、公族、公室之枝葉也、若去之、則本根無所庇廕矣、葛藟猶能庇其本根、故君子以爲比、況國君乎、此諺所謂庇焉而縱尋斧焉者也、必不可、君其圖之、親之以德、皆股肱也、誰敢攜貳、若之何去之。不聽、穆襄之族、率國人以攻公、殺公孫固、公孫鄭于公宮。六卿和公室、樂豫舍司馬、以讓公子卬、昭公卽位而葬。書曰宋人殺其大夫、不稱名、衆也、且言非其罪也。

秦康公送公子雍于晉、曰、文公之入也無衞、故有呂郤之難、乃多與之徒衞。穆嬴日抱大子以啼于朝、曰、先君何罪、其嗣亦何罪、舍適嗣不立、而外求君、將焉寘此。出朝、則抱以適趙氏、頓首於宣子曰、先君奉此子也、而屬諸子曰、此子也才、吾受子之賜、不才、吾唯子之怨、今君雖終、言猶在耳、而棄之若何。宣子與諸大夫皆患穆嬴、且畏偪、乃背先蔑而立靈公、以禦秦師。箕鄭居守、趙盾將中軍、先克佐之、荀林父佐上軍、先蔑將下軍、先都佐之、步招御戎、戎津爲右。及堇陰、宣子曰、我若受秦、秦則賓也、不受、寇也、既不受矣、而復緩師、秦將生心、先人有奪人之心、軍之善謀也、逐寇如追逃、軍之善政也、訓卒利兵、秣馬蓐食、潛師夜起、戊子、敗秦師于令狐、至于刳首。己丑、先蔑奔秦、士會從之。先蔑之使也、荀林父止之曰、夫人大子猶在、而外求君、此必不行、子以疾辭、若何、不然將及、攝卿以往、可也、何必子、同官爲寮、吾嘗同寮、敢不盡心乎。弗聽、爲賦板之三章、又弗聽。及亡、荀伯盡送其帑、及

其器用財賄於秦、曰、爲同罪故也。士會在秦、三年不見士伯、其人曰、能亡人於國、不能見於此、焉用之。士季曰、吾與之同罪、非義之也、將何見焉、及歸、遂不見。

狄侵我西鄙。公使告于晉、趙宣子使因賈季問酆舒、且讓之、酆舒問於賈季曰、趙衰趙盾孰賢。對曰、趙衰、冬日之日也、趙盾、夏日之日也。

秋、八月、齊侯、宋公、衞侯、陳侯、鄭伯、許男、曹伯、會晉趙盾、盟于扈。晉侯立故也。公後至、故不書所會。凡會諸侯、不書所會、後也、後至不書其國、辟不敏也。穆伯娶于莒、曰戴己、生文伯、其娣聲己、生惠叔、戴己卒、又聘于莒、莒人以聲己辭、則爲襄仲聘焉、冬、徐伐莒、莒人來請盟、穆伯如莒涖盟、且爲仲逆、及鄢陵、登城見之、美、自爲娶之、仲請攻之、公將許之、叔仲惠伯諫曰、臣聞之、兵作於內爲亂、於外爲寇、寇猶及人、亂自及也、今臣作亂、而君不禁、以啟寇讎、若之何。公止之、惠伯成之、使仲舍之、公孫敖反之、復爲兄弟如初、從之。

⨸晉郤缺言於趙宣子曰、日衞不睦、故取其地、今已睦矣、可以歸之、叛而不討、何以示威、服而不柔、何以示懷、非威非懷、何以示德、無德、何以主盟、子爲正卿、以主諸侯、而不務德、將若之何、夏書曰、戒之用休、董之用威、勸之以九歌、勿使壞、九功之德、皆可歌也、謂之九歌、六府三事、謂之九功、水、火、金、木、土、穀、謂之六府、正德、利用、厚生、謂之三事、義而行之、謂之德禮、無禮不樂、所由叛也、若吾子之德、莫可歌也、其誰來之、盍使睦者歌吾子乎。宣子說之。

VII. 1 In his seventh year, in spring, the duke invaded Choo.

2 In the third month, on Këah-suh, he took Seu-k'eu, and went on in consequence to wall Woo.

3 In summer, in the fourth month, Wang-shin, duke of Sung, died.

4 The people of Sung put to death [some of] their great officers.

5 On Mow-tsze, an army of Tsin and one of Ts'in fought a battle at Ling-hoo.

6 Sëen Mëeh of Tsin fled to Ts'in.

7 The Teih made an incursion into our western borders.

8 In autumn, in the eighth month, the duke had a meeting with other princes and a great officer of Tsin, when they made a covenant in Hoo.

9 In winter, Seu invaded Keu.
10 Kung-sun Gaou went to Keu to superintend a covenant.

Par. 1. Tso says the duke made this movement, 'taking the opportunity of the difficulties of Tsin.'

Par. 2. Seu-k'eu (Kung-yang has 須朐),—see V. xxii. 1. It was originally a *Foo-yung* of Loo. Choo had taken and appropriated it; and duke He took it from Choo, as related in that par., and restored its proper ruler. Choo, it would seem, had taken it a second time, and duke Wăn again reclaimed it, but not to restore it to its original holders. 'He placed over it,' says the Chuen, 'a son of duke Wăn [of Choo];—which was contrary to rule.' This scion of Choo had fled from his own State, where he had attempted to overturn the government, and taken refuge in Loo. He was now made governor of Seu-k'eu, absorbed by Loo, which thus extinguished the sacrifice that had been there maintained to Fuh-he. Woo was a town of Loo,—in the south-east of the dis. of Sze-shwuy, dep. Yen-chow. Loo now proceeded to wall it, as a precaution against reprisals from Choo.

Par. 3. For 王臣 Kuh-lëang has 壬臣. We have no subsequent entry of this duke's burial, probably because of the confusion into which Sung fell after his death, in which the ceremony was irregularly performed. Wang-shin became duke Ch'ing.

Par. 4. The Chuen says:—'In the 4th month, duke Ch'ing of Sung died. At this time, duke *Chwang's* son, Ch'ing, commanded the army of the right, and Kung-sun Yëw [A Son of Muh-e;—see the narrative at the end of V. viii.] that of the left; Loh Yu was minister of War; Lin Kwan, minister of Instruction; duke Hwan's son, Tang, minister of Works; and Hwa Yu-sze, minister of Crime. Duke Ch'aou [Who had succeeded to his father] wished to make away with some of the sons of former dukes, but Loh Yu said to him, "No. The various clans of the ducal House are its branches and leaves. If you remove them, the root and trunk will have no shelter or shade. Even the dolichos and other creepers can give sheltering protection to their root and stem, so that the superior man could use them by way of comparison [See the She, I. vi. ode VII]; how much more should rulers of States do so! Your project is like what the common saying describes, 'He should protect it, and he allows the measuring line and axe to cut it down.' It is entirely to be condemned. Cherish them by your kindness, and they will be arms and legs to you;—which of them will dare to cherish disaffection? Why should you think of removing them out of the way?" The duke would not listen to this counsel. The clans therefore of Muh and Sëang [*i. e.*, the descendants of those two dukes] led the people of the State to attack the duke, and killed Kung-sun Koo and Kung-sun Ch'ing in his palace. The six ministers succeeded in bringing the ducal house to harmony, and Loh Yu resigned his office as minister of War, in favour of the duke's brother, Gang. Duke Ch'aou then took the seat of his father, and buried him. The text says that the people of Sung put their great officers to death, without mentioning the names *of those who did so, or of the sufferers*, because they were many; it intimates also that the sufferers were not criminals.' Tso-she's explanation of the terms of the text is not satisfactory. Maou K'e-ling says better, 'The text does not give the names of the slayers and the slain, the historiographers having ascertained neither who the former were, nor for what cause the latter suffered. Hence the summariness of the language.' I have made the translation in accordance with this criticism.

Par. 5,6. For 蔑 Kung-yang has 眛, and before 奔 he has the characters 以師. Ling-hoo was in Tsin,—in the pres. dis. of E-she (猗氏), dep. P'oo-chow, Shan-se. The Chuen says:—'Duke K'ang of Ts'in sent an escort with duke *Wăn's* son Yung to Tsin, saying, "When duke Wăn entered Tsin [In the 24th year of duke He], he had no *sufficient* guard with him, and hence came his difficulties from Leu and Këoh." He therefore gave Yung a numerous guard of troops.

'*In the meantime*, Muh Ying carried her son,—the eldest son *of the late marquis*,—every day in her arms to the court, and wept there, saying, "What crime had the late marquis? and what crime has this child, his heir? In passing by the proper heir, not raising him to his father's place, and in seeking a ruler from abroad, what will you do with this child?" When she left the court, she carried her son to the mansion of the Chaous, and with her head bowed to the ground before Chaou Seuen, she said to him, "The late marquis took this child, and committed him to you, saying, 'Should this child turn out a man of ability, I shall receive it as your gift. Should he not do so, I shall have have occasion to resent [your neglect of his training].' Now, though the marquis be deceased, his words must still be in your ears;—how is it that you have abandoned his son?" Chaou Seuen and the other great officers were troubled by *this conduct of* Muh Ying, and were afraid of pressure *from the people* [Taking sides with her]. They accordingly turned their backs on Sëen Mëeh [and his mission to Ts'in], declared the child—duke Ling,—successor to the State, and took measures to oppose the army of Ts'in.

'Ke Ch'ing remained at the capital in charge of the government. Chaou Tun himself went in command of the army of the centre, with Sëen K'ih as assistant commander. Seun Lin-foo went with the 1st army, its assistant commander [Ke Ch'ing, who had the chief command of it remaining at court]. Sëen Mëeh [Having returned to Tsin] was in command of the 3d army, and Sëen Too was the assistant commander. Poo Chaou was charioteer, and Jung Tsin was spearman on the right.

'When they came to Kin-yin, Chaou Seuen said, "If we were to receive [Yung whom] Ts'in [is escorting], Ts'in would be our guest. If we do not receive him, Ts'in is our invader. As we do not receive him, if we be further dilatory in our measures, Ts'in will be led to suspect us. To be beforehand with others takes the

heart out of them;—this is a good plan in war. To drive out an invader as if we were pursuing fugitives;—this is a good rule of aetion." He instrueted the soldiers therefore to sharpen their weapons and feed their horses, to take a good meal on their beds, and, with all arrangements for silenee and secreey, to start while it was yet dark. *In this way*, on Maou-tsze he defeated the army of Ts'in at Hoo-ling, and pursued it to K'oo-show. On Ke-ch'ow, Sëen Mëeh fled to Ts'in, and Sze Hwuy followed him.

'When Sëen Mëeh was sent on his mission to Ts'in, Seun Lin-foo had tried to stop him, saying, 'The [late marquis's] wife and son are still here, and we are seeking a ruler abroad; this scheme will not succeed. What do you say to declining the mission on the plea of illness? If you do not do so, you will meet with ealamity. Get another special minister to go in your place;—why must you go? Officers of the same department are comrades; I have been your eomrade, and feel eompelled to advise you thus with all my heart." Mëeh would not listen to this, and the other sang to him the 3d stanza of the Pan ode [She, III. ii. Ode X.] Still he would not hear him. When he beeame a fugitive, Seun Pih [Lin-foo] escorted to him in Ts'in all his family, with his household stuff, and treasures, saying, "It is beeause of our comradeship." Sze Hwuy was in Ts'in for 3 years without seeing Sze Pih [Sëen Mëeh]. One of his people said to him, "You could become a fugitive with him from Tsin, and you cannot see him here! What is the reason of this?" Sze Ke [Ke was Hwuy's designation] replied, "I was in the same condemnation with him; it was not beeause I deemed him righteous [that I followed him];—why should I see him?" And up to the time of his return to Tsin, he did not see him.'

Par. 7. The Chuen says:—'On this oecasion, the duke sent word of the ineursion to Tsin. Chaou Seuen sent a messenger, who, by means of Këa Ke, asked Fung Shoo [The chief minister of the Teih] about it, and reproved him. Fung Shoo asked Këa Ke which was the superior of the two, Chaou Ts'uy or Chaou Tun. Këa Ke replied, "Chaou Ts'uy was the sun of a winter's day [To be eherished]; Chaou Tun is the sun of a summer's [To be shrunk from]."'

Par. 8. Hoo was in Ch'ing,—in the north-west of the pres. dis. of Yuen-woo, dep. K'ae-fung. The Chuen says:—'In the 8th month, the marquis of Ts'e, the duke of Sung, the marquis of Wei, the marquis of Ch'in, the earl of Ch'ing, the baron of Heu, and the earl of Ts'aou, had a meeting with Ch'aou Tun of Tsin, when they made a eovenant in Hoo;—having reference to the accession of the new marquis of Tsin. The duke arrived afterwards, and therefore the text does not say with whom he met. In all eases of any of our dukes meeting with other princes, when it is not said who these were, it must be understood that the duke came late. The reason why in such case the States are not given is to conceal the duke's want of diligence.' The canon which Tso here lays down for the explanation of the text has been ealled in question by Lëw Ch'ang and Sun Këoh. Most of the eritics, however, aceede to it. To me it seems very questionable.

Par. 9. Too Yu accounts for the brevity of this par., where only the name Seu is given without any mention of the leader, on the supposition that the historiographers reeorded the notice as it was received from Seu, which was too barbarous a State to draw up an announcement of the kind in the proper form. Lëw Ch'ang, however, argues, from the statement in the Chuen on the next par., that Keu sent, on the invasion of Seu, to ask a covenant with Loo, and that the announcement eame from it;—which is much more likely, and sufficiently accounts for the brevity of the notiee.

Par. 10. Kung and Kuh have 莅 for 蒞. The Chuen says:—'Muh-pih [Kung-sun Gaou] had married a wife from Keu, called Tae Sze [己 in the text should probably be 巳] who bore to him Wăn-pih. Her sister Shing Sze bore him Hwuy-shuh. On the death of Tae Sze he made proposals for another wife from Keu, but the party concerned in Keu declined them on the ground that Shing Ke was still alive, on which he made the proposal, on behalf of [his cousin] Sëang-chung [Kung-tsze Suy]. This winter, when Seu invaded Keu, they sent from Keu to Loo, begging for a covenant, and Muh-pih went to Keu to superintend the making of it, and at the same time to meet the lady for *Sëang*-chung. When he got to Yen-ling, having gone up on the wall of the city, [he saw her that] she was beautiful, and married her himself. Chung asked leave to attaek him from the duke, who was about to give his consent, when Shuh-chung Hwuy-pih [A grandson of Kung-tsze Ya, who was murdered in Chwang's 32d year; a brother of Shuh-sun Tih-shin of I. 7. From him came the Shuh-chung family] remonstrated, saying, "Your servant has heard that hostilities within the State produce rebellion, while hostilities from without are from enemies. In dealing with enemies, you have still to do with strangers; in dealing with rebels, you are arrayed against yourself. Now a subject is going to produce confusion, and your lordship does not hinder him; and when the thing goes on to lead to hostile attacks [from without], what ean be said?" The duke on this stopped Chung's movement, and Hwuy-pih reconciled the two offieers, advising Chung to give up his elaim to the lady, and Kung-sun Gaou to send her baek to Keu, and that they should again be brothers as before. They followed his counsel.'

[The Chuen appends here:—'Këoh Keueh of Tsin said to Chaou Seuen, "Years ago, Wei being on bad terms with us, we took part of its territory [See the 1st year, par. 7]. Now it is on good terms with us, and we may restore the territory. When a State revolts from us, if we do not punish it, how can we display our majesty? When it submits, if we do not deal kindly with it, how ean we display our indulgence? Without that majesty and indulgence, how can we display our virtue? And without virtue, how can we preside over the covenants [of the States]? You are our chief minister, the direetor of all the princes; and if you do not make it your objeet to manifest such virtue, what will be the eonsequence? It is said in one of the Books of Hëa [or Yu; see the Shoo, II. ii. 7], 'Caution them with gentle words; correet them with the majesty *of law;* stimulate them with the nine songs:—in order, that your success may never suffer diminution.' There are the virtues seen in the nine serviees, all of

which may be sung; and they are called the nine songs. There are the six magazines and three businesses, which are called the nine services. Water, fire, metal, wood, earth, and grain, are called the six magazines. The rectification of the people's virtue, the conveniences of life, and the securing abundant means of sustentation, are called the three businesses. The accomplishment of them with righteousness shows the possession of propriety. The want of this propriety, leading to dissatisfaction, is what produces revolt. If the virtue of you, Sir, cannot be sung, who will be attracted by you? Why not make those who are now on good terms with you sing you?" Chaou Seuen was pleased with this counsel.']

Eighth year.

一章 八年、春、王正月。 二章 夏、四月。

三章 秋、八月、戊申、天王崩。

四章 冬、十月、壬午、公子遂會晉趙盾、盟于衡雍。

五章 乙酉、公子遂會雒戎、盟于暴。

六章 公孫敖如京師、不至而復、丙戌、奔莒。

七章 螽。

八章 宋人殺其大夫司馬、宋司城來奔。

㈠左傳曰、八年、春、晉侯使解揚歸匡戚之田於衞、且復致公壻池之封、自申至于虎牢之竟。㈡夏、秦人伐晉、取武城、以報令狐之役。秋、襄王崩。晉人以扈之盟來討。冬、襄仲會晉趙孟、盟于衡雍、報扈之盟也。遂會伊雒之戎、書曰公子遂、珍之也。穆伯如周弔喪、不至、以幣奔莒、從己氏焉。宋襄夫人、襄王之姊也、昭公不禮焉、夫人因戴氏之族、以殺襄公之孫孔叔、公孫鍾離、及大司馬公子卬、皆昭公之黨也、司馬握節以死、故書以官。司城蕩意

諸來犇、效節於府人而出、公以其官逆之、皆復之、亦書以官、皆貴之也。

㈡ 夷之蒐、晉侯將登箕鄭父、先都、而使士縠、梁益耳將中軍、先克曰、狐趙之勳、不可廢也。從之。先克奪蒯得田于堇陰、故箕鄭父、先都、士縠、梁益耳、蒯得、作亂。

VIII. 1 It was the [duke's] eighth year, the spring, the king's first month.

2 It was summer, the fourth month.

3 In autumn, in the eighth month, on Mow-shin, the king [by] Heaven's [grace] died.

4 In winter, in the tenth month, on Jin-woo, duke [Chwang's] son, Suy, had a meeting with Chaou Tun of Tsin, when they made a covenant in Hăng-yung.

5 On Yih-yëw, duke [Chwang's] son, Suy, had a meeting with the Loh Jung, and made a covenant with them at Paou.

6 Kung-sun Gaou left to go to the capital, but he retraced his steps before he got to it. On Ping-seuh he fled to Keu.

7 There were locusts.

8 The people of Sung put to death their great officer, the minister of War. The minister of Works of Sung came to Loo a fugitive.

Par. 1. [The Chuen gives here the sequel of the narrative at the end of last year:—'In spring, the marquis of Tsin sent Hëae Yang to restore to Wei the lands of K'wang and Ts'ëih [See the Chuen on I. 6]. He also surrendered the territory, with which *duke Wăn* had invested his son-in-law, Ch'e, from Shin to the border of Hoo-laou.]'

Par. 2. [The Chuen appends here:—'In summer, a body of men from Ts'in invaded Tsin, and took Woo-shing;—in return for the affair at Hoo-ling.']

Par. 3. Tso observes that this was king Sëang. He was succeeded by his son Jin-shin (壬臣), known as king K'ing (頃王).

Par. 4. Hăng-yung was in Ch'ing,—near to Hoo, mentioned in p. 8 of last year. The Chuen says:—'A body of men from Tsin came to punish us on account of the covenant at Hoo [For which the duke arrived too late]. In winter, Sëang-chung had a meeting with Chaou Tun, when they made a covenant in Hăng-yung;—in satisfaction for [the duke's negligence in the matter of] the covenant at Hoo.'

Par. 5. For 雒 Kung-yung, and also Tso's Chuen, have 伊雒. This tribe of the Jung had its seat in the pres. dep. of Ho-nau. Paou was in Ch'ing. It could not be far from Hăng-yung, for Yih-yëw was only the 3d day after Jin-woo, when Suy covenanted with Chaou Tun. Tso-she says that from that covenant Suy took occasion to go on, and made a covenant with the Jung of E-loh. They, it is supposed, had assembled with the intention of attacking Loo. Suy became aware of this, and took it upon himself, without waiting for instructions from the duke, to go on, and treat with them, inducing them to give up their purpose. Probably, the case was so. But Tso goes on to say that Suy is mentioned here as 'duke's son,' to indicate the excellence of his proceeding, while in other places the same 'duke's son' must be held to indicate condemnation!

Par. 6. Kung-yang leaves out the 而 before 復. Tso-she says:—'Muh-pih proceeded to Chow to express the duke's condolences on the king's death; but before he got there, he fled to Keu, to follow the lady Sze, taking the offerings which he carried with him.' The lady is the Sze mentioned in p. 9 of last year, whom Gaou had been induced to send back to Keu. 不至而復 means that he stopt short in his way to the capital, retraced his steps so far, and then went to Keu. Many of the critics understand the phrase as indicating that Gaou refused altogether to comply with the duke's order for him to go to Chow;—a view which the K'ang-he editors rightly condemn.

Par. 7. Here, as elsewhere, Kung-yang has 螺 for 螽. See on II. v. 8, *et al.*

Par. 8. The Chuen says:—'The wife [=widow] of [duke] Sëang of Sung was a sister of king Sëang, and duke Ch'aou did not behave to her [His own grand-mother] with propriety. She, therefore, by means of the members of the Tae clan [Embracing the Loh Yu, Hwa Yu-sze, mentioned in the Chuen on p. 4 of last year, and others] got K'ung Shuh, grandson of duke Sëang, put to death, with Kung-sun Chung-le, and the grand-minister of war, duke Ch'aou's brother Gang, who were all partisans of duke Ch'aou. The minister of War died grasping his seal of office in his hands; and therefore his official dignity is mentioned in the text. The minister of Works, Tang E-choo, came a fugitive to Loo, having given up his seal to the keeper of the treasury, when he left Sung. The duke met him in the manner due to his office, and procured the restoration of him and his followers. The text also mentions him by his official dignity, honouring him in the same way.'

[The Chuen returns here to the affairs of Tsin:—'At the grand military review at E [See the Chuen at the beginning of the 6th year], the marquis had wished to raise Ke Ch'ing-foo and Sëen Too [to the command of the 1st army], and to give Sze Hwoh and Lëang Yih-urh the command of the 2d. Sëen K'ih said to him, "The services of Hoo and Chaou should not be forgotten;" and the marquis followed the suggestion [in making the appointments]. Sëen K'ih *also subsequently* took away from K'wae Tih the lands granted to him at Kin-yin. In consequence of these things, Ke Ch'ing-foo, Sëen Too, Sze Hwoh, Lëang Yih-urh, and K'wae Tih, arranged to raise an insurrection [in the State.']

Ninth year.

一章 九年、春、毛伯來求金。 二章 夫人姜氏如齊。

三章 二月、叔孫得臣如京師。 四章 辛丑、葬襄王。

五章 晉人殺其大夫先都。

六章 三月夫人姜氏至自齊。

七章 晉人殺其大夫士縠、及箕鄭父。

八章 楚人伐鄭。公子遂會晉人、宋人、衞人、許人、救鄭。

九章 夏、狄侵齊。 十章 秋、八月、曹伯襄卒。

十一章 九月、癸酉、地震。 十二章 冬、楚子使椒來聘。

十三章 秦人來歸僖公成風之襚。 十四章 葬曹共公。

左傳曰、九年、春、王正月、己酉、使賊殺先克、乙丑、晉人殺先都、梁益耳。

毛伯衛來求金。非禮也。不書王命、未葬也。

二月、莊叔如周、葬襄王。

三月、甲戌、晉人殺箕鄭父、士縠、蒯得。

范山言於楚子曰、晉君少、不在諸侯、北方可圖也。楚子師于狼淵以伐鄭、囚公子堅、公子尨、及樂耳、鄭及楚平。公子遂會晉趙盾、宋華耦、衛孔達、許大夫、救鄭、不及楚師。卿不書、緩也、以懲不恪。

㊁夏、楚侵陳、克壺丘、以其服於晉也。

㊂秋、楚公子朱自東夷伐陳、陳人敗之、獲公子茷、陳懼、乃及楚平。

冬、楚子越椒來聘、執幣傲、叔仲惠伯曰、是必滅若敖氏之宗、傲其先君、神弗福也。

秦人來歸僖公成風之禭。禮也。諸侯相弔賀也、雖不當事、苟有禮焉、書也、以無忘舊好。

IX. 1 In the [duke's] ninth year, in spring, the earl of Maou came to Loo, to ask for [a contribution of] money.

2 The duke's wife, the lady Këang, went to Ts'e.

3 In the second month, Shuh-sun Tih-shin went to the capital.

4 On Sin-ch'ow there was the burial of king Sëang.

5 The people of Tsin put to death their great officer Sëen Too.

6 In the third month, the duke's wife, the lady Këang, arrived from Ts'e.

7 The people of Tsin put to death their great officers, Sze Hwoh and Ke Ch'ing-foo.

8 A body of men from Ts'oo invaded Ch'ing. Suy, duke [Chwang's] son, joined an officer of Tsin, an officer of Sung, an officer of Wei, and an officer of Heu, to relieve Ch'ing.

9 In summer, the Teih made an incursion into Ts'e.

10 In autumn, in the eighth month, Sëang, earl of Ts'aou, died.

11 In the ninth month, on Kwei-yëw, there was an earthquake.

12 In winter, the viscount of Ts'oo sent Tsëaou to Loo on a mission of friendly inquiries.

13 An officer from Ts'in came to present grave-clothes for duke He and Ch'ing Fung.

14 There was the burial of duke Kung of Ts'aou.

[Continuing the narrative at the end of last year, the Chuen proceeds:—'In spring, in the king's first month, on Ke-yëw, [the conspirators] employed ruffians to kill Sëen K'ih. On Yih-yëw the people of Tsin put to death Sëen Too and Lëang Yih-urh.']

Par. 1. The earl of Maou,—see on I. 5. Comp. the whole par. with I. iii. 4. The 金 here and 賻 there seem to be two names for the same thing. Too says [Expanding the Chuen] that the money was sought to help in the expendi-

ture for the king's burial. Though this was the beginning of a new year since the death of the king, yet, he being not buried, the text does not say that the messenger was sent by the new king. The mission, Tso further says, was 'contrary to rule' and the earl's name was 'Wei.'

Par. 2. The lady Këang went to Ts'e to visit her parents. This all the critics admit; but as such visits were regularly made, and matters of custom and routine are held not to be entered in the Ch'un Ts'ëw, they hazard various conjectures to account for this record; with which the student need not be troubled.

Parr. 3,4. These are treated in the Chuen as one paragraph.—'Chwang-shuh (莊 was Tih-shin's posthumous title) went to Chow, to the burial of king Sëang. Too says that it was according to rule for a minister to go to Chow on such an occasion; but it was not so.—The duke ought to have gone himself.

Par. 5. The fact here recorded is given in the Chuen at the beginning of the year, and is said to have occurred on the day Yih-yëw. Now Yih-yëw was the 19th of the 1st month of this year. Here is a discrepancy between the text and the Chuen for which it is not easy to account.

Par. 6. This record is remarkable as being the only instance in which the return of a marchioness of Loo from a visit to her paternal State is entered. Fourteen times the leaving of Loo is recorded; but only on this occasion is the solemn celebration of the return in the ancestral temple mentioned.

Par. 7. See the Chuen at the end of last year, and the beginning of this. Here the Chuen merely repeats the text, with the addition of the name of K'wae Tih. The omission of that in the text, as of the name of Lëang Yih-urh in p. 5, is probably to be accounted for from the inferior rank of the two criminals. A canon is made to account for the use of 人 here and in p. 5, and some similar passages, that it is used when the punishment of criminals is spoken of;—as if the execution were with the consent of all the people. It does not, however, always hold. Kuh-lëang has many followers in thinking that the 及 implies that Ch'ing-foo was involved (累及) in crime and its consequences by Sze Hwoh; but so much stress need not be laid on the term. Maou K'i-ling says, 及者,次及之,'及 = and next.'

Par. 8. Ts'oo had now pretty well recovered from the defeat at Shing-puh 15 years before this, and here resumes its attempts against the northern States. The Chuen says:—'Fan Shan [A great officer of Ts'oo] said to the viscount of Ts'oo, "The ruler of Tsin is quite young, and has no thought about the States;—you may take measures now for the land of the north." Accordingly the viscount took post with an army at Lang-yuen, to [direct] the invasion of Ch'ing. He made prisoners of Kung-tsze Këen, Kung-tsze Mang, and Loh Urh, after which Ch'ing made peace with Ts'oo. Duke Chwang's son, Suy, joined Chaou Tun of Ts'in, Hwa Ngow of Sung, K'ung Tah of Wei, and a great officer of Heu, in order to relieve Ch'ing, but they did not come up with the army of Ts'oo. The text does not give the names of the ministers [of the several States] because of their dilatoriness,—to punish their want of sincerity.'

Par. 9. With Ts'oo pressing on them from the south, and the Teih, ever active and restless on the north, the States of the Middle kingdom were in an evil case.

[The Chuen gives here two additional notes about Ts'oo—'In summer, Ts'oo made an incursion into Ch'in, and reduced Hoo-k'ëw;—because of its submission to Tsin.'

'In autumn, Kung-tsze Choo of Ts'oo invaded Ch'in by the way of the eastern E. The troops of Ch'in defeated him, and captured Kung-tsze Fei. *This success* made Ch'in afraid, and it made peace with Ts'oo.]

Par. 11. Too says:—'It is the way of the earth to be still; its moving was accounted strange, and therefore recorded.' Jin Kung-foo (任公輔) says:—'For more than a hundred years before this we have no record of an earthquake; but from this time to king Gae, there are four earthquakes recorded;—nature's response to the prevailing confusion in the kingdom, the princes disobedient to the son of Heaven, and their officers disobedient to the princes.'

Par. 12. For 椒 Kuh-lëang has 萩. The Chuen says:—'Tsze-yueh Tsëaou came to us on a mission of friendly inquiries, and carried his offerings in a careless, arrogant manner. Shuh-chung Hwuy-pih said, "This man is sure to cause the extinction of all the clan of Joh-gaou. Treating thus insolently his ancient lords [In whose temple he had received the offerings for his mission], their Spirits will not bless him."' The rule in the case of friendly missions was that the rank of the sender should be mentioned. In a former mission from Ts'oo [see III. xxiii. 5], the rule is not observed; but here and afterwards, in the only other mission of this kind from Ts'oo, we have the viscount of Ts'oo. Ts'oo has now come into the category of the other States. Its progress in civilization and influence was acknowledged. The K'ang-he editors very unnecessarily recount the various methods of the critics to account for the 'commendation' which they think is indicated by the title.

Par. 13. 襚 = grave-clothes, or the presentation of them for the use of the dead (襚者以衣送死人之稱). Such gifts were common between neighbouring States which were in friendly relations. In this case they came late, but we have a similar gift sent in the same way to Loo by the king in I. i. 4. Tso-she says:—'This offering was according to rule. The States presented to one another their condolences and congratulations. Although their gifts might not correspond to the circumstances, yet if they were according to rule, they were recorded, that the old friendship [thus signified] might not [subsequently] be forgotten.' Ts'in and Loo had taken part in the same covenant at Teih-ts'ëuen. The former State now took advantage of that to cultivate its friendly relations with the States of the 'Middle kingdom.'

Tenth year.

一章 十年、春、王三月、辛卯、臧孫辰卒。

二章 夏、秦伐晉。

三章 楚殺其大夫宜申。

四章 自正月不雨至于秋七月。

五章 及蘇子盟于女栗。

六章 冬、狄侵宋。

七章 楚子、蔡侯、次于厥貉。

左傳曰、十年、春、晉人伐秦、取少梁。夏、秦伯伐晉、取北徵。初、楚范巫矞似謂成王與子玉、子西、曰、三君皆將强死。城濮之役、王思之、故使止子玉曰、毋死。不及。止子西、子西縊而縣絕、王使適至、遂止之、使爲商公。沿漢泝江、將入郢、王在渚宮、下見之、懼而辭。曰、臣免於死、又有讒言、謂臣將逃、臣歸死於司敗也。王使爲工尹、又與子家謀弒穆王、穆王聞之、五月、殺鬬宜申及仲歸。

秋、七月、及蘇子盟于女栗、頃王立故也。

陳侯、鄭伯、會楚子于息、冬、遂及蔡侯次于厥貉、將以伐宋。宋華御事曰、楚欲弱我也、先爲之弱乎、何必使誘我、我實不能、民何罪。乃逆楚子、勞且聽命、遂道以田孟諸。宋公爲右盂、鄭伯爲左盂、期思公復遂爲右司馬、子朱、及文之無畏爲左司馬、命夙駕載燧。宋公違命、無畏抶其僕、以徇。或謂子舟曰、國君不可戮也。子舟曰、當官而行、何彊之有、詩曰、剛亦不吐、柔亦不茹、毋縱詭隨、以謹罔極、是亦非辟彊也、敢愛死以亂官乎。厥貉之會、麇子逃歸。

X. 1 In the [duke's] tenth year, in spring, in the king's third month, on Sin-maou, Tsang-sun Shin died.

2 In summer, Ts'in invaded Tsin.

3 Ts'oo put to death its great officer, E-shin.

4 From the first month, it did not rain till autumn in the seventh month.

5 The [duke] made a covenant with the viscount of Soo at Joo-leih.

6 In winter, the Teih made an incursion into Sung.

7 The viscount of Ts'oo and the marquis of Ts'ae halted in Keueh-mih.

Par. 1. Tsang-sun Shin,—see on III. xxviii. 7. See also Ana. V. xvii. He must have been an important minister of Loo for nearly half a century. Too says that his death is recorded here, because the duke went to be present at the dressing and preparing of his body for the coffin (公與小殮).

Par. 2. The Chuen says:—'In spring, a body of men from Tsin attacked Ts'in, and took Shaou-lëang. In summer, the earl of Ts'in invaded Tsin, and took Pih-ching.' In common with a host of the critics, the K'ang-he editors contend that the simple Ts'in here is condemnatory of that State for keeping up the long series of hostilities with Tsin, and thereby allowing Ts'oo to develope its power and aggressions on the 'Middle kingdom.' But according to the Chuen, Tsin had been the offender, and was responsible for the continuance of the animosity of Ts'in. The simple 秦 in the text merely indicates that it was not known in Loo who in particular had commanded in the invasion.

Par. 3. The Chuen says:—'In earlier years, Yih-sze, a soothsayer of Fan, had said that king Ch'ing [Of Ts'oo], Tsze-yuh, and Tsze-se [The E-shin of the text], would all die violent deaths. After the battle of Shing-puh, the king thought of this, and sent to stop Tsze-yuh, telling him he should not put himself to death, but the message came too late (See on V. xxviii. 6). [The king also sent] to stop Tsze-se. He had attempted to hang himself, when the rope by which he was suspended broke. Just then the message arrived, and his suicide was stayed. After this Ch'ing appointed him duke of Shang. Sailing down the Han and ascending the Këang, he was about to enter Ying. The king was in his island palace, and seeing Tsze-se below, he was afraid, and refused an interview, but the other said, "Your servant [formerly] escaped dying, but there have been slanderers again saying that I am going to run away;—I am coming back to die at the hands of the minister of Crime." King Ch'ing then made him director of the workmen; but after this he proceeded to plan with Tsze-këa the death of king Muh, who heard of their design, and in the 5th month put them to death;—both Tow E-shin and Chung-kwei (The above Tsze-këa).'

Par. 4. See on II. 5.

Par. 5. The Chuen says:—'In autumn, in the 7th month, we made a covenant with the viscount of Soo, at Joo-leih, on account of the accession of king K'ing.' A viscount of Soo appears in the Chuen, after III. xix. 4, and on V. x. 2. See the note on the latter paragraph. There the State of Wăn or Soo is described as annihilated; but king Sëang had probably restored it. The viscount of Soo in the text would be a son of the one in duke He's time. The site of Joo-leih is not ascertained.

Parr. 6,7. These two paragraphs are sometimes edited as one, the reason, no doubt, being that the viscount of Ts'oo's halting at Keueh-mih was with a design against Sung, wasted by the incursion of the Teih. The Chuen says:—'The marquis of Ch'in and the earl of Ch'ing had a meeting with the viscount of Ts'oo in Seih; and in the winter, [the viscount] and the marquis of Ts'ae halted at Keueh-mih, with the intention of thence attacking Sung. Hwa Yu-sze of Sung said [to the duke], "Ts'oo wishes to display our weakness;—had we not better show first that we know it ourselves? Why must we let the viscount challenge us? We have no ability [to cope with him];—of what crime have the people been guilty [that you should involve them in hostilties?]" On this the duke went to meet the viscount, gave largess to his troops, and professed submission to his commands. He then led the way to hunt in Măng-choo.

'The duke of Sung led the party on the right, and the earl of Ch'ing that on the left. Fuh-suy, duke of Ke-sze, was director of the hunt for the right, and Tsze-choo and Wan-che Woo-wei were directors for the left. Orders were given [to the princes present] to have their carriages yoked early in the morning, and [for each] to carry an instrument for raising fire with him. The duke of Sung disobeyed [the latter of] these commands, on which Woo-wei caused his charioteer to be flogged, to show to all the hunt [the offence the duke had been guilty of]. Some one said to Tsze-chow (Woo-wei) that the ruler of a State ought not to be so disgraced; but he replied, "Acting as my office requires of me, what have I to do with the position [of the offender]? As the ode says (She, III. iii. ode VI. 5),

> 'He does not eject the hard
> Nor does he devour the soft;'

and again (She, III. ii. ode IX. 3),

> 'Give no indulgence to deceit and obsequiousness,
> To make careful those who pay no regard to the rule.'

These passages show that one is not to shrink from dealing with the powerful. Dare I prefer the duties of my office to be thrown into disorder rather than to die?"'

Tso adds that the viscount of Keun withdrew secretly from this meeting at Keueh-mih. The site of that place does not seem to be ascertained. Kung-yang has 屈 for 厥.

Eleventh year.

一章 十有一年、春、楚子伐麇。

二章 夏、叔仲彭生會晉郤缺于承筐。

三章 秋、曹伯來朝。

四章 公子遂如宋。

五章 狄侵齊。

六章 冬、十月、甲午、叔孫得臣敗狄于鹹。

左傳曰、十一年、春、楚子伐麇、成大心敗麇師于防渚、潘崇復伐麇至于錫穴。夏、叔仲惠伯會晉郤缺于承筐。謀諸侯之從於楚者。秋、曹文公來朝。即位而來見也。襄仲聘于宋、且言司城蕩意諸而復之、因賀楚師之不害也。鄋瞞侵齊、遂伐我、公卜使叔孫得臣追之、吉、侯叔夏御莊叔、綿房甥爲右、富父終甥駟乘、冬十月、甲午、敗狄于鹹、獲長狄僑如、富父終甥椿其喉以戈、殺之、埋其首於子駒之門、以命宣伯。初宋武公之世、鄋瞞伐宋、司徒皇父帥師禦之、耏班御皇父充石、公子穀甥爲右、司寇牛父駟乘、以敗狄于長丘、獲長狄緣斯、皇父之二子死焉、宋公於是以門賞耏班、使食其征、謂之耏門。晉之滅潞也、獲僑如之弟焚如。齊襄公之二年、鄋瞞伐齊、齊王子成父獲其弟榮如、埋其首於周首之北門。衛人獲其季弟簡如、鄋瞞由是遂亡。

㊀郕大子朱儒自安於夫鍾、國人弗徇。

XI. 1 In the [duke's] eleventh year, in spring, the viscount of Ts'oo invaded Këun.

2 In summer, Shuh-chung P'ăng-săng had a meeting with Këoh Keueh of Tsin in Shing-k'wang.

3 In autumn, the earl of Ts'aou paid a court-visit to Loo.

4 Duke Chwang's son, Suy, went to Sung.

5 The Teih made an incursion into Ts'e.

6 In winter, in the tenth month, on Këah-woo, Shuh-sun Tih-shin defeated the Teih in Hëen.

Par. 1. Këun (Kung-yang has 圈), was a small State, whose lords were viscounts,—in the pres. dis. of Yun (鄖) dept. Yun-yang, Hoo-pih. Its chief town was Seih-heueh (錫穴). The last Chuen relates how the viscount of Këun withdrew from the meeting at Keueh-mih; we have here his punishment. The Chuen says:—'In spring, the viscount of Ts'oo invaded Keun, and Ch'ing Ta-sin [Son of Ch'ing Tih-shin, who was defeated at Shing-puh] defeated the army of Keun at Fang-choo. P'wan Ts'ung (See the Chuen on I. 10), again invaded Kenn, and advanced as far as to Seih-heueh.'

Par. 2. Kung and Kuh have no 仲 after 叔 and they have 匡 instead of 筐. Shing k'wang was in Sung,—30 *le* to the west of the city of Suy Chow (睢州), in the dep. of Kwei-tih. Shuh-chung P'ăng-săng is the Shuh-chung Hwuy-peh, whom we have met with in the Chuen more than once. He was the brother of Shuh-sun Tih-shin, and son of Kung-sun Tsze, or Tae-pih, mentioned in the 4th year of duke He;—see the note on I. 7. The object of the meeting, Tso-she says, was to consult about the adhesion given in by several of the States to Ts'oo. The K'ang-he editors observe that this is the first instance of a meeting by great officers of difft. States between themselves, to deliberate about public affairs;—showing how the power was gradually sliding out of the hands of the princes of the States.

Par. 3. This was a son of duke Kung, whose death and burial are chronicled in the 9th year. Tso observes that he was himself duke Wăn, and this visit was on the occasion of his succeeding to the earldom, to have an interview with his neighbour.

Par. 4. The Chuen says:—'Sëang-chung went on this friendly visit to Sung, when he mentioned the case of Tang E-choo, [Sung's] minister of Works (See VIII. 8), and procured his restoration, taking occasion also to congratulate Sung on its not having suffered from the army of Ts'oo.'

Par. 6. This Hëen was in Loo,—difft. from the place of the same name in V. xiii. 3. The Chuen says:—'[The Teih of] Sow-mwan made an incursion into Ts'e, and then came on to attack us. The duke consulted the tortoise-shell about sending Shuh-sun Tih-shin to pursue them, and received a favourable reply. How Shuh-hëa was charioteer to Chwang-shuh [Tih-shin]; Mëen Fang-săng was spearman on the right; and Foo-foo Chung-săng went also in the same chariot. In winter, in the tenth month, on Keah-woo, the general defeated the Teih in Hëen, and captured a giant called K'ëaou-joo. Foo-foo Chung-săng smote him in the throat with his spear, and killed him. They buried his head by the Tsze-keu gate, and the general named one of his sons, known afterwards as Seuen-pih, after him.

'Before this, in the time of duke Woo of Sung [Earlier than the period of the Ch'un Ts'ëw], the Sow-mwan invaded Sung, and the minister of Instruction, Hwang-foo Ch'ung-shih led a force against them, with Urh Pan as his charioteer, Kung-tsze Kuh-săng the spearman on his right, and Nëw-foo, the minister of Crime, in the same chariot. He defeated the Teih at Ch'ang-k'ëw, and captured a giant, called Yuen-sze. The two [other officers], and Hwang-foo, were killed [皇父之二子死焉; but I cannot suppose that the Kung-tsze Kuh-săng and Nëw-foo were sons of Hwang-foo], and the duke of Sung rewarded Urh Pan with the revenues collected at one of the barrier gates, from which he was called Urh-mun.

'*After this*, when Tsin extinguished Loo, [潞; in the 15th year of duke Seuen], Fun-joo, a younger brother of K'ëaou-joo, was taken.

'In the 2d year of duke Sëang of Ts'e [The 16th of our duke Hwan], the Sow-mwan had invaded Ts'e, when Ch'ing-foo, a king's son who was serving in Ts'e, captured Yung-joo, a younger brother still, and buried his head by the north gate of Chow-show; and afterwards the people of Wei captured the third younger brother, Këen-joo. After all these captures, the Sow-mwan became extinct.'

[Ying-tah says that all these stories about giants are to be doubted. Too gives the height of K'ëaou-joo as thirty cubits! In the 國語, 魯語, 下, art. 15, there is a story about the people of Woo consulting Confucius about a large bone which they had found, which the sage pronounced to be that of a giant killed by the great Yu! He speaks there also of the 'long Teih' of his days.]

[The Chuen appends here:—'Choo-joo, the eldest son of [the earl of] Shing took his ease in Foo-chung; and the people of the State did not yield him obedience.']

Twelfth year.

一章十有二年、春、王正月、郕伯來奔。二章杞伯來朝。三章二月、庚子、子叔姬卒。四章夏、楚人

圍巢。

五章 秋、滕子來朝。

六章 秦伯使術來聘。

七章 冬、十有二月、戊午、晉人、秦人、戰于河曲。

八章 季孫行父帥師城諸及鄆。

左傳曰、十二年、春、郕伯卒、郕人立君、大子以夫鍾與郕邽來奔。公以諸侯逆之、非禮也。故書曰郕伯來奔、不書地、尊諸侯也。

杞桓公來朝、始朝公也、且請絕叔姬、而無絕昏、公許之。

二月、叔姬卒。不言杞、絕也。書叔姬、言非女也、

楚令尹大孫伯卒、成嘉爲令尹、羣舒叛楚、夏子孔執舒子平、及宗子、遂圍巢。

秋、滕昭公來朝、亦始朝公也。

秦伯使西乞術來聘、且言將伐晉、襄仲辭玉、曰、君不忘先君之好、照臨魯國、鎭撫其社稷、重之以大器、寡君敢辭玉。對曰、不腆敝器、不足辭也。主人三辭、賓答曰、寡君願徼福于周公魯公以事君、不腆先君之敝器、使下臣致諸執事、以爲瑞節、要結好命、所以藉寡君之命、結二國之好、是以敢致之。襄仲曰、不有君子、其能國乎。國無陋矣。厚賄之。

秦爲令狐之役故、冬、秦伯伐晉、取羈馬、晉人禦之。趙盾將中軍、荀林父佐之、郤缺將上軍、臾駢佐之、欒盾將下軍、胥甲佐之、范無恤御戎、以從秦師于河曲。臾駢曰、秦不能久、請深壘固軍以待之。從之。秦人欲戰、秦伯謂士會曰、若何而戰、對曰、趙氏新出其屬曰臾駢、必實爲此謀、將以老我師也、趙有側室曰穿、晉君之壻也、有寵而弱、不在軍事、好勇而狂、且惡臾駢之佐上軍也、若使輕者肆焉、其可。秦伯以璧祈戰于河。

十二月、戊午、秦軍掩晉上軍、趙穿追之、不及、反、怒曰、裹糧坐甲、固敵是求、敵至不擊、將何俟焉。軍吏曰、將有待也。穿曰、我不知謀、將獨出、乃以其屬出。宣子曰、秦獲穿也、

獲一卿矣、秦以勝歸、我何以報。乃皆出戰、交綏。秦行人夜戒晉師曰、兩軍之士、皆未憖也、明日請相見也。臾駢曰、使者目動而言肆、懼我也、將遁矣、薄諸河、必敗之。胥甲、趙穿、當軍門呼曰、死傷未收、而棄之、不惠也、不待期而薄人於險、無勇也。乃止。秦師夜遁、復侵晉、入瑕。城諸及鄆。書時也。

XII. 1 In the [duke's] twelfth year, in spring, in the king's first month, the earl of Shing came a fugitive to Loo.

2 The earl of Ke came to Loo on a court-visit.

3 In the second month, on Kăng-tsze, duke [He's] daughter—the second one—died.

4 In summer, a body of men from Ts'oo laid siege to Ch'aou.

5 In autumn, the viscount of T'ăng came to Loo on a court-visit.

6 The earl of Ts'in sent Shuh to Loo on a mission of friendly inquiries.

7 In winter, in the twelfth month, on Mow-woo, the troops of Tsin and those of Ts'in fought at Ho-k'ëuh.

8 Ke-sun Hăng-foo led a force, and walled Choo and Yun.

Par. 1. For 郕 Kung-yang has 盛. Shing,—see I. v. 3. We have in this par. the sequel to the Chuen with which the last year concludes. Tso-she says here, 'In the 12th year, in spring, the earl of Shing died, and the people raised another in his place. His eldest son then came a fugitive to Loo, surrendering to the duke the cities of Foo-chung and Shing-kwei. The duke met him with the honours due to the prince of a State;—which was contrary to rule. Hence the text calls him "earl of Shing," nor does it mention the places *he surrendered*, in deference to him as a prince.'

In III. viii. 3, we read that Shing surrendered to Ts'e, but that surrendering cannot have been equivalent to the extinction of the State, as Kung-yang supposes, else we should not read of it here. The account which Tso gives of the statement in the text, however, is much contested by the critics. Acc. to a rule, of which we have met with several instances, the son of the prince of a State, though succeeding quietly to his father, could not be named in the text by his title till a year had expired; and yet here is the son flying from the State, immediately after his father's death, acting, moreover, a traitor's part, and he is denominated 'earl.' Then, say the critics, a prince who has lost his State, is mentioned by his name, and there is no name here. The text is silent further about the fugitive's treachery, in deference to him. What comes of all the canons about the 'praise' and 'condemnation' which the structure of the paragraphs is supposed to convey?

Par. 2. In V. xxvii. 1, the prince of Ke appears as viscount only. Here he has regained one degree of the former rank of the House. The Chuen says:—'This visit of duke Hwan of Ke was the first time he had been to the court of Loo since the duke's accession. Moreover he [now] begged that the engagement between him and [duke He's] second daughter might be at an end, while yet his intermarrying [with the House of Loo] should not be so;—to which the duke agreed.'—See on next par.

Par. 3. The Chuen continues:—'In the 2d month, duke [He's] second daughter died. It is not said—"of Ke," because her engagement of marriage with the earl of Ke had been broken of. The terms "second daughter (叔姬)" tell that she was not a girl, [but had been betrothed].' According then to Tso-she, this was the lady who had been engaged to the earl of Ke when his mother came to the court of Loo in the 31st year of duke He, seeking a wife for him. She had remained in Loo, as being too young to be married until this time; and the earl of Ke finding, when he came in the previous month to Loo, that she was ill, begged that his engagement with her might be considered at an end, and that he might have a younger sister instead. The K'ang-he editors do not venture to reject this account of Tso, though they intimate their opinion that his identification of the lady is wrong, and that his view was constructed by himself in consequence of his connecting this paragraph and the former too closely together. Tso's remark as to the force of the characters 叔姬 I do not understand. Too's explanation of it, that 'the deaths of young princesses, who had not been engaged to be married were not recorded,' would apply to the whole entry, and not to those terms.

As to the meaning of the 子 before 叔姬 there is no consent of the critics. Kung-yang says the lady is so termed by way of distinction (貴也), as being duke Wăn's full sister, but how the 子 marks such distinction it is difficult to perceive. I can make nothing of it.

Par. 4. Ch'aou was a small State, lying between Woo (吳) and Ts'oo. It has left its name in the pres. dis. of Ch'aou, dep. Lew-chow, Ganhwuy. The Chuen says:—'On the death of Ta Sun-pih [Often mentioned before this in the Chuen as Ch'ing Ta-sin; the son of Ch'ing Tihshin, who was defeated at Shing-puh. The Ta (大) here, appearing as a surname I don't understand], chief minister of Ts'oo, Ch'ing Këa took his place. [At this time] the diff't. Shoo States, revolted from Ts'oo; and in summer Tsze-k'ung (the above Ch'ing Këa) seized P'ing, viscount of Shoo, and the viscount of Tsung, and went on to lay siege to Ch'aou.'

Par. 5. Tso observes that this was another case of a first court-visit to duke Wăn. Ke Pun (季本; Ming dyn., 1st half of 16th century) says that since the seizure of duke Sëuen of T'ăng by Sung in the 19th year of duke He, the State had adhered to Sung; but that now, taking advantage of the troubles of Sung, it returned to its former preference for Loo.

Par. 6. Kung-yang has 遂 for 術. The Chuen says:—'The earl of Ts'in sent Se-k'eih Shuh on this friendly mission, and to speak of his intention to invade Tsin. Sëang-chung (Kungtsze Suy) declined to receive the jade symbol [which he had brought], saying, 'Your ruler, not forgetting the friendship between his father and us, has favoured Loo with this mission, giving its altars the assurance of his protecting and soothing care, and signalizing the importance of this mission with this grand instrument; but my ruler ventures to decline receiving it." The other replied, "This poor instrument is not worth your declining it." Thrice, however, [Suy], as the host, refused it, and then the guest replied, "My ruler wishing to obtain the favour of the duke of Chow and [his son], the [first] duke of Loo, by his service of your prince, sent me, with this poor instrument of his fathers, to deliver it to you, the manager of this negotiation, to be an auspicious symbol for the confirmation of our good agreement. It is to me the proof of my ruler's commission to tie the bond of friendship between our two States. This is why I presume to deliver it to you." Sëang-chung said, "Without superior men, can a ruler order his State? Yours is no uncultivated State." He then sent Shuh away with rich presents.'

[Se-k'eih Shuh was one of the leaders of the army of Ts'in in the expedition which terminated so fatally at Hëaou;—see the Chuen at V. xxxiii. 3. His present mission was part of a scheme, on the part of Ts'in, to detach the States generally from Tsin.]

Par. 7. Ho-k'ëuh was in Tsin,—near the pres. dep. city of P'oo-chow (蒲州). The Chuen says:—'Because of the affair at Ling-hoo (VII. 5), this winter, the earl of Ts'in invaded Tsin, and took Ke-ma. The troops of Tsin went out to meet him. Chaou Tun commanded the army of the middle, with Seun Lin-foo as assistant. Këoh Keueh led the 1st army, with Yu Pëen as assistant. Lwan Tun led the 3d army, with Seu Këah as assistant. Fan Wooseuh was charioteer [to Chaou Tun]; and in this order they followed the army of Ts'in to Ho-këuh. Yu Pëen said, "Ts'in cannot remain here long. Let us merely show a strong front, with deep entrenchments, and await his movements." Chaou Tun followed this counsel. The troops of Ts'in wished to fight, and the earl asked Sze Hwuy how a battle could be brought about. "Chaou Tun," said Hwuy, "has recently brought out his adherent Yu Pëen, and it must be he who has counselled this measure, in order to weary our army. [But] Tun has a cousin, named Ch'uen, a son-in-law of the [late] marquis. Being a favourite, and young, he has not been employed in military affairs, but he is fond of showing his bravery and is excitable. He is angry, moreover, at Yu Pëen's being employed as assistant-commander of the 1st army. If you send a small body of troops to flout [the army of Tsin], a battle may be brought about." On this the earl prayed to the Ho with a *peih*, about the battle [that would ensue].

'In the 12th month, on Mow-woo, [a portion of] the army of Ts'in made a sudden attack on Tsin's 1st army, [and retired], pursued by Chaou Ch'uen, without his being able to overtake it. When he returned, he said, in anger, "We took our provisions in our bags, and donned our armour, surely to look for our enemies. What are we waiting for that we do not strike the enemy when he comes?" His officers said, "We are waiting for an opportunity." "I do not know," he replied, "their plans, but I will go forth alone;" and forth he went with his followers. Chaou Seuen (Tun) said, "If Ts'in capture Ch'uen, it will capture a high minister. If its army return with such a victory, what shall I have to show in return?" With this the whole army went forth to battle, when there ensued a gentle encounter, and then both sides drew off.

'A messenger from the army of Ts'in came to that of Tsin at night with a warning challenge, saying, "The soldiers of our two armies are not yet satisfied;—please let us see one another tomorrow." Yu Pëen said to Tun, "The messenger's eyes kept moving about, and his words were incoherent; they are afraid of us, and will be going off. If we attack them at the Ho, we are sure to defeat them. Seu Shin and Chaou Ch'uen [went and] cried out, at the gate of the entrenchments, "While the dead and the wounded are not gathered in, to abandon them is not kind. Not to wait for the stipulated time, but to attack men while they are in a perilous position, is not brave." The design was consequently abandoned, and in the night the army of Ts'in withdrew, made an incursion into Tsin in another direction, and entered Hëa.

I have translated 晉人, 秦人, by 'the troops of Tsin and those of Ts'in.' The K'ang-he editors hold that the simple 人 is condemnatory of both the hostile States, especially as there is no 及 between the phrases.

Par. 8. 諸, see III. xxix. 5. Yun (Kung has 運) wae also a town in Loo,—in the north of the pres. dis. of E-shwuy (沂水), dep. E-chow. Loo now walled them as a precaution against attempts on the part of Keu. Tso-she says the thing is recorded to show 'the timeliness of the proceeding.'

Thirteenth year.

一章 十有三年、春、王正月。

二章 夏、五月、壬午、陳侯朔卒。

三章 邾子蘧蒢卒。

四章 自正月不雨、至于秋七月。

五章 世室屋壞。

六章 冬、公如晉、衛侯會公于沓。

七章 狄侵衞。

八章 十有二月、己丑、公及晉侯盟、公還自晉、鄭伯會公于棐。

㊀左傳曰、十三年、春、晉侯使詹嘉處瑕、以守桃林之塞、晉人患秦之用士會也、夏、六卿相見於諸浮、趙宣子曰、隨會在秦、賈季在狄、難日至矣、若之何、中行桓子曰、請復賈季、能外事、且由舊勳、郤成子曰、賈季亂、且罪大、不如隨會、能賤而有耻、柔而不犯、其知足使也、且無罪、乃使魏壽餘僞以魏叛者、以誘士會、執其帑於晉、使夜逸、請自歸于秦、秦伯許之、履士會之足於朝、秦伯師于河西、魏人在東、壽餘曰、請東人之能與夫二三有司言者、吾與之先、使士會、士會辭、曰、晉人、虎狼也、若背其言、臣死、妻子爲戮、無益於君、不可悔也、秦伯曰、若背其言、所不歸爾帑者、有如河、乃行、繞朝贈之以策、曰、子無謂秦無人、吾謀適不用也、既濟、魏人譟而還、秦人歸其帑、其處者爲劉氏。

邾文公卜遷于繹、史曰、利于民、而不利于君。邾子曰、苟利于民、孤之利也、天生民而樹之君、以利之也、民既利矣、孤必與焉。左右曰、命可長也、君何弗爲。邾子曰、命在養民、死之短長、時也、民苟利矣、遷也、吉莫如之。遂遷于繹。五月、邾文公卒。君子曰知命。秋、七月、大室之屋壞。書不共也。冬、公如晉、朝、且尋盟。衞侯會公于沓、請平于晉、公還、鄭伯會公于棐、亦請平于晉、公皆成之。鄭伯與公宴于棐、子家賦鴻雁、季文子曰、寡君未免於此、文子賦四月、子家賦載馳之四章、文子賦采薇之四章、鄭伯拜、公答拜。

XIII. 1 It was the [duke's] thirteenth year, the spring, the k'ing's first month.

2 In summer, in the fifth month, on Jin-woo, Soh, marquis of Ch'in, died.

3 K'eu-seu, viscount of Choo, died.

4 From the first month it did not rain till autumn, in the seventh month.

5 The roof of the permanent shrine-house went to ruin.

6 In winter, the duke went to Tsin; and the marquis of Wei had a meeting with him in Tah.

7 The Teih made an incursion into Wei.

8 In the twelfth month, on Ke-ch'ow, the duke and the marquis of Tsin made a covenant. The duke was returning from Tsin, when the earl of Ch'ing had a meeting with him in Fei.

Par. 1. [The Chuen appends here that this spring, the marquis of Tsin sent Chen Këa to reside in Hëa, to guard all the border of T'aou-lin.]

Par. 2. [The Chuen enters here the following narrative about the affairs of Tsin:—'The people of Tsin were distressed by the use which Ts'in made of Sze Hwuy; and this summer, the six high ministers had a meeting together about the subject in Choo-fow. Chaou Sëuen said, "Hwuy of Suy [Suy was the name of the town whence Sze Hwuy had derived his revenue] is in Ts'in, and Këa Ke is among the Teih; difficulties come upon us every day in consequence;—what is to be done?" The officer Hwan [who had had the command] of the Middle column [This was Seun Lin-foo, who had received command of the 中行, one of the five armies of Tsin; see on V. xxxi. 6. 中行 is nearly equivalent to a surname. Hwan was Lin-foo's posthumous title.] begged that Këa Ke might be recalled, saying he would manage their external affairs [with the Teih], and out of regard to the old services [of his family]. Këoh Ch'ing [Këoh Këueh; 成 was his posthumous title] said, "Këa Ke is too insubordinate, and he was guilty of a great crime. He is not like Hwuy of Suy, who maintains his self respect even in a mean position, is mild and not insubordinate, and whose wisdom fits him for employment. Moreover, Hwuy had committed no crime." On this, [it was resolved] to send Show-yu of Wei [to Ts'in], on the pretence that he had revolted with the city and lands of Wei, to beguile Sze Hwuy [back to Tsin]. They accordingly seized his family in Tsin, and made him abscond at night.

[Having got to Ts'in], he begged to transfer his allegiance to it, and the earl accepted his offer. At the court of Ts'in, he trod on Sze Hwuy's foot [To give him a hint of his object]. The earl took post with a force on the west of the Ho, and the men of Wei were on the east. Show-yu then said, "Let me beg the company of some man from the east who will be able to speak with my officers, so that I may go before with him." Sze Hwuy was appointed to go, but he refused, saying, "The people of Tsin are tigers and wolves. If they prove false to their word, your servant will die [there], and my wife and children will be put to death [here]. There will nothing, moreover, be gained by your lordship;

and regrets [for the whole thing] will be of no avail." The earl said, "If they prove false to their word, I swear by the waters of the Ho, that I will send your family back to Tsin." On this, Sze Hwuy went with Show-yu. [As he was going], Jaou Chaou (an officer of Ts'in) presented to him a whip, saying, "Do not say that there are no men in Ts'in. [You get away], because my counsel has not at this time been followed." When they had crossed the Ho, the men of Wei [received them] with a shout, and returned; but Ts'in sent Hwuy's family back to Tsin. Some [of his surname] who remained there took the surname of Lëw.']

Par. 3. Kuh-lëang has 籧篨 instead of 蘧蒢. The Chuen says:—'Duke Wăn (Wăn was K'eu-seu's posthumous title) consulted the tortoise-shell about changing his capital to Yih. The officer [of divination] said, "The removal will be advantageous to the people, but not to their ruler." The viscount said, "If it be advantageous to the people, that will be advantageous to me. When Heaven produced the people, it appointed for them rulers for their profit. Since the people are to get advantage [from the removal], I shall share in it." His attendants said, "If your life may so be prolonged, why should you not decide not to remove?" He said, "My appointment is for the nourishing of the people; my death sooner or later has a [fixed] time. If the people are to be benefited, let us remove, and nothing could be more fortunate." The capital was accordingly removed to Yih; and in the 5th month [of this year, 5 years after his accession], duke Wăn died. The superior man may say that he knew [the secret of] life.'

Par. 4. See X. 4, and II. 5.

Par. 5. The text here adopted is that of Kung-yang. Kuh-lëang has 太室, and the same is found in the Chuen. Kung says:—'By 世室 is meant the shrine-house of the [first] duke of Loo. That of the duke of Chow was called 太廟; that of the duke of Loo [Pih-k'in, son of the duke of Chow], 世室; those of other dukes were simply called 宮. The name 世室 indicates that from generation to generation the spirit-tablet of Pih-k'in was not removed.' While Kuh-lëang has 太 and not 世, he yet distinguishes between 太廟, the temple of the duke of Chow, and 太室, that of Pih-k'in, agreeing so far with Kung-yang. And 太 and 世 are often interchanged, especially in the phrases 太子 and 世子. Perhaps Tso-she was of the same opinion, for he simply says that 'the roof of the 太室 went to pieces, and the fact was recorded, because of the want of reverent attention [to the structure] which was implied in it. Too Yu, however, explains the 太室 by 太廟. Whosesoever the shrine-house was, the fact of its roof going to ruin showed great carelessness on the part of the duke and his officers, —great carelessness where they might have been expected to be most careful.

Parr. 6,8. In p. 6, Kung-yang wants the 公 after 會. In p. 8 both Kung and Kuh omit the 公 before 還. For 棐 Kung has 斐. Where Tah was is not ascertained. Fei was in Ch'ing,—25 *le* east of the pres. dis. city of Sin-Ch'ing, dep. K'ae-fung.

The Chuen says:—'In winter, the duke went to Tsin, paying a court visit, and renewing his covenant with the marquis. The marquis of Wei had a meeting with the duke at Tah, and begged his mediation to make peace with Tsin; as he was returning, the earl of Ch'ing met him at Fei, and begged from him a similar service. The duke accomplished the thing for them both. The earl of Ch'ing and he feasted at Fei, when Tsze-kea (an officer of Ch'ing) sang the *Hung yen* (She, II. iii. ode VII.). Ke Wăn (an officer of Loo) said, "My ruler has his share in that," and he sang the *Sze yueh* (She, II. v. ode X.). Tsze-këa then sang the 4th stanza of the *Ts'ae ch'e* (She, I. iv. ode X.), and Ke Wăn responded with the 4th of the *Ts'ae we* (She, II. i. ode VII.). The earl of Ch'ing then bowed his thanks to the duke, and the duke returned the bow.'

Fourteenth year.

1 十有四年、春、王正月、公至自晉。

2 邾人伐我南鄙、叔彭生帥師伐邾。

3 夏五月乙亥、齊侯潘卒。

4 六月、公會宋公、陳侯、衛侯、

鄭伯、許男、曹伯、晉趙盾、癸酉、同盟于新城。

五章 秋、七月、有星孛入于北斗。

六章 公至自會。

七章 晉人納捷菑于邾、弗克納。

八章 九月、甲申、公孫敖卒于齊。

九章 齊公子商人弑其君舍。

十章 宋子哀來奔。

十一章 冬、單伯如齊、齊人執單伯。

十二章 齊人執子叔姬。

⨸左傳曰、十四年、春、頃王崩、周公閱與王孫蘇爭政、故不赴。凡崩薨、不赴、則不書、禍福、不告、亦不書、懲不敬也。邾文公之卒也、公使弔焉、不敬、邾人來討、伐我南鄙、故惠伯伐邾。

子叔姬妃齊昭公、生舍、叔姬無寵、舍無威、公子商人驟施於國、而多聚士、盡其家、貸於公有司以繼之、夏、五月、昭公卒、舍卽位。

六月、同盟于新城、從於楚者服、且謀邾也。

⨸秋、七月、乙卯、夜、齊商人弑舍而讓元、元曰、爾求之久矣、我能事爾、爾不可使多蓄憾、將免我乎、爾爲之。

有星孛入于北斗、周內史叔服曰、不出七年、宋、齊、晉之君、皆將死亂。

邾文公元妃齊姜、生定公、二妃晉姬、生捷菑、文公卒、邾人立定公、捷菑奔晉、晉趙盾以諸侯之師八百乘、納捷菑于邾、邾人辭曰、齊出貜且長、宣子曰、辭順而弗從、不祥、乃還。

⨸周公將與王孫蘇訟于晉、王叛王孫蘇、而使尹氏與聃啟訟周公于晉、趙宣子平王室而復之。

⨸楚莊王立、子孔、潘崇、將襲羣舒、使公子燮與子儀守、而

伐舒蓼。二子作亂、城郢、而使賊殺子孔、不克而還、八月、二子以楚子出、將如商密、廬戢黎及叔麇誘之、遂殺鬬克、及公子燮。初、鬬克囚于秦、秦有殽之敗、而使歸求成、成而不得志、公子燮求令尹而不得、故二子作亂。

穆伯之從巳氏也、魯人立文伯、穆伯生二子於莒、而求復、文伯以爲請、襄仲使無朝聽命、復而不出、三年、而盡室以復適莒。文伯疾而請曰、穀之子弱、請立難也。許之、文伯卒、立惠叔。穆伯請重賂以求復、惠叔以爲請、許之、將來、九月、卒于齊、告喪、請葬、弗許。

齊人定懿公、使來告難、故書以九月。齊公子元、不順懿公之爲政也、終不曰公、曰夫己氏。

宋高哀爲蕭封人、以爲卿、不義宋公而出、遂來奔。書曰宋子哀來奔、貴之也。

襄仲使告于王、請以王寵求昭姬于齊、曰殺其子、焉用其母、請受而罪之。冬、單伯如齊、請子叔姬、齊人執之、又執子叔姬、

XIV. 1 In his fourteenth year, in spring, in the king's first month, the duke arrived from Tsin.

2 A body of men from Choo invaded our southern border; [and] Shuh P'ăng-săng led a force, and invaded Choo.

3 In summer, in the fifth month, on Yih-hae, P'wan, marquis of Ts'e, died.

4 In the sixth month, the duke had a meeting with the duke of Sung, the marquis of Ch'in, the marquis of Wei, the earl of Ch'ing, the baron of Heu, the earl of Ts'aou, and Chaou Tun of Tsin; [and] on Kwei-yëw they made a covenant together in Sin-shing.

5 In autumn, in the seventh month, there was a comet, which entered the Northern Bushel.

6 The duke arrived from the meeting.

7 The people of Tsin undertook to establish Tsëeh-tsze as viscount of Choo, but did not do so.

8 In the ninth month, on Këah-shin, Kung-sun Gaou died in Ts'e.

9 Shang-jin, a son of duke [Hwan] of Ts'e, murdered his ruler, Shay.

10 Tsze-gae of Sung came to Loo, a fugitive.

11 In winter, the earl of Shen went to Ts'e; and the people of Ts'e seized him and held him prisoner.

12 The people of Ts'e [also] seized the second daughter of our house, who was there, and held her prisoner.

Par. 1. [The Chuen appends here:—'This spring, king K'ing died. Yueh, duke of Chow, and Wang-sun Soo were contending which should get the government into his hands; and therefore no intelligence of the event came officially to Loo. The deaths of kings and princes of States which were not announced were not recorded, and the same rule obtained in regard to events prosperous or calamitous;—as a method of reproving the want of reverence implied [in not making those communications].']

Par. 2. The Chuen says:—'On the death of duke Wăn of Choo [See XIII. 3], the duke sent his condolences by an officer, who did not behave respectfully; and a body of troops from Choo came to punish [the slight], and invaded our southern border. In consequence of this, Hwuy-pih invaded Choo.' Shuh P'ăng-săng is the same as the Shuh-chung P'ăng-săng of XI. 2.

Par. 3. This P'wan—duke Ch'aou—had made himself marquis of Ts'e, in the 28th year of duke He, by the murder of the son of his brother, duke Hëaou. The Chuen says:—'A second daughter of one of our dukes was the wife of duke Ch'aou of Ts'e, and bore him Shay. She was not a favourite with him, however, and Shay was devoid of any dignity. Shang-jin, a son of duke [Hwan], gave frequent largesses to the people, and collected about him many followers. When he had exhausted his own resources, he borrowed from the duke and [various] officers [for the same purpose]. In summer, in the 5th month, duke Ch'aou died, and Shay succeeded him.'

Par. 4. Sin-shing was in Sung,—in the south-west of the pres. dis. of Shang-k'ëw, dep. Kwei-tih. For the phrase 同盟, see on III. xvi. 4. The use of it here is favourable to the view of its meaning given there by Tso-she. He says here that this meeting and covenant were to celebrate the submission [to Tsin] of the States which had [for a time] followed Ts'oo, and to consult about Choo.

[The Chuen appends here about Ts'e:—'In autumn, in the 7th month, on the night of Yih-maou, Shang-jin of Ts'e murdered Shay, and offered to yield the State to [his own elder brother], Yuen. Yuen said, "You have been seeking it for a long time. I can serve you; but you are not the man in whom to awaken further dissatisfaction and resentment. Would you in that case spare me? Take you the marquisate.']

Par. 5. 星孛=彗星, 'a comet.' The meaning of 孛 is variously explained. K'ung Ying-tah says the comet is so called from the resemblance of its motion to that of a broom (其形孛孛似掃彗). Then as a broom sweeps away what is old to give place to something new, a comet is supposed to presage changes. With regard to this comet, the Chuen relates that Shuh-fuh, the historiographer of the Interior, of Chow, said, 'In not more than 7 years, the rulers of Sung, Ts'e, and Tsin will all die amidst the disorder of their States.' The 'Northern Bushel' is Ursa Major.

Par. 7. For 捷 Kung has 接. The Chuen says:—'The first wife of duke Wăn of Choo was a Këang of Ts'e, who bore to him [K'woh-tseu, who became] duke Ting. His second wife was a Ke of Tsin, who bore to him Tsëeh-tsze. On his death, the people of Choo raised K'woh-tseu to his father's place, and Tsëeh-tsze fled to Tsin. Chaou Tun of Tsin then undertook, with the armies of several of the States,—a force [in all] of 800 chariots,—to place him in the marquisate. But the people of Choo refused to receive him, saying, "K'woh-tseu is the son of [Këang of] Ts'e, and the elder of the two." Chaou Sëuen said, "They have reason for their refusal; and if we do not accept it, our conduct will be of evil omen." He accordingly returned to Tsin.'

The K'ang-he editors say that the concluding words of the par.—弗克納—are expressive of approbation, and the 人 in 晉人 of condemnation. We can see that if the undertaking were bad, then its abandonment was good and right; but the approbation is not in the characters, but in the fact. There is difficulty with the 人, as according to the Chuen the forces of many States took part in the expedition. To be sure they were all engaged in it in the interest and at the summons of Tsin; and therefore I prefer to translate 晉人 here by 'the people of Tsin,' rather than by 'an officer of Tsin,' or 'a body of troops from Tsin.'

[The Chuen appends here two narratives. The 1st continues that after par. 1:—'The duke of Chow and Wang-sun Soo being about to argue their differences before Tsin, the [new] king turned against Wang-sun Soo, and sent the minister Yin and T'an K'e to explain the case of the duke of Chow. Chaou Seuen pacified the royal House, and brought the parties to their former relations.'

The 2d is about the affairs of Ts'oo:—'On the accession of king Chwang [Son of king Muh], Tsze-k'ung and P'wan Ts'ung, intending to surprise the various Shoo States, appointed Kung-tsze Sëeh, and Tsze-e, to remain in charge [of the govt.], while they themselves invaded Shoo-lëaou. These two officers, however, made an insurrection, proceeded to wall Ying, and employed a ruffian to kill Tsze-k'ung, who returned without succeeding in that attempt. In the 8th month, they carried off the viscount, intending to go to Shang-meih; but Ts'ih-le of Leu and Shuh-keun beguiled them [to Leu], and put them to death,—both Tow K'ih [Tsze-e], and Kung-tsze Sëeh. At an earlier time, Tow K'ih had been a prisoner in Ts'in, which sent him, after the defeat at Hëaou, back to Ts'oo, to ask for a settlement of its differences with that State. This was effected, but he did not get his wish (in the shape of reward). Kung-tsze Sëeh had sought the office of chief minister, but did not obtain it. These were the reasons why the two raised an insurrection.']

Par. 8. The Chuen says:—'When Muh-pih [went to Keu], following the lady Sze [See the Chuen on VIII. 6], they in Loo made his son Wăn-pih [The Kuh in the Chuen on I. 3] head of the clan [in his room]. He begat two sons in Keu, and then he asked to be allowed to return to Loo, getting Wăn-pih to make intercession for him. Sëang-chung [agreed to his return] on condition that he should not appear in the court, which condition he ac-

cepted, returning to Loo, and not leaving his own house. After three years, however, he again went to Keu, taking all his household with him. Wăn-pih fell ill, and begged [the duke] that [his brother] No might succeed him, as his son was still young; which was granted. This No was Hwuy-shuh. Again Muh-pih begged to be allowed to return once more to Loo, backing his application with large bribes. Hwuy-shuh also interceded for him; and the thing was conceded; but, when he was about to come, in the 9th month he died in Ts'e. [Hwuy-shuh] announced his death, and asked leave to bury him [with the honours of a high minister]; but this was refused.'

Par. 9. The murder of Shay took place in the 7th month [See the Chuen after par. 4], but it is supposed that no communication about it was received from Ts'e until now; and the fact is recorded under the date at which the information arrived. The Chuen says:—'The people of Ts'e having settled [the succession of] duke E [Shang-jin], they sent to Loo to announce the troubles which they had had. Hence we have the record under the 9th month. Duke E's brother Yuen, dissatisfied with his administration of the government, never spoke of him as "The duke," but as "So and so, No. 6."

The critics are perplexed by Shay's being here denominated ruler, seeing the year in which his father died had not expired. Too, Maou K'e-ling, and others, argue that five months had elapsed since duke Ch'aou's death, and that he was buried, and that therefore Shay might now be styled 'ruler (君);' but they do not take into consideration that Shay was murdered in the 7th month. Another perplexity arises here from Shang-jin being mentioned with his rank of 'duke's son;'—see on I. iv. 2.

Par. 10. The Chuen says:—'Kaou Gae of Sung was the border-warden of Sëaou, and was appointed a high minister. Disapproving of the duke of Sung, he left the State, and then came a fugitive to Loo. His appearing in the text as "Tsze-gae" is in honour of him.' To this criticism on the designation the K'ang-he editors make some demur.

Parr. 11,12. These two paragraphs have occasioned much perplexity and controversy. Duke Ch'aou of Ts'e had been a son-in-law of Loo. His wife, it is understood, was the '2d daughter of the House of Loo,' in p. 12,—the mother of the murdered Shay, and whom Loo now wished to rescue from Ts'e.

The Chuen says:—'Sëang-chung sent an announcement to the king, begging that of his favour he would require Ts'e to deliver up Ch'aou Ke, saying, "Having killed the son, what use have they for the mother? Let us receive her, and deal with her guilt." In winter, the earl of Shen went to Ts'e, and begged that they would give up the lady; but they seized and held him as a prisoner, doing the same also with her.'

Here Tso-she understands 單伯, as in III. i. 3, which see. The K'ang-he editors, agreeing with the majority of the critics that 單伯 was an officer of Loo, reject here altogether Tso-she's narrative. The views of Kung and Kuh, that Shen Pih had a criminal intrigue with the lady, they reject on other grounds. I think, however, Tso-she's view is correct.

As to 子叔姬,—see on XII. 3. The lady here of course is difft. from the one whose death is there recorded. Their being designated in the same way is certainly perplexing; and we do not know enough about them to explain and reconcile satisfactorily the two texts.

Fifteenth year.

一章 十有五年、春、季孫行父如晉。

二章 三月、宋司馬華孫來盟。

三章 夏、曹伯來朝。

四章 齊人歸公孫敖之喪。

五章 六月、辛丑、朔、日有食之、鼓用牲于社。

六章 單伯至自齊。

七章 晉郤缺帥師伐蔡、戊申、入蔡。

八章 秋、齊人侵我西鄙。

九章 季孫行父如晉。

十章 冬十有一月、諸侯盟于扈。

十一章 十有二月、齊人來歸子叔姬。

十二章 齊侯侵我西鄙、遂伐曹、入其郛。

左傳曰、十五年、春、季文子如晉。爲單伯與子叔姬故也。
三月、宋華耦來盟、其官皆從之。書曰宋司馬華孫、貴之也。公與之宴、辭曰、君之先臣督得罪于宋殤公、名在諸侯之策、臣承其祀、其敢辱君、請承命於亞旅。魯人以爲敏。
夏、曹伯來朝、禮也。諸侯五年再相朝、以修王命、古之制也。
齊人或爲孟氏謀曰、魯、爾親也。飾棺寘諸堂阜、魯必取之。從之、卞人以告。惠叔猶毀以爲請、立于朝以待命。許之、取而殯之。齊人送之、書曰齊人歸公孫敖之喪、爲孟氏、且國故也。葬視共仲、聲己不視、帷堂而哭。襄仲欲勿哭、惠伯曰、喪、親之終也。雖不能始、善終可也。史佚有言曰、兄弟致美、救乏、賀善、弔災、祭敬、喪哀、情雖不同、毋絕其愛、親之道也。子無失道、何怨於人。襄仲說、帥兄弟以哭之。他年、其二子來、孟獻子愛之、聞於國。或譖之曰、將殺子。獻子以告季文子。二子曰、夫子以愛我聞、我以將殺子聞、不亦遠於禮乎。遠禮不如死。一人門于句鼆、一人門于戾丘、皆死。
六月、辛丑、朔、日有食之、鼓用牲于社、非禮也。日有食之、天子不舉、伐鼓于社、諸侯用幣于社、伐鼓于朝、以昭事神、訓民事君、示有等威、古之道也。
齊人許單伯請而赦之、使來致命。書曰單伯至自齊、貴之也。
新城之盟、蔡人不與。晉郤缺以上軍下軍伐蔡、曰、君弱、不可以怠。戊申、入蔡、以城下之盟而還。凡勝國曰滅之、獲大城焉曰入之。
秋、齊人侵我西鄙、故季文子告于晉。

冬、十一月、晉侯、宋公、衛侯、蔡侯、陳侯、
鄭伯、許男、曹伯盟于扈。尋新城之盟、
且謀伐齊也。齊人賂晉侯、故不克而
還。于是有齊難、是以公不會、書曰諸
侯盟于扈、無能爲故也。凡諸侯會、公
不與、不書、諱君惡也、與而不書、後也。
齊人來歸子叔姬。王故也。
齊侯侵我西鄙、謂諸侯不能也。遂伐
曹、入其郛、討其來朝也。季文子曰、齊
侯其不免乎、己則無禮、而討於有禮
者、曰女何故行禮。禮以順天、天之道
也、己則反天、而又以討人、難以免矣、
詩曰、胡不相畏、不畏于天、君子之不
虐幼賤、畏于天也、在周頌曰、畏天之
威、于時保之、不畏于天、將何能保、以
亂取國、奉禮以守、猶懼不終、多行無
禮、弗能在矣、

XV. 1 In the [duke's] fifteenth year, in spring, Ke-sun Hăng-foo went to Tsin.

2 In the third month, Hwa-sun, minister of war, of Sung, came and made a covenant.

3 In summer, the earl of Ts'aou came to Loo on a court-visit.

4 The people of Ts'e sent back to Loo the coffin of Kung-sun Gaou.

5 In the sixth month, on Sin-ch'ow, the first day of the moon, the sun was eclipsed. Drums were beaten, and victims were offered at the altar of the land.

6 The earl of Shen arrived from Ts'e.

7 Këoh Keueh of Tsin led a force and invaded Ts'ae; and on Mow-shin, he entered [the capital of] Ts'ae.

8 In autumn, a body of men from Ts'e made an incursion into our western borders.

9 Ke-sun Hăng-foo went to Tsin.

10 In winter, in the eleventh month, [many of] the States made a covenant at Hoo.

11 In the twelfth month, an officer of Ts'e came to Loo with the second daughter of our House.

12 The marquis of Ts'e made an incursion into our western borders, and then proceeded to invade Ts'aou, entering within the outer suburbs of its capital.

Par. 1. Tso-she says that this mission was on account of [the injury done by Ts'e to] the earl of Shen, and the second daughter of the House of Loo. The duke thought that the fear of Tsin might influence Ts'e more than the king's authority.

Par. 2. The Chuen says:—'Hwa Ngow of Sung came to Loo and made a covenant, accompanied by the officers of his department. The text speaks of him with his office—"Hwa-sun, minister of War, of Sung"—to do him honour. The duke was going to feast along with him, but he declined the honour, saying, "Your lordship's former servant, my ancestor Tuh, was a criminal with duke Shang of Sung (See II. ii. 1). His name is in the records of all the States. Charged as I am with his sacrifices, dare I disgrace your lordship [so]? Let me receive your commands from one of your officers of the rank below that of a high minister." The people of

Loo considered him [in this speech] to be respectful and exact.'

Hwa Ngow was, no doubt, made minister of War in Sung, after the death of duke Ch'aou's brother, Gang, as related in the Chuen on VIII. 8. The 孫 is here added to his surname just as we have in Loo 季孫, 臧孫, &c. As he is not said in the text to have been sent (使) on the mission by the duke of Sung, the critics discuss the point, very fruitlessly, whether he came to Loo as an envoy, or on his own motion.

Par. 3. Tso-she says, on this par., that 'it was an ancient regulation that the princes of States should interchange these court-visits once in 5 years, in order to their better observance of the king's commands.' But the subject of such visits is involved in obscurity. See on I. xi. 1.

Par. 4. On p. 8 of last year it was stated that the duke refused permission to have the body of Gaou brought to Loo to be buried. Here we find that the thing was finally brought about. The Chuen says:—'Some one in Ts'e gave counsel in regard to the circumstances of the Măng family [The descendants of K'ing-foo, the Chung-sun clan, were sometimes called the Măng and the Măng-sun (孟氏, 孟孫氏), saying, "[The House of] Loo and you are of kin. Get the coffin all ready with its decorations, and place it in T'ang-fow. Loo will be sure [to wish] to take it away." This counsel was taken, and the commandant of Pëen sent word to the court [of where the coffin was]. Hwuy-shuh, still with all the symbols of deepest sorrow, took the opportunity to prosecute his [former] request, and stood in the court to await the duke's commands. The duke granted his request, when he took the coffin, and went through the ceremony of enshrouding the body [in the grand chamber of the Măng family]. An officer of Ts'e escorted the coffin. What the text says, that an officer of Ts'e brought the coffin of Kung-sun Gaou, was recorded out of regard to the Măng family, and its consanguinity with the ducal House. The burial was after the example of that of Kung-chung (K'ing-foo; with inferior honours to those due to a high minister). Shing Sze, (Gaou's first wife) did not go to see the coffin, but wept inside the screen in the hall. Sëang-chung wished not to weep, but Hwuy-pih said to him, "With the mourning there is an end of one's [living] relationship. Although you [and he] could not [be on good terms] before, you may be so now that he is gone. The historiographer Yih said, 'Brethren should display all the beauty [of kindly regard], relieving one another's wants, congratulating in prosperity, condoling in calamity, in sacrificing reverent, in mourning really sad. Although they may be unable to agree, they do not abandon the relative affection which should subsist between them.' Do not you, Sir, fail in this point;—why should you cherish such resentment?" Sëang-chung was pleased, and conducted all his brethren to weep for Gaou.

'Years after, Gaou's two sons came [from Keu] to Loo, when the affection of Măng Hëen [The grandson of Gaou, and son of Wăn-pih, Chung-shuh Mëih, then Head of the family] for them became spoken of through the State. Some one slandered them to him, saying that they would kill him. He told this to Ke Wăn; and the two young men [having heard of it], said, "His love for us is well known, and it is talked of that we mean to kill him. Would this not be far from what is right? It is better that we should die than be considered so far removed from propriety." One of them, accordingly, died, defending the gate of Kow-măng, and the other died, defending the gate of Le-k'ëw.'

Par. 5. This eclipse took place at sunrise, on April 20th, B. C. 611. On the ceremonies which were now observed—鼓, 用牲于社—Tso-she remarks that they were 'contrary to rule,' adding, 'On occasion of an eclipse of the sun, the son of Heaven should not have his table spread so full as ordinarily, and should have drums beaten at the altar of the land, while princes of States should present offerings of silk at the altar of the land, and have drums beaten in their courts;—thus showing how they serve the Spirits, teaching the people to serve their ruler, and exhibiting the different degrees of observance. Such was the way of antiquity.'

The text here, with the exception of the name of the day, is the same as that in the account of the eclipse in III. xxv. 3. Tso-she there says that the ceremonies were 'unusual;' here, that they were 'contrary to rule.' The K'ang-he editors explain the difference of these criticisms by saying that the '6th month' in III. xxv. 3 is a mistake for the 7th month, while the 6th month of the text is correct. Now the 6th month of Chow was the 4th month of Hëa, or the 1st month of the natural summer, when according to Tso-she, the ceremonies mentioned in the Chuen were appropriate. In the eclipse of duke Chwang, they were 'unusual;' the month was not the time for them. In this eclipse of duke Wăn, they would have been right, if they had only been performed 'according to rule.' Perhaps this is a correct explanation of the difference of Tso-she's decisions in the two cases;—ingenious it certainly is. But see what I have said on III. xxv. 3 about the distinction which Tso would make out between eclipses in the 1st month of summer, and at other times.

Par. 6. Here we have 單伯 again, and the par. is appealed to as decisive of the question about the individual so described, whether he belonged to Chow or to Loo. Evidently, it is said, he belonged to Loo. Ordinarily the return of officers from their missions was not chronicled. The only exception was in the case of such as had been seized and imprisoned in the exercise of their functions. We have two cases in point, in X. xiv. 1, and xxiv. 2; and here in the text is a third. The argument cannot be lightly set aside; but why should not the king's commissioner, who had endured on behalf of Loo as 單伯 had done, go to that State on his liberation, and be received by the duke in the ancestral temple. Such a visit perhaps was necessary in order to the liberation of Loo's daughter, which is related in the 11th paragraph. Tso-she says here:—'The people of Ts'e granted what the earl of Shen requested, and liberated him, that he might come to Loo, and report

the fulfilment of his mission. The language of the text—'The earl of Shen came from Ts'e'—is modelled to honour him.'

Par. 7. The Chuen says:—'Ts'ae took no part in the covenant at Sin-shing [See p. 4 of last year], and now Këoh Keueh, with the 1st and 3d armies, invaded Ts'ae, saying, "Our ruler is young;—we must not dally over our work." On Mow-shin, he entered [the capital of] Ts'ae, obliged [the marquis] to make a covenant with him close by the wall, and returned.' Tso-she adds that when a State was [entirely] conquered, [the conquerors] were said to 'extinguish it,' and when a great city was taken, they were said to 'enter it.'

The form of this par. indicates two operations on the part of the general of Tsin; first the invasion, and next, when that failed to produce the submission of T'sae, the capture of its capital.

Parr. 8, 9. Tso-she connects these two paragraphs together, saying that Hăng-foo's visit to Tsin was to inform that leading State of the injury received from Ts'e.

Par. 10. Hoo,—see VII. 8. The Chuen says:—'In winter, in the 11th month, the marquis of Tsin, the duke of Sung, the marquis of Wei, the marquis of Ts'ae, the marquis of Ch'in, the earl of Ch'ing, the baron of Heu, and the earl of Ts'aou, made a covenant at Hoo, renewing that at Sin-shing, and to consult about invading Ts'e. The people of Ts'e bribed the marquis of Tsin, and he returned without doing anything against that State. At this time the duke was not present at the meeting because of his difficulties with Ts'e. The text says that "the princes covenanted at Hoo, [without specifying them]." because they were able to do nothing.' This is Tso's judgment, and may be questioned. He adds, 'In general, on occasions of meetings of the States, when the duke of Loo was not present, the names are not specified, to conceal the duke's remissness! When he was present, and yet the names are not specified, it is because he came late!'

Par. 11. Tso says that Ts'e thus sent the lady to Loo at last, 'because of the king,' *i. e.*, in deference to his request or requirement.

Par. 12. The Chuen says that the former part of this paragraph tells the inability of the other States [to control Ts'e]; and the movement of Ts'e against Ts'aou was to punish it because of the earl's visit to Loo (in p. 3). 郛 is defined as 大郭, 'the extension of the suburbs. Lëw Ch'aug observes that to penetrate thus far was nearly to enter the city itself (幾乎入). The Chuen continues:—'Ke Wăn said, "The marquis of Ts'e will not escape his doom. Himself regardless of propriety, he punishes those who observe it, saying, 'Why do you practise that rule?' [Now], propriety is to express accordance with Heaven; it is the way of Heaven. He sets himself against Heaven, and goes to punish others [for obeying it];—it will be hard for him to escape his doom. The ode says (She, II. iv. ode X. 3),

'Why do ye not stand in awe of one another?
Ye do not stand in awe of Heaven.'

The superior man does not oppress the young or the mean, because he stands in awe of Heaven. It is said in the Praise-songs of Chow (She, IV. i. [i.] VII.),

'I revere the majesty of Heaven,
And for ever preserve its favour.'

By villainy he got his State. Though he were to try to keep it by all the rules of propriety, without the fear of Heaven, how can he preserve himself? I fear he would not be able to do so. Doing many things contrary to those rules, he cannot live [long]."'

Sixteenth year.

一章 十有六年、春、季孫行父會齊侯于陽穀、齊侯弗及盟。

二章 夏、五月、公四不視朔。

三章 六月、戊辰、公子遂及齊侯、盟于郪丘。

四章 秋、八月、辛未、夫人姜氏薨。

五章 毀泉臺。

六章 楚人、秦人、巴人、滅庸。

七章 冬、十有一月、宋人弒其君杵臼。

左傳曰、十六年、春、王正月、及齊平、公有疾、使季文子會齊侯于陽穀、請盟、齊侯不肯、曰、請俟君閒。

夏、五月、公四不視朔、疾也。

公使襄仲納賂于齊侯、故盟于郪丘。

有蛇自泉宮出、入于國、如先君之數。秋、八月、辛未、聲姜薨、毁泉臺。

楚大饑、戎伐其西南、至于阜山、師于大林、又伐其東南、至于陽丘、以侵訾枝。庸人帥羣蠻以叛楚。麇人率百濮聚於選、將伐楚。於是申息之北門不啟。楚人謀徙於阪高、蒍賈曰、不可、我能往、寇亦能往、不如伐庸、夫麇與百濮、謂我饑不能師、故伐我也、若我出師、必懼而歸、百濮離居、將各走其邑、誰暇謀人。乃出師、旬有五日、百濮乃罷。自廬以往、振廩同食。次于句澨、使廬戢黎侵庸、及庸方城、庸人逐之、囚子揚窻、三宿而逸、曰、庸師衆、羣蠻聚焉、不如復大師、且起王卒、合而後進。師叔曰、不可、姑又與之遇以驕之、彼驕我怒、而後可克、先君蚡冒所以服陘隰也。又與之遇、七遇皆北、唯裨鯈魚人實逐之。庸人曰、楚不足與戰矣。遂不設備。楚子乘馹、會師于臨品、分爲二隊、子越自石溪、子貝自仞以伐庸。秦人、巴人從楚師、羣蠻從楚子盟、遂滅庸。

宋公子鮑禮於國人、宋饑、竭其粟而貸之、年自七十以上、無不饋詒也、時加羞珍異、無日不數於六卿之門、國之材人、無不事也、親自桓以下、無不恤也。公子鮑美而艶、襄夫人欲通之、而不可、乃助之施。昭公無道、國人奉公子鮑以因夫人。於是華元爲右師、公孫友爲左師、華耦爲司馬、鱗矔爲司徒、蕩意諸爲司城、公子朝爲司寇。

初、司城蕩卒、公孫壽辭司城、請使意諸爲之、既而告人曰、君無道、吾官近、懼及焉、棄官則族無所庇、子、身之貳也、姑紓死焉、雖亡子、猶不亡族。既、夫人將使公田孟諸而殺之、公知之、盡以寶行、蕩意諸曰、盍適諸侯。公曰、不能其大夫、至于君祖母以及國人、諸侯誰納我、且既爲人君、而又爲人臣、不如死。盡以其寶賜左右而使行。夫人使謂司城去公、對曰、臣之而逃其難、若後君何。冬、十一月、甲寅、宋昭公將田孟諸、未至、夫人王姬使帥甸攻

而殺之、蕩意諸死之。書曰宋人弑其君杵臼。君無道也。文公卽位、使母弟須爲司城、華耦卒、而使蕩虺爲司馬。

XVI. 1 In the [duke's] sixteenth year, in spring, Ke-sun Hăng-foo had a meeting with the marquis of Ts'e in Yang-kuh; but the marquis would not make a covenant with him.

2 In summer, in the fifth month, the duke for the fourth time did not give audience to his ministers on the first day of the moon.

3 In the sixth month, on Mow-shin, duke [Chwang's] son, Suy, and the marquis of Ts'e, made a covenant in Se-k'ëw.

4 In autumn, in the eighth month, on Sin-we, [duke He's] wife, the lady Këang, died.

5 [The duke] pulled down the tower of Ts'euen.

6 A force from Ts'oo, one from Ts'in, and one from Pa, extinguished Yung.

7 In winter, in the eleventh month, the people of Sung murdered their ruler, Ch'oo-k'ëw.

Par. 1. The Chuen says:—'In the 1st month of this year, [Loo] and Ts'e agreed to be at peace, and the duke being ill, he sent Ke Wăn to have a meeting with the marquis of Ts'e in Yang-kuh. Ke Wăn requested a covenant, but the marquis was unwilling to make one, and said, "Allow me to wait till your ruler is better."' It is to be understood that the marquis of Ts'e did not believe that the duke was really ill; and many of the critics suppose that the illness was in some measure at least feigned. Yang-kuh—see V. iii. 5.

Par. 2. Tso says that this neglect of the duties of the 1st day of the moon was owing to the duke's illness. The phrase 視朔 is a pregnant one. Acc. to Maou. the first day of the moon was inaugurated by the sacrifice of a sheep in the ancestral temple, after which the prince announced to his ancestors the arrival of the day, according to the calendar which he had received from the king, and asked their permission to go on to the duties of the month. All this was called 告朔. When these ceremonies were over, he proceeded to give audience to his ministers, and arrange, so far as could be done, for the business of the month, and this was called 視朔 and 聽朔. From the 2d month to the 5th this business had now been left undischarged. I do not see why we should not simply receive the reason assigned for it by Tso-she; but the critics are as unbelieving in the duke's illness as the marquis of Ts'e was. Kaou K'ang says that if the non-observance was from illness, it was nothing extraordinary, and would not have been recorded;—the real reason was the duke's indolence, and inattention to the duties of his position. Hwang Chung-yen (黄仲炎; Sung dyn., 1st half of 13th century) even finds in the text an intimation that for 4 months on end the duke had neglected all the affairs of the govt.

Par. 3. For 郪 Kung-yang has 犀, and Kuh-lëang has 師. Se-k'ëw was in Ts'e,—somewhere in the pres. dis. of Tung-o (東阿), dep. T'ae-gan.

The Chuen says that the covenant was brought about by the duke's sending Sëang-chung (Kung-tsze Suy) with bribes to the marquis of Ts'e.

Parr. 4,5. This lady Këang was Shing Këang (聲姜), the widow of duke He, and mother of Wăn. Kung-yang says that 'the tower of Ts'euen' was the name given to that built at Lang by duke Chwang in his 31st year. The Chuen says:—'There came out from the palace of Ts'euen, and entered the capital, serpents, as many as there had been marquises of Loo [No fewer than seventeen]; and when Shing-këang died on Sin-we in the 8th month, [the duke] caused the tower to be pulled down.' If this story were true, we must suppose that the people believed there was some connection between the appearance of the serpents and the death of the duchess, who perhaps lived in the palace of Ts'euen.

Par. 6. Pa was a considerable State, whose lords were viscounts, with the Chow surname of Ke. It has left its name in Pa, the principal dis. of the dep. Ch'ung-k'ing (重慶), Sze-ch'uen. Of Yung little is known. Its chief town was 40 *le* east from the pres. dis. city of

Chuh-shan (竹山), dep. Yun-yang (鄖陽), Hoo-pih. The Chuen says:—'There was a great famine in Ts'oo, and the Jung invaded it on the south west, advancing as far as the hill of Fow, and taking post with their army at Ta-lin. Another body of them invaded it on the south-east, advancing as far as Yang-k'ëw, and thence making an incursion to Tsze-che. The people of Yung, [at the same time], headed all the tribes of the Man in a revolt against Ts'oo, while those of Këun led on the many tribes of the Puh, and collected at Seuen, intending to invade it. On this the gates of Shin and Seih on the north were kept shut, and some in Ts'oo counselled removing from the capital to Fan-kaou. Wei Këa, however, advised against such a step, saying, "If we can go there, the robbers also can go there. The best plan is to invade Yung. Këun and all the Puh think that we are unable from the famine to take the field, and therefore they invade us. If we send forth an army, they are sure to be afraid, and will return to their own country. The Puh dwell apart from one another, and when they are hurriedly going off, each tribe for its own towns, who among them will have leisure to think of any body but themselves?" An army accordingly was sent forth, and in 15 days there was an end of the attempt of the Puh. The army went on from Leu, throwing open the granaries, from which officers and men shared alike, until it halted at Kow-she. From there Ts'ih-le of Lëu was sent to make an incursion into Yung, as far as to Fang-shing, when the people drove him and his troops away, taking prisoner Tsze-yang Ch'wang. He managed to escape on the third night after, and said, "The troops of Yung are numerous, and all the Man are collected. We had better return to the army [at Kow-she]. Having raised the king's troops, and effected a junction with them, we may then advance." Sze-shuh said, "No. Let us for a time keep meeting the enemy, to make them presumptuous. When they are presumptuous, and we have become angry, we shall conquer them. This was the way in which our ruler aforetime, Fun-maou [The father of king Woo of Ts'oo], subdued Hing-seih." Accordingly seven times they met the Jung, and seven times they fled. Only the men of P'e, Yëw, and Yu were employed to drive them off, so that the men of Yung said that Ts'oo was not worth fighting with, and gave up making any preparations against an attack. The viscount of Ts'oo then hurried, with relays of horses, to join the army at Lin-p'in. He divided it into two bodies, with one of which Tsze-yueh proceeded to invade Yung by Shih-k'e, while Tsze-pei led the other by Jin. A body of men from Ts'in and another from Pá came to join Ts'oo. The result was that the tribes of the Man made a covenant with the viscount, and he proceeded to extinguish Yung.'

The above narrative is important, showing how Ts'oo, itself but half-civilized, was encompassed by tribes still more barbarous than itself, and in danger from them.

Par. 7. For 杵 Kung-yang has 處. The Chuen says:—'Paou of Sung, son of duke [Ch'ing, and half-brother of duke Ch'aou], courteously entreated the people of the State. In a time of famine he exhausted all his stores of grain, lending freely. To all who were 70 years old and upwards he sent [supplies of food], presenting them with more and rarer dishes at the [commencement of the] several seasons. There was no day when he was not a frequent visitor at the gates of the six high ministers; to all the men of ability he professed service and respect, and to his kinsfolk, from the descendants of duke Hwan downwards, he expressed sympathy and regard. Paou was beautiful and handsome, and the widow of duke Sëang [Duke Ch'aou's grandmother and also Paou's; as having been the principal wife of their grandfather] sought a criminal intrigue with him; and though this proved impracticable, she helped him to bestow his favours [more widely]. In consequence of the unprincipled course of duke Ch'aou, the people wished to raise Paou to the dukedom, on the ground of the wishes of the grand-duchess.

'At this time, Hwa Yuen was master of the right, and Kung-sun Yëw of the left; Hwa Ngow, minister of War; Lin Kwan, minister of Instruction; Tang E-choo, minister of Works; and the duke's brother, Chaou, minister of Crime. Before this, when Tang [the last] minister of Works died, [his son], Kung-sun Show, declined the office, and begged that it might be given to E-choo, [his son]. Afterwards, he told people, saying, "Our ruler is so unprincipled, that, as the office would bring me near him, I was afraid of calamity coming on me. By putting the office from me, I may seem to leave my kindred without protection. My son is a second self, but by means of him I could postpone my death for a while. Although I abandon him, I shall still not abandon my kindred."

'By and by, the grand-duchess wished to send the duke to hunt at Măng-choo, and have him put to death there. The duke came to be aware [of the plot], and set out carrying all his treasures with him. Tang E-choo said to him, "Why not go to some other State?" He replied, "Since I have not been able to satisfy the great officers, nor my grandmother, nor the people, who of the princes of the States will receive me? And moreover, since I have been a ruler, than that I should go on to be a subject it is better for me to die." With this he distributed all his treasures among his attendants, and made them go away. The grand-duchess sent word to the minister of Works that he should leave the duke, but he said, "If, having been his minister, I should now skulk away from him in his calamity, how should I appear before his successor?"

'In winter, in the 11th month, on Këah-yin, duke Ch'aou was going to hunt at Măng-choo; but before he arrived at the place, the grand-duchess, a lady of the royal House, had him killed by the directors of the hunt. Tang E-choo died with him. The words of the text—"THE PEOPLE of Sung murdered their ruler, Ch'oo-k'ëw"—show that the ruler was devoid of all principle. Duke Wăn [The above Paou] succeeded him, and made his own brother Seu minister of Works. Hwa Ngow died, and [the son of Tang E-choo], Tang Hwuy, was made minister of War.'

The K'ang-he editors enter here into a long discussion on the explanation which Tso-she gives of the text's assigning the murder of duke Ch'aou to the people of Sung, of which it is worth while to give the substance.—They say:

—'In all the twelve books of the Ch'un Ts'ëw, there are 3 cases, in which the murder of the ruler is attributed to the people:—1st, that in the text; 2d, the murder of Shang-jin by the people of Ts'e (p. 3 of the 18th year); and 3d, the murder of Mëih-chow by the people of Keu (IX. xxxi. 7). There are 4 cases in which the murder of the ruler is attributed to the State: 1st, the murder of Shoo-k'e by Keu (9th p. of the 18th year); 2d, that of Chow-p'oo by Tsin (VIII. xviii. 2); 3d, that of Lëaou by Woo (X. xxvii. 2); and 4th, that of Pe by Sëeh (XI. xiii. 8). Now of all these 7 cases, Tso's canon can only be applied, with an appearance of justice, to the first two, the murders of duke Ch'aou of Sung, and Shang-jin of Ts'e. Then we have the murders of the three dukes Ling,—of Tsin, of Ts'oo, and of Ch'in, who were all bad rulers. The names of their murderers are fully given, viz. Chaou Tun (VII. ii. 4), Kung-tsze Pe (X. xiii. 2), Hëa Ch'ing-shoo (VII. x. 7). How is it that we have similar facts recorded with such differences of manner? The answer is that the sage made the Ch'un Ts'ëw from what he found in the tablets of the old historiographers, in which the entries were made according to the announcements received in Loo from the difft. States, which might be abbreviated, but could not be added to. Now when ministers murdered their rulers or sons their fathers, there would be few that would announce the exact truth to friendly States;—they would throw the crime on other, and generally on meaner parties. When the sage had carefully examined the historiographers of his State, and all that he heard in the 72 other States through which he travelled, if he wished to exhibit the real offender and execute him with his pencil, there was the difft. statement of the original communication; if he wished to allow the crime to rest on the parties on whom it was thrown, the real criminal escaped from the net. His plan was to leave it an open question as to the true criminals, and to write "the State murdered—," or "the people of the State murdered"—; and thus, though he gave no names, the crime of rebellious ministers and ruffian sons did not escape.'

This note sufficiently disposes of the canon of Tso-she, and all other attempts to explain particular characters of the text on the 'praise and blame' principle. The editors' own account of the matter has been sufficiently discussed in the prolegomena.

Seventeenth year.

一章 十有七年、春、晉人、衛人、陳人、鄭人、伐宋。

二章 夏、四月、癸亥、葬我小君聲姜。

三章 齊侯伐我西鄙、六月、癸未、公及齊侯盟于穀。

四章 諸侯會于扈。

五章 秋、公至自穀。

六章 冬、公子遂如齊。

左傳曰、十七年、春、晉荀林父、衛孔達、陳公孫寧、鄭石楚伐宋。討曰何故弒君、猶立文公而還。卿不書、失其所也。

夏四月、癸亥、葬聲姜。有齊難、是以緩。

齊侯伐我北鄙。襄仲請盟、六月、盟于穀。

晉侯蒐于黃父、遂復合諸侯于扈、平宋也。公不與會、齊難故也。書曰諸侯、無功也。於是晉侯不見鄭伯、以爲貳於楚也。鄭子家使執訊而與之書、以告趙宣子、曰、寡君即

位三年、召蔡侯而與之事君、九月、蔡侯入于敝邑以行、敝邑以侯宣多之難、寡君是以不得與蔡侯偕、十一月、克減侯宣多、而隨蔡侯以朝于執事、十二年、六月、歸生佐寡君之嫡夷、以請陳侯于楚、而朝諸君、十四年、七月、寡君又朝、以蕆陳事、十五年、五月、陳侯自敝邑往朝于君、往年正月、燭之武往朝夷也、八月、寡君又往朝、以陳蔡之密邇於楚、而不敢貳焉、則敝邑之故也、雖敝邑之事君、何以不免、在位之中、一朝于襄、而再見于君、夷與孤之二三臣、相及於絳、雖我小國、則蔑以過之矣、今大國曰、爾未逞吾志、敝邑有亡、無以加焉、古人有言曰、畏首畏尾、身其餘幾、又曰、鹿死不擇音、小國之事大國也、德則其人也、不德則其鹿也、鋌而走險、急何能擇、命之罔極、亦知亡矣、將悉敝賦、以待於儵、唯執事命之、文公二年、六月壬申、朝于齊、四年、二月壬戌、爲齊侵蔡、亦獲成於楚、居大國之間、而從於彊令、豈其罪也、大國若弗圖、無所逃命。晉鞏朔行成於鄭、趙穿、公壻池、爲質焉。

⨸秋、周甘歜敗戎于邥垂、乘其飲酒也。

⨸冬十月、鄭大子夷、石楚、爲質于晉。

襄仲如齊。拜穀之盟。復曰、臣聞齊人將食魯之麥、以臣觀之、將不能、齊君之語偷、臧文仲有言曰、民主偷必死。

XVII. 1 In the [duke's] seventeenth year, in spring, an officer of Tsin, an officer of Wei, an officer of Ch'in, and an officer of Ch'ing, invaded Sung.

2 In summer, in the fourth month, on Kwei-hae, we buried our duchess, Shing Këang.

3 The marquis of Ts'e invaded our western borders. In the sixth month, on Kwei-we, the duke and the marquis of Ts'e made a covenant in Kuh.

4 [Several] of the States had a meeting in Hoo.

5 In autumn, the duke arrived from Kuh.

6 Duke [Chwang's] son, Suy, went to Ts'e.

Par. 1. Tso-she says:—'This spring, Seun Linfoo of Tsin, K'ung Tah of Wei, Kung-sun Ning of Ch'in, and Shih Ts'oo of Ch'ing, invaded Sung. [Coming] to punish it, they said, "For what cause did ye murder your ruler?" but yet they recognized duke Wăn, and returned. The names of the ministers are not given in the text, indicating that they failed in what [they had undertaken].' Too observes that from the time of duke Min, precedence is always given in the accounts of meetings, &c., to Ch'in over Wei, while in this instance we have 衛人 before 陳人. He supposes the reason to be that Kung-sun Ning was a minister of lower rank than K'ung Tah.

Par. 2. See on III. xxxii. 2. Kung-yang gives 聖 for 聲. Tso says the burial took place late, in consequence of the troubles of Loo with Ts'e.

Par. 3. Kuh,—see III. vii. 4. Tso says:—'The marquis of Ts'e invaded our northern border. Sëang-chung [on behalf of duke Wăn] begged a covenant, and in the 6th month, a covenant was made in Kuh.' The 'western' border of the text is the 'northern' in the Chuen. Ying-tah thinks the text is wrong, because Kuh lies north of Loo.

Par. 4. The Chuen says:—'The marquis of Tsin had a grand review in Hwang-foo, and proceeded to assemble the States again in Hoo;—for the pacification of Sung. The duke was not present at the meeting, because of the difficulties with Ts'e. The text says [simply] "the various princes," [without further specifying them], because they accomplished nothing. At this meeting, the marquis of Tsin did not see the earl of Ch'ing, and concluded that he was [again] inclining to Ts'oo. Tsze-këa of Ch'ing, [being aware of this], sent for the carrier of despatches, and gave him a letter, in which he laid the following statements before Chaou Seuen:—"In the 3d year of my ruler, he called the marquis of Ts'ae, and agreed with him that they should serve your State. In the 9th month, the marquis came to our poor city on the way to Tsin. But at that time we were occupied with the troubles caused by How Seuen-to, and my ruler was not able to go along with him; but in the 11th month, having succeeded in diminishing [the power] of Seuen-to, he followed the marquis that he might appear at your court before you the manager of its affairs. In his 12th year, [I], Kwei-săng, assisted my ruler's eldest son, E, in persuading the marquis of Ch'in to separate from Ts'oo, and go to the court of your ruler. In his 14th year, in the 7th month, my ruler further appeared at your court to complete the business of [the submission of] Ch'in. In his 15th year, in the 5th month, the marquis of Ch'in went from our poor city to the court of your ruler. Last year, in the 1st month, Chuh Che-woo went to present E at your court; and in the 8th month, my ruler appeared there himself. That Ch'in and Ts'ae, near as they are to Ts'oo, have not wavered [in their adherence to Tsin], is all through our influence with them. But considering only our own service of your ruler, how is it that we do not escape [such an imputation as is brought against us]? Since his accession, our marquis paid one court-visit to duke Sëang, and has twice appeared before your present ruler. [His son] E, and more than one of us, his ministers, have been one after another to Këang. No other State has been more assiduous than ours in its service of Tsin. And now your great State says [to Ch'ing], "You do not satisfy my wishes!" There is ruin for our poor city; we are at the last extremity.

'There is a saying of the ancients, "Fearing for its head and fearing for its tail, there is little of the body left [not to fear for]." And there is another, "The deer driven to its death does not choose the [best] place to take shelter in." When a small State serves a large one, if dealt with kindly, it shows the gratitude of a man; if not dealt with kindly, it acts like the stag. That runs into danger in its violent hurry, for how in its urgency should it be able to choose where to run? [The State], driven by the commands to it without limit, in the same way only knows that there is ruin before it. We will raise all our poor levies, and await you at Yëw,—just as you, the director of affairs, may command us. Our [former] duke Wăn in his second year, in the 6th month, on Jin-shin, acknowledged the court of Ts'e, but in his 4th year, in the 2d month, on Jin-seuh, because Ts'e made an incursion into Ts'ae, he [felt obliged to] obtain terms of peace from Ts'oo. Situated between great States, is it our fault that we must follow their violent orders? If your great State do not consider these things, we will not seek to evade the command you shall lay upon us (*i.e.*, Ch'ing would meet Tsin in arms, if the necessity were laid upon it)."

'[After the receipt of this letter], Kung Soh of Tsin went and settled the difficulties with Ch'ing, Ch'aou Ch'uen, and Ch'e, son-in-law of duke *Wăn*, going there as hostages.'

Par. 5. [The Chuen appends here two brief notices:—'In autumn, Kan Ch'uh of Chow surprised the Jung in Shin-sh'uy, while they were drinking spirits, and defeated them.'

'In winter, in the 10th month, E, the eldest son of the earl of Ch'ing, and Shih Ts'oo, became hostages in Tsin.']

Par. 6. The Chuen says:—'Seang-chung went to Ts'e to express our acknowledgments for the covenant at Kuh. When he returned, he said, 'I heard the people of Ts'e [say] they will eat the wheat of Loo, but according to my view they will not be able to do so. The words of the marquis of Ts'e are rude; and Tsang Wăn-chung remarked that when a people's lord is rude, he is sure to die."'

Eighteenth year.

一 十有八年、春、王二月、丁丑、公薨于臺下。

二 秦伯罃卒。

三 夏、五月、戊戌、齊人弒其君商人。

四 六月、癸酉、葬我君文公。

五章 秋、公子遂、叔孫得臣、如齊。

六章 冬、十月、子卒。

七章 夫人姜氏歸于齊。

八章 季孫行父如齊。

九章 莒弑其君庶其。

左傳曰、十八年、春、齊侯戒師期、而有疾、醫曰、不及秋、將死。公聞之、卜曰、尙無及期。惠伯令龜、卜楚丘占之曰、齊侯不及期、非疾也、君亦不聞、令龜有咎。二月、丁丑、公薨。

齊懿公之爲公子也、與邴歜之父爭田、弗勝、及卽位、乃掘而刖之、而使歜僕。納閻職之妻、而使職驂乘。夏、五月、公游于申池、二人浴于池、歜以扑抶職、職怒、歜曰、人奪女妻而不怒、一抶女、庸何傷。職曰、與刖其父而弗能病者、何如。乃謀弑懿公、納諸竹中、歸、舍爵而行。齊人立公子元。

六月、葬文公。

秋、襄仲、莊叔、如齊、惠公立故、且拜葬也。文公二妃、敬嬴生宣公、敬嬴嬖而私事襄仲、宣公長而屬諸襄仲、襄仲欲立之、叔仲不可、仲見于齊侯而請之、齊侯新立而欲親魯、許之。

冬、十月、仲殺惡及視、而立宣公。書曰子卒。諱之也。仲以君命召惠伯、其宰公冉務人止之、曰、入必死。叔仲曰、死君命可也。公冉務人曰、若君命可死、非君命何聽。弗聽、乃入、殺而埋之馬矢之中。公冉務人奉其帑以奔蔡、既而復叔仲氏。

夫人姜氏歸于齊、大歸也。將行、哭而過市、曰、天乎、仲爲不道、殺適立庶。市人皆哭、魯人謂之哀姜。

莒紀公生大子僕、又生季佗、愛季佗而黜僕、且多行無禮于國、僕因國人以弑紀公、以其寶玉來奔、納諸宣公、公命與之邑、曰、今日必授。季文子使司寇出諸竟、曰、今日必達。公問其故、季文子使大史克對曰、先大夫臧文仲、教行父事君之禮、行父奉以

周旋、弗敢失隊、曰、見有禮於其君者、事之、如孝子之養父母也、見無禮於其君者、誅之、如鷹鸇之逐鳥雀也。先
君周公制周禮曰、則以觀德、德以處事、事以度功、功以食民。作誓命曰、毀則爲賊、掩賊爲藏、竊賄爲盜、盜器爲
姦、主藏之名、賴姦之用、爲大凶德、有常無赦、在九刑不忘。行父還觀莒僕、莫可則也、孝敬忠信爲吉德、盜賊藏
姦爲凶德、夫莒僕、則其孝敬、則弑君父矣、則其忠信、則竊寶玉矣、其人則盜賊也、其器則姦兆也、保而利之、則
主藏也、以訓則昏、民無則焉、不度於善、而皆在於凶德、是以去之。昔高陽氏有才子八人、蒼舒、隤敳、檮戭、大臨、
尨降、庭堅、仲容、叔達、齊聖廣淵、明允篤誠、天下之民、謂之八愷。高辛氏有才子八人、伯奮、仲堪、叔獻、季仲、伯虎、
仲熊、叔豹、季貍、忠肅共懿、宣慈惠和、天下之民、謂之八元。此十六族也、世濟其美、不隕其名、以至於堯、堯不能
舉、舜臣堯、舉八愷、使主后土、以揆百事、莫不時序、地平天成。舉八元、使布五教于四方、父義、母慈、兄友、弟共、子
孝、內平、外成。昔帝鴻氏有不才子、掩義隱賊、好行凶德、醜類惡物、頑嚚不友、是與比周、天下之民、謂之渾敦。少
皡氏有不才子、毀信廢忠、崇飾惡言、靖譖庸回、服讒蒐慝、以誣盛德、天下之民、謂之窮奇。顓頊氏有不才子、不
可教訓、不知話言、告之則頑、舍之則嚚、傲很明德、以亂天常、天下之民、謂之檮杌。此三族也、世濟其凶、增其惡
名、以至于堯、堯不能去。縉雲氏有不才子、貪于飲食、冒于貨賄、侵欲崇侈、不可盈厭、聚斂積實、不知紀極、不分
孤寡、不恤窮匱、天下之民以比三凶、謂之饕餮。舜臣堯、賓于四門、流四凶族、渾敦、窮奇、檮杌、饕餮、投諸四裔、以
禦螭魅、是以堯崩而天下如一、同心戴舜、以爲天子、以其舉十六相、去四凶也、故虞書數舜之功、曰慎徽五典、
五典克從、無違教也、曰納于百揆、百揆時序、無廢事也、曰賓于四門、四門穆穆、無凶人也、舜有大功二十而爲
天子、今行父雖未獲一吉人、去一凶矣、於舜之功、二十之一也、庶幾免於戾乎。

(十)宋武氏之族、道昭公子、將奉司城須以作亂、十二月、宋公殺母弟須、及昭公子、使戴、莊、桓之族、攻武氏於司
馬子伯之館、遂出武穆之族、使公孫師爲司城、公子朝卒、使樂呂爲司寇、以靖國人。

XVIII. 1 In his eighteenth year, in spring, in the king's second month, on Ting-ch'ow, the duke died, [in a chamber] beneath [one] of his towers.

2 Ying, earl of Ts'in, died.

3 In summer, in the fifth month, on Mow-seuh, the people of Ts'e murdered their ruler, Shang-jin.

4 In the sixth month, on Kwei-yëw, we buried our ruler, duke Wăn.

5 In autumn, duke [Chwang's] son, Suy, and Shuh-sun Tih-shin, went to Ts'e.

6 In winter, in the tenth month, the [duke's] son died.

7 The [duke's] wife, the lady Këang, went back to Ts'e.

8 Ke-sun Hăng-foo went to Ts'e.

9 Keu murdered its ruler, Shoo-k'e.

Par. 1. See on III. xxxii. 4, and V. xxxiii. 11. Kuh-lëang says here that duke Wăn did not die in the place where he should have died; but all the Chuen, and the critics also, are provokingly silent as to what or where the place was. Only in Koo Tung-kaou's 'Tables of the great matters in the Ch'un Ts'ëw (顧棟高,春秋大事表,卷七之一)' have I found anything bearing on the subject. He says that the tower was that of Ts'euen, mentioned in XVI. 5,—a tower in the palace of Ts'euen. It is there said that the duke pulled the tower down, and Koo adds that he pulled down the palace as well. Yet it happened that he died somehow where the tower had been, showing that the death foreshadowed by the serpents that issued from under it was not that of Shing Këang, but the duke's own death! The matter must be left in its obscurity.

The Chuen says:—'In the spring, the marquis of Ts'e, was preparing for the time when he should take the field [to attack Loo], when he fell ill, and his physician said that he would die before autumn. The duke heard of it, and consulted the tortoise-shell, saying, "May his death take place before the time [of his taking the field]!" Hwuy-pih communicated the subject inquired about to the shell. Ts'oo-k'ëw, the diviner, performed the operation, and said, "The marquis of Ts'e will die before that time, though not of illness; and the duke also [will die] without hearing *of the marquis's death*. There is evil also in store for him who communicated the subject to the shell." [Accordingly], the duke died on Ting-ch'ow, in the 2d month.'

Par. 2. This was duke K'ang (康公); and this is the first record of the death of an earl of Ts'in in the Classic. The growth of the State had been rapid, for it was not till after the battle of Shing-puh that its chiefs interchanged messages and other courtesies with the princes of the Middle States.

Par. 3. 齊人,—see on XVI. 7. The Chuen says:—'When duke E of Ts'e was [only] duke's son, he had a strife with the father of Ping Ch'uh about some fields, in which he did not get the better; and therefore, when he became marquis, he caused the grave of his opponent to be dug open, and the feet of the corpse to be cut off, while yet he employed Ch'uh as his charioteer. And though he took to himself the wife of Yen Chih, he carried Chih with him as the third attendant in his chariot.

'In summer, in the 5th month, the duke having gone to the pool of Shin, these two men were bathing in the pool, when Ch'uh struck the other with a twig, and then said to him, when he got angry, "Since you allowed your wife to be taken from you without being angry, how does a tap like that hurt you?" "How is it," replied Chih, "between me and him who was able to see his father's feet cut off without feeling aggrieved.?" The two men then consulted together, murdered duke E, and laid his body among the bamboos. They then returned [to the city], calmly put down their cups [after drinking], and went away. The people of Ts'e raised duke Hwan's son Yuen to his brother's place.'

Par. 5. The Chuen says:—'In autumn, Sëang-chung and Chwang-shuh went to Ts'e, [to congratulate] duke Hwuy on account of his accession, and to express Loo's acknowledgment for the presence of an officer of Ts'e at duke Wăn's burial.' Sëang-chung was charged with one of these duties, and Chwang-shuh with the other. Though they went together, each had his own mission. But they transacted other business in Ts'e. The Chuen goes on:—'King Ying, the second wife [in rank] of duke Wăn bore him a son, [Tsëeh, who became] duke Seuën. She was the duke's favourite, and privately paid court to Sëang-chung, to whom she entrusted the care of her son's interests as he grew up. [In consequence of this], Sëang-chung wished to declare Tsëeh his father's successor; but Shuh-chung (Shuh P'ăng-săng, or Hwuy-pih) objected. When Chung had an interview with the marquis of Ts'e, he begged his sanction to what he proposed, and the marquis, being new in his own position, and wishing to be on friendly terms with Loo, granted it.'

Par. 6. The son who is here said to have died was called Goh, duke Wăn's eldest son by the lady Këang (See IX. 2). By her, his proper wife, the duke had two sons, Goh and

She; and on his death, Goh, the elder of the two, though only a child, had been recognized as 'marquis;' and as the late marquis was now buried, he ought to appear here with his name and his title as 'marquis' or 'ruler.' Instead of dying a natural death, as we should conclude from the text, he was murdered, as the Chuen immediately goes on to relate. The critics have a great deal to say in trying to account for the state of the record in the text; but it is of the same character as many others throughout the classic, from which we should do anything but know the truth about the things recorded, if we were entirely dependent on the sage for our information. The instances of 子般 in III. xxxii. 5, and 子野, in IX. xxxi. 3, are somewhat difft. from that before us, because in them the fathers of the young marquises had not yet been buried, and it was proper they should appear as 'sons' only.

The Chuen says:—'In winter, in the 10th month, [Sëang-] chung killed Goh and She, and set up [Tsëeh, who became] duke Seuen. The entry that 'the [duke's] son died' is to conceal the nature of the fact. Chung then, [as if] by the [young] ruler's order, called Hwuy-pih [to come to him]. Hwuy-pih's steward, Kung-jen Woo-jin endeavoured to stop him, saying that, if he entered [the palace], he was sure to die. Shuh-chung said, "If I die in obeying my ruler's command, it is right I should do so." The steward answered, "Yes, if it be the ruler's command; but if it be not, why should you listen to it?" Hwuy-pih would not take this advice, but entered [the palace], where they killed him, and hid his body among the horses' dung. His steward then carried his wife and children with him, and fled to Ts'ae; but the Shuh-chung family was afterwards restored.'

Par. 7. The Chuen says:—'This return of duke Wăn's wife Këang to Ts'e was a return for good. When she was about to go, she wept aloud. Passing through the market place, she cried out, "O Heaven, Chung has done wickedly, killing the son of the wife, and setting up the son of a concubine!" All in the market wept, and the people of Loo called her Gae Këang ("The sorrowful Këang").'

Par. 8. Kung-tsze Suy, Shuh-sun Tih-shin, and Ke-sun Hăng-foo were confederates in the atrocious deeds which had been perpetrated. The former two had got a sort of sanction for them from the marquis of Ts'e, as related in p. 5, and Hăng-foo now went to tell him of their accomplishment.

Par. 9. The Chuen has a long narrative on this paragraph:—'Duke Ke of Keu had two sons,—Puh the eldest, [and who should have succeeded him], and Ke-t'o; but through his love for Ke-t'o he degraded Puh. He also did many things against all propriety in the State, and Puh, by the help of the people, proceeded to murder him. He then gathered all his valuable treasures together, and came flying with them to Loo, and presented them to duke Seuen. The duke gave orders to assign him a city, saying, "It must be given to him to-day;" but Ke Wăn made the minister of Crime send him beyond the borders, saying, "He must get there to-day." The duke asked the reason of this conduct, and Ke Wăn sent K'ih, the grand historiographer, with the following reply:—"A deceased great officer of our State, Tsang Wăn-chung taught Hăng-foo rules to guide him in serving his ruler, and Hăng-foo gives them the widest application, not daring to let them slip from his mind. Wăn-chung's words were, 'When you see a man who observes the rules of propriety in his conduct to his ruler, behave to him as a dutiful son should do in nourishing his parents. When you see a man who transgresses those rules towards his ruler, take him off as an eagle or a hawk pursues a small bird.' The founder of our House the duke of Chow, in the Rules which he framed for Chow, said, 'By means of the model of conduct you can see a man's virtue. His virtue is evidenced in his management of affairs. From that management his merit can be measured. His services result in the support of the people.' In the Admonitory Instructions which he made, [the duke of Chow] said, 'He who overthrows [the laws of conduct] is a villain; and he who conceals him is his harbourer. He who filches money is a thief; he who steals the treasures of a State is a traitor. He who harbours the villain, and he who uses the treasures of the traitor, is guilty of the greatest crime. He must suffer the regular penalty, without forgiveness;—such a case is not omitted in [the Book of] the nine Punishments.' When Hăng-foo viewed the whole action of Puh of Keu, he saw nothing in him fit to be a model of conduct. Filial reverence and loyal faith are virtues of good conduct; theft and villainy, and harbouring [the thief] and [accepting the gifts of] the traitor, are vices of evil conduct. Now what was the pattern of filial reverence given by Puh of Keu?—The murder of his father and ruler. And his pattern of loyal faith was his stealing the treasures and jewels of the State. The man is a robber and a villain; the things he brought with him are the signs of his treachery. To protect him and accept his gifts would be to be a principal in harbouring him. If we, with [the duke of Chow's] lessons, should take such a blind course, the people would have no pattern; and unable to take the measurement of good themselves, they would be in the midst of vices of bad conduct. It was for these reasons that [Hăng-foo] sent Puh of Keu away.

'The ancient [emperor] Kaou-yang (*i. q.* Chuen-hëuh) had eight descendants of ability [and virtue]:—Ts'ang-shoo; T'uy-gae; T'aou yin; Ta-lin; Mang-hang; T'ing-këen; Chung-yung; and Shuh-tah. They were correct and sagely, of wide comprehension and deep, intelligent and consistent, generously good and sincere:—all under heaven called them the eight Harmonies.

'[The emperor] Kaou-sin [*i. q.* Kuh] had [also] eight descendants of ability [and virtue]:—Pih-fun; Chung-k'an, Shuh-hëen; Ke-chung; Pih-hoo; Chung-hëung; Shuh-p'aou; and Ke-le. They were leal and reverential, respectful and admirable, all-considering and benevolent, kind and harmonious:—all under heaven called them the eight Worthies.

Of these 16 men [after] ages have acknowledged the excellence, and not let their names fall to the ground. But in the time of Yaou, he was not able to raise them to office. When Shun, however, became Yaou's minister, he raised the eight Harmonies to office, and employed them to superintend the department of the minister of

the Land. All matters connected with it were thus regulated, and everything was arranged in its proper season;—the earth was reduced to order, and the influences of heaven operated with effect. He also raised the eight Worthies to office, and employed them to disseminate through the four quarters a knowledge of the duties belonging to the five relations of society. Fathers became just and mothers gentle; elder brothers kindly, and younger ones respectful; and sons became filial:—in the empire there was order, and beyond it submission.

'The ancient emperor Hung [Hwang-te] had a descendant devoid of ability [and virtue]. He hid righteousness from himself, and was a villain at heart; he delighted in the practice of the worst vices; he was shameless and vile, obstinate, stupid, and unfriendly, cultivating only the intimacy of such as himself. All the people under heaven called him Chaos.

'The emperor Shaou-haou [Preceded Chuen-hëuh] had a descendant devoid of ability [and virtue]. He sought to overthrow faith, and disowned loyalty. He delighted in evil speeches and tried to make them attractive; he was at home with slanderers, and employed the perverse; he readily received calumnies, and sought out men's iniquities, to stigmatize what was sincere. All the people under heaven called him Monster.

'[The emperor] Chuen-hëuh had a descendant devoid of ability [and virtue]. He would receive no instruction; he would acknowledge no good words. When told, he was obstinate; when left alone, he was stupid. He was an arrogant hater of intelligent virtue, seeking to confound the heavenly rules of society. All the people under heaven called him Block.

'Of these three men [after] ages acknowledged the wickedness, and added to their evil names. But in the time of Yaou, he was not able to put them away.

'[The officer] Tsin-yun [In the time of Hwang-te] had a descendant who was devoid of ability and virtue. He was greedy of eating and drinking, craving for money and property. Ever gratifying his lusts, and making a grand display, he was insatiable, rapacious in his exactions, and accumulating stores of wealth. He had no idea of calculating where he should stop, and made no exceptions in favour of the orphan and the widow, felt no compassion for the poor and exhausted. All the people under heaven likened him to the three other wicked ones, and called him Glutton.

'When Shun became Yaou's minister, he received the nobles from the four quarters of the empire, and banished these four wicked ones, Chaos, Monster, Block, and Glutton, casting them out into the four distant regions, to meet the spite of the sprites and evil things. The consequence of this was, that, when Yaou died, all under heaven, as if they had been one man, with common consent bore Shun to be emperor, because he had raised to office those sixteen helpers, and had put away the four wicked ones. Therefore the Book of Yu, in enumerating the services of Shun, says, 'He carefully set forth the beauty of the five cardinal duties, and they came to be universally observed (The Shoo, II. i. 2):'—none were disobedient to his instructions; 'being appointed to be General Regulator, the affairs of each department were arranged according to their proper seasons *(ibid.)*:'—there was no neglect of any affair; 'having to receive the princes from the four quarters of the empire, they all were docilely submissive *(ibid.)*:'—there were none wicked among them. Shun's services were shown in the case of those 20 men, and he became emperor; and now, although Hăng-foo has not obtained one good man, he has put away one bad one. He has a twentieth part of the merit of Shun; and may he not, perhaps, escape the charge of having been disobedient?"'

[The above long and elaborate vindication of his conduct by Ke-sun Hăng-foo is worthy of careful study in many respects. The references to men and things in what we may call the præhistoric period were, no doubt, in accordance with traditions current at the time, though we cannot accept them as possessed of historical authority, more especially as there is an anti-confucian spirit in what is said of Yaou.

Leaving this, it is remarkable that Ke-sun, in condemning Puh of Keu, and vindicating his own conduct in expelling him from Loo, seems altogether unconscious of crimes in Loo nearly affecting himself, hardly less atrocious than those of which Puh had been guilty. He had allowed the murder of Goh and She by Kung-tsze Suy: he had made no remonstrance on the murder by that statesman of their old colleague Shuh-chung Hwuy-pih. He connived in fact at these deeds, and was confederate with Suy in securing the usurpation by Seuen of the marquisate. His expulsion of the refugee from Keu marks a new era in the relations of the marquis of Loo and his ministers. From the time of Ke Yëw (季友), the three great clans of Chung-sun, Shuh-sun, and Ke-sun had ruled the State, but the semblance of supreme authority was still left with the marquis. From the beginning of Seuen's rule, the government was carried on by the ministers with little regard to the wishes of the marquis, and often in opposition to them.

An inconsistency has been pointed out in the Chuen about Puh of Keu. If he, as it is said, 'by the help of the people,' murdered his father, then he ought to have taken possession of the State, instead of fleeing to Loo. Chaou K'wang would obviate this difficulty by changing 僕因國人以弑紀公 into 僕因國人之弑紀公. But Ke-sun in his memorial charges the murder directly upon Puh. If we had more details of the state of things in Keu, the apparent inconsistency in Tso-she would probably disappear.]

[There is appended a short narrative about the affairs of Sung:—'The Woo clan in Sung led on a son of duke Ch'aou, to support Seu the minister of Works, in making an insurrection. In the 12th month, the duke of Sung put to death his own brother Seu, and the son of duke Ch'aou. He also made the heads of clans, descended from dukes Tae, Chwang, and Hwan, attack the head of the Woo clan in the court-house of Tsze-pih, minister of War, and then expelled the chiefs of the clans of Woo and Muh. He appointed Kung-sun Sze minister of Works; and on the death of Kung-tsze Chaou, he made Yoh Leu minister of Crime;—thus quieting [the minds of] the people.']

First year.

宣公

一章 元年、春、王正月、公卽位。 二章 公子遂如齊逆女。

三章 三月、遂以夫人婦姜至自齊。

四章 夏、季孫行父如齊。 五章 晉放其大夫胥甲父於衞。

六章 公會齊侯於平州。 七章 公子遂如齊。

八章 六月、齊人取濟西田。

九章 秋、邾子來朝。 十章 楚子、鄭人、侵陳、遂侵宋。

十一章 晉趙盾帥師救陳。

十二章 宋公、陳侯、衞侯、曹伯、會晉師於棐林、伐鄭。

十三章 冬、晉趙穿帥師侵崇。 十四章 晉人、宋人、伐鄭。

左傳曰、元年、春、王正月、公子遂如齊逆女。尊君命也、三月、遂以夫人婦姜至自齊。尊夫人也。

夏、季文子如齊。納賂以請會。

晉人討不用命者、放胥甲父於衞、而立胥克、先辛奔齊。

會於平州。以定公位。

東門襄仲如齊拜成。

六月、齊人取濟西之田。爲立公故、以賂齊也。

宋人之弒昭公也、晉荀林父以諸侯之師伐宋、宋及晉平、宋文公受盟於晉、又會諸侯於扈、將爲魯討齊、皆取賂而還。鄭穆公曰、晉不足與也。遂受盟於楚。陳共公之卒、楚人不禮焉。陳靈公受盟於晉。秋、楚子侵陳、遂侵宋。晉趙盾帥師救陳宋。

會於棐林、以伐鄭也、楚蔿賈救鄭、遇於北林、囚晉解揚、晉人乃還。

晉欲求成於秦、趙穿曰、我侵崇、秦急崇、必救之、吾以求成焉。冬、趙穿侵崇、秦弗與成、

晉人伐鄭、以報北林之役。於是晉侯侈、趙宣子爲政、驟諫而不入、故不競於楚、

I. 1 In his first year, in spring, in the king's first month, the duke came to the [vacant] seat.

2 Duke [Chwang's] son, Suy, went to Ts'e, to meet the [duke's] bride.

3 In the third month, Suy arrived with the [duke's] wife, the lady Këang, from Ts'e.

4 In summer, Ke-sun Hăng-foo went to Ts'e.

5 Tsin banished its great officer, Seu Këah-foo, to Wei.

6 The duke had a meeting with the marquis of Ts'e in P'ing-chow.

7 Duke [Chwang's] son, Suy, went to Ts'e.

8 In the sixth month, a body of men from Ts'e took the lands of Tse-se.

9 In autumn, the viscount of Choo came to Loo on a court-visit.

10 The viscount of Ts'oo and an officer of Ch'ing made an incursion into Ch'in, and went on to make one into Sung.

11 Chaou Tun of Tsin led a force to relieve Ch'in.

12 The duke of Sung, the marquis of Ch'in, the marquis of Wei, and the earl of Ts'aou, joined the army of Tsin at Fei-lin, and invaded Ch'ing.

13 In winter, Chaou Ch'uen of Tsin led a force, and made an incursion into Ts'ung.

14 A body of men from Tsin and one from Sung invaded Ch'ing.

Title of the Book.—Duke Seuen's rule lasted for 18 years, from B. C. 607 to 590. His name was Tsëeh (接), or, according to Sze-ma-ts'ëen, Wei (倭). He was a son of duke Wăn by his favourite concubine, King Ying (敬嬴). His honorary title Seuen (宣) denotes—'Fond of asking, and universally informed (善問周達曰宣).'

His first year synchronized with the fifth of king K'wang (匡王); the 13th of Ling (靈) of Tsin; the 1st of Yuen, duke Hwuy of Ts'e (惠公元); the 27th of Ch'ing of Wei; the 4th of Wăn (文) of Ts'ae; the 20th of Muh of Ch'ing; the 10th of Wăn, (文) of Ts'aou; the 6th of Ling (靈) of Ch'in; the 29th of Hwan of Ke; the 3d of Wăn (文) of Sung; the 1st year of Taou, duke Kung (共公稻) of Ts'in, and the 6th of Chwang (莊) of Ts'oo.

Par. 1. This record of Seuen's accession is the same as that in II. i. 1. His marquisate and Hwan's were both the fruit of murder, and, according to the canon for such a case, we should not have the 卽位. See on II. i. 1.

Parr. 2,3. The transactions recorded here were hurried on 'contrary to all rule,' through the urgency of the duke's circumstances, and his anxiety to make his ill-got position good by an alliance with the powerful House of Ts'e. The Chuen on p. 5 of last year tells us how Suy had obtained the sanction of Ts'e to the *coup* which he contemplated in Loo; and though it says nothing on p. 8, it is understood that Hăng-foo, when he went to Ts'e, after the *coup*, obtained a contract of marriage between the duke and a daughter of Ts'e; and now no time was lost in the accomplishment of it. On 逆女, see I. ii. 5; and on the term 婦, see V. xxv. 3. But I do not see how the canon about the appellation 婦, which is there given, can apply here. Maou says, 'In her father's house the lady was called 女; on the way to the State where she was to be married, she was called 婦; in that State she was called 夫人.'

Tso-she says:—'Suy is here (in p. 2) called "duke's son,"—to do honour to the ruler's command; and in p. 3 only Suy,—to do honour to the wife.' I confess that I do not clearly understand this.

Par. 4. The alliance with Ts'e had been accomplished, but it was necessary the marquis should be acknowledged as the ruler of Loo at a conference with one or more great States; and to effect this was the object of Hăng-foo's mission. Tso-she says:—'In summer Ke Wăn went to Ts'e, and with the offer of bribes begged [the marquis] to give [the duke] a meeting.'

Par. 5. 放 may be translated 'banished,' but it denotes 'banishment to a certain place, where the criminal must remain (安置此地,不得他適,曰放).' After the affair at Ho-k'euh, Chaou Ch'uen and Seu Keah-foo, who was then assistant-commander of the 3d army, frustrated, as the Chuen relates [VI. xii. 7] the design of Chaou Tun to attack the army of Ts'in while crossing the Ho. The crime had been allowed to slumber for nearly 8 years, and is now visited on Seu Shin, but not on Chaou Ch'uen, the leader in the offence. The Chuen says:—'The people of Tsin, to punish him for his disobedience to orders, banished Seu K'ëah-foo to Wei, and appointed [his son], Seu K'ih, to his command. Sëen Sin fled to Ts'e.'

Par. 6. P'ing-chow was in Ts'e, in the pres. dis. of Lae-woo (萊蕪), dep. T'ae-gan. Tso says the meeting was 'to establish the duke's seat in Loo.'

Par. 7. Tso-she here calls Suy—'Tung-mun Sëang-chung,' *i. e.*, Sëang-chung who lived near the eastern gate, where 東門 becomes a sort of surname; and says he now went to Ts'e, 'to express [the duke's] acknowledgments for the settlement [of his position].' See on V. xxvi. 5.

Par. 8. *Tse-se t'ëen*,—see V. xxxi. 1. It seems a strange action on the part of the marquis of Ts'e, after all the favours he had done to duke Seuen, now to proceed to appropriate part of his territory. We must suppose that the bribe mentioned in the Chuen on p. 4, had only been offered and not paid, and that Ts'e lost no time in securing it (if these lands were the bribe), or at least an equivalent for it. The Chuen says:—'These fields were taken, because of the service in the establishment of the duke, in order to bribe Ts'e.'

Par. 9. All through the times of dukes He and Wăn, Choo and Loo had been in bad relations. Perhaps the viscount of Choo came now to Loo, thinking the time was opportune for the healing of their differences, in which, however, he was deceived;—see below in the 10th year. Many critics think he made his visit through fear of Ts'e.

Par. 10. The Chuen says:—'When the people of Sung murdered duke Ch'aou (VI. xvi. 7), Sëun Lin-foo of Tsin, with the armies of [several other] States, invaded Sung; but Sung and Tsin made peace (VI. xvii. 1; the Chuen); and duke Wăn of Sung was subsequently admitted to a covenant with Tsin. [Tsin], moreover, assembled the States at Hoo (VI. xv. 10), intending, in behalf of Loo, to punish Ts'e; but on that occasion as well as the other, it took bribes and withdrew, [without doing anything]. Duke Muh of Ch'ing [on this] said, "Tsin is not worth having to do with;" and he was thereafter admitted to a covenant by Ts'oo. On the death of duke Kung of Ch'in [In Wăn's 12th year], the people of Ts'oo did not behave courteously, and duke Ling of Ch'in obtained a covenant from Tsin. The viscount of Ts'oo, [therefore], now made an incursion into Ch'in, and proceeded to make one into Sung.'

Par. 11. Tso says:—'To relieve Ch'in and Sung.'

Par. 12. For 棐 Kung-yang has 斐. Fei-lin was in Ch'ing,—in the pres. dis. of Sin-

ch'ing, dep. K'ae-fung. The Chuen says:—'They met at Fei-lin to invade Ch'ing, but Wei Këa of Ts'oo came to its relief, met the allies at Pih-lin, and took Heae Yang of Tsin prisoner; on which the troops of Tsin returned to their own State.'

Par. 13. In the Chuen on VI. xvii. 4, we find Chaou Ch'uen going to Ch'ing as a hostage. He had not remained there long, as the peace between Tsin and Ch'ing, patched up by the letter of Tsze-këa of Ch'ing, had soon come to an end.

Ts'ung was a small State, acknowledging the jurisdiction of Ts'in. Its territory aforetime had been the State of Fung (酆), in the pres dis. of Hoo (鄠), dep. Se-gan, Shen-se. The Chuen says:—'Tsin wanted to ask peace from Ts'in, when Chaou Ch'uen said, "I will make an incursion into Ts'ung, and Ts'in, urgent in its behalf, is sure to go to its relief, when I can take the opportunity to ask for peace." He acted accordingly, but Ts'in would not make peace with Tsin.'

Par. 14. The Chuen says:—'The people of Tsin invaded Ch'ing, to repay the affair at Pih-lin [See on p. 12]. At this time the marquis of Tsin was giving way to all extravagance, and Chaou Seuen, in whose hands the government was, offered repeated remonstrances without effect. In consequence of this, [Tsin] could not make itself strong against Ts'oo.'

Second year.

一章 二年、春、王二月、壬子、宋華元帥師及鄭公子歸生帥師、戰於大棘、宋師敗績、獲宋華元。

二章 秦師伐晉。

三章 夏、晉人、宋人、衞人、陳人、侵鄭。

四章 秋、九月、乙丑、晉趙盾弒其君夷皐。

五章 冬、十月、乙亥、天王崩。

左傳曰、二年、春、鄭公子歸生受命於楚、伐宋。宋華元、樂呂禦之。二月、壬子、戰於大棘、宋師敗績、囚華元、獲樂呂、及甲車四百六十乘、俘二百五十人、馘百人。狂狡輅鄭人、鄭人入於井、倒戟而出之、獲狂狡。君子曰、失禮違命、宜其爲禽也、戎、昭果毅以聽之之謂禮、殺敵爲果、致果爲毅、易之、戮也。將戰、華元殺羊食士、其御羊斟不與、及戰、曰、疇昔之羊、子爲政、今日之事、我爲政。與入鄭師、故敗。君子謂羊斟非人也、以其私憾、敗國殄民、於是刑孰大焉、詩所謂人之無良者、其羊斟之謂乎、殘民以逞。宋人以兵車百乘、文馬百駟、以贖華元於鄭、半入、華元逃歸、立於門外、告

而入、見叔牂曰、子之馬然也。對曰、非馬也、其人也。既合而來奔。宋城、華元爲植、巡功。城者謳曰、睅其目、皤其腹、棄甲而復。于思于思、棄甲復來。使其驂乘謂之曰、牛則有皮、犀兕尚多、棄甲則那。役人曰、從其有皮、丹漆若何。華元曰、去之、夫其口衆我寡。

秦師伐晉、以報崇也。遂圍焦。

夏、晉趙盾救焦、遂自陰地、及諸侯之師侵鄭、以報大棘之役。楚鬬椒救鄭、曰、能欲諸侯、而惡其難乎。遂次於鄭、以待晉師。趙盾曰、彼宗競於楚、殆將斃矣、姑益其疾。乃去之。

晉靈公不君、厚斂以彫牆、從臺上彈人、而觀其辟丸也。宰夫胹熊蹯不熟、殺之、寘諸畚、使婦人載以過朝、趙盾、士季見其手、問其故、而患之。將諫、士季曰、諫而不入、則莫之繼也。會請先、不入、則子繼之。三進、及溜、而後視之、曰、吾知所過矣、將改之。稽首而對曰、人誰無過、過而能改、善莫大焉。詩曰、靡不有初、鮮克有終、夫如是則能補過者鮮矣。君能有終、則社稷之固也、豈唯羣臣賴之。又曰、衮職有闕、惟仲山甫補之、能補過也。君能補過、衮不廢矣。猶不改。宣子驟諫、公患之、使鉏麑賊之。晨往、寢門闢矣、盛服將朝、尚早、坐而假寐。麑退、歎而言曰、不忘恭敬、民之主也。賊民之主、不忠。棄君之命、不信。有一於此、不如死也。觸槐而死。秋九月、晉侯飲趙盾酒、伏甲將攻之。其右提彌明知之、趨登曰、臣侍君宴、過三爵、非禮也。遂扶以下、公嗾夫獒焉。明搏而殺之。盾曰、棄人用犬、雖猛何爲。鬭且出。提彌明死之。初、宣子田於首山、舍於翳桑、見靈輒餓、問其病、曰、不食三日矣。食之、舍其半。問之、曰、宦三年矣、未知母之存否、今近焉、請以遺之。使盡之、而爲之簞食與肉、寘諸橐以與之。既而與爲公介、倒戟以禦公徒、而免之。問何故、對曰、翳桑之餓人也。問其名居、不告而退。遂自亡也。乙丑、趙穿攻靈公於桃園。宣子未出山而復。大史書曰、趙盾弒其君、以示於朝。宣子曰、不然。對曰、子爲正卿、亡不越竟、反不討賊、非子而誰。宣子曰、嗚呼、我之懷矣、自詒伊慼、其我之謂矣。孔子曰、董狐、古之良史也、書法不隱。趙宣子、古之良大夫也、爲法

受惡、惜也越竟乃免。宣子使趙穿逆公子黑臀於周、而立之、壬申、朝於武宮。

(三)初、驪姬之亂、詛無畜羣公子。自是晉無公族。及成公即位、乃宦卿之適子、而爲之田、以爲公族、又宦其餘子、亦爲餘子、其庶子、爲公行、晉於是有公族、餘子、公行、趙盾請以括爲公族、曰、君姬氏之愛子也、微君姬氏、則臣狄人也。公許之。冬、趙盾爲旄車之族、使屏季以其故族、爲公族大夫。

II. 1 In the [duke's] second year, in spring, in the king's second month, on Jin-tsze, Hwa Yuen of Sung, at the head of a force, and duke [Wăn's] son, Kwei-săng of Ch'ing, [also] at the head of a force, fought at Ta-keih, when the army of Sung was shamefully defeated, and Hwa Yuen was made prisoner.

2 An army of Ts'in invaded Tsin.

3 In summer, a body of men from Tsin, one from Sung, one from Wei, and one from Ch'in, made an incursion into Ch'ing.

4 In autumn, in the ninth month, on Yih-ch'ow, Chaou Tun of Tsin murdered his ruler, E-kaou.

5 In winter, in the tenth month, on Yih-hae, the king [by] Heaven's [grace] died.

Par. 1. Ta-keih was in Sung,—at a bend in the west of the pres. Suy Chow (睢州), dep. Kwei-tih. Some refer it to a place, not far from this, in the dis. of Ning-ling. The Chuen says:—'In the 2d month of this year, Kung-tsze Kwei-săng of Ch'ing received orders from Ts'oo to invade Sung. Hwa Yuen and Yoh Leu of Sung met him; and on Jin-tsze of the 2d month they fought at Ta-keih, when the army of Sung received a disgraceful defeat, Hwa Yuen being made prisoner, and Yoh Leu captured [Yoh Leu was probably put to death as well, for so only can we make a distinction between 囚 and 獲]. [The army of Ch'ing also took] 460 chariots of war, 250 men, and the left ears of 100. K'wang Këaou engaged a man of Ch'ing, who jumped into a well, from which the other brought him out with the end of his spear,—[only] to be captured by him. The superior man will say that K'wang Këaou transgressed the rule of war, and was disobedient to orders, deserving to be taken. What is called the rule of war is to be having ever in the ears that in war there should be the display of boldness and intrepidity. To slay one's enemy is boldness, and to show the utmost boldness is intrepidity; and he who does otherwise deserves death.

'When the battle was impending, Hwa Yuen slaughtered sheep to feed the soldiers, and did not give any to Yang Chin, his charioteer. When the battle came on, Chin said, "In the matter of the sheep yesterday, you were the master; in the business of to-day, I am the master." With this he drove with him into the army of Ch'ing, which caused the defeat. The superior man will say that Yang Chin did very wrong. For his private resentment he brought defeat on his State, and destruction on [many of] the people. No crime could deserve greater punishment. May we not regard the words of the ode, about "people without conscience (She, II. vii., ode IX. 4)," as applicable to Yang Chin? He occasioned the death of many to gratify his own feeling.

'The people of Sung ransomed Hwa Yuen from Ch'ing with 100 chariots of war and 400 piebald horses. When the half of them had been sent, he made his escape back to Sung; and when he arrived at the capital, he stood outside the gate, and announced himself before he entered. When he saw Shuh-tsang [The designation of Yang Chin], he said to him, "It was the horses that did so;" but the other replied, "It was not the horses; it was myself." Having given this answer, he fled to Loo.

'Sung was repairing the wall of its capital, and Yuen had the superintendence of the work. As he was going a round of inspection, the builders sang, [as he passed],

"With goggle eyes and belly vast,
The buff-coats left, he's back at last.
The whiskers long, the whiskers long,
Are here, but not the buff-coats strong."

Yuen made [one of] them ride with him in his carriage, and said to him, "Bulls still have skins; rhinoceroses and wild bulls still are many. The throwing away the buff-coats was not such a great thing." The work-man said,

"There may be the skins, but what about the red varnish for them?" Hwa Yuen said, "Go away. Those men have many mouths, and I am alone."

Parr. 2,3. The Chuen says:—'The army of Ts'in invaded Tsin, in return for the attack of Ts'ung [P.13 of last year], and besieged Tsëaou. In summer, Chaou Tun of Tsin relieved Tsëaou; and then, going on from Yin-te, he proceeded, along with the armies of [several] States, to make an incursion into Ch'ing, in order to repay the action at Ta-keih. Tow Tsëaou of Ts'oo [came to] relieve Ch'ing, saying, "Can we wish to get the adherence of the States, and shrink from the difficulties in the way of doing so?" He halted therefore in Ch'ing to wait for the army of Tsin. Chaou Tun said, 'Tsëaou's clan is so strong in Ts'oo, that it is likely to come to ruin. Let us for a time [give way, and] increase its malady." He accordingly withdrew before it.'

Par. 4. The Chuen says:—'Duke Ling of Tsin conducted himself in a way unbecoming a ruler. He levied heavy exactions, to supply him with means for the carving of his walls, and shot at people from the top of a tower to see how they tried to avoid his pellets. Because his cook had not done some bears' paws thoroughly, he put him to death, and made some of his women carry his body past the court in a basket. Chaou Tun and Sze Ke [Hwuy, of whose return from Ts'in we have an account in the Chuen after VI. xiii. 2] saw the man's hands, [appearing through the basket], and asked about the matter, which caused them grief. [Tun] was about to go and remonstrate with the duke, when Sze Ke said to him, "If you remonstrate and are not attended to, no one can come after you. Let me go first; and if my remonstrance do not prevail, you can come after." Accordingly, Hwuy entered the palace, and advanced, through the first three divisions of it, to the open court before the hall, before he was seen by the duke, who then said, "I know my errors, and will change them." Hwuy bowed his head to the ground, and replied, "Who is without errors? But there can be no greater excellence than for a man to reform and put them away. There are the words of the ode (She, III. iii. ode I. 1.),

> 'All have their [good] beginnings,
> But few are able to carry them out to the end.'

From them we see that few are able to mend their errors. If your lordship can carry out your purpose to the end, the stability of the altars will be made sure, and not your ministers only will have reliance on you. Another ode (She, III. i. ode VI. 6) says,

> 'The defects in the king's duties
> Only Chung San-foo can repair.'

[showing how that minister] could mend the errors of the king. If your lordship can repair your faults, your robe will never cease to be worn."

'Notwithstanding this interview, the marquis made no change in his conduct, and [Chaou] Seuen made repeated remonstrances, till the marquis was so vexed that he employed Ts'oo Mei to kill him. This Mei went to Seuen's house very early in the morning, but the door of the bedchamber was open, and there was the minister in all his robes ready to go to court. It being too early to set out, he was sitting in a sort of half sleep. Mei retired, and said, with a sigh, "Thus mindful of the reverence due to his prince, he is indeed the people's lord. To murder the people's lord would be disloyalty, and to cast away from me the marquis's command will be unfaithfulness. With this alternative, before me, I had better die;" and with these words he dashed his head against a cassia tree, and died.

'In autumn, in the 9th month, the marquis called Chaou Tun to drink with him, having first concealed soldiers who should attack him. Tun's retainer, who occupied the place on the right in his chariot, T'e-me Ming, got to know the design, and rushed up to the hall, saying, "It is contrary to rule for a minister in waiting on his ruler at a feast to go beyond three cups." He then supported his master down the steps. The marquis urged on an immense dog which he had after them, but Ming smote the brute and killed him. "He leaves men, and uses dogs!" said Tun. "Fierce as the creature was, what could it do?" [In the meantime, the soldiers who were concealed made their appearance, but] Tun fought his way out, T'e-me Ming dying for him.

'Before this, once when Seuen was hunting on mount Show, he rested under a shady mulberry tree, and noticed one, Ling Cheh, lying near in a famishing condition. Seuen asked what was the matter with him, and he said that he had not eaten for three days. When food was given him, however, he set the half of it apart; and when asked why he did so, he said, "I have been learning abroad for three years, and do not know whether my mother is alive or not. Here I am not far from home, and beg to be allowed to leave this for her." Chaou Tun made him eat the whole, and had a measure of rice and meat put up for him in a bag, which was given to him. This man was now present among the duke's soldiers, but, turning the head of his spear, he resisted the others, and effected the minister's escape. Tun asked him why he thus came to his help, and he replied, "I am the famishing man whom you saw at the shady mulberry tree;" but when further asked his name and village, he made no answer, but withdrew, disappearing afterwards entirely.

'On Yih-ch'ow, Chaou Ch'uen attacked [and killed] duke Ling in the peach garden, and Seuen, who was flying from the State, but had not yet left its hills behind him, returned to the capital. The grand historiographer wrote this entry,—"Chaou Tun murdered his ruler," and showed it in the court. Seuen said to him, "It was not so;" but he replied, "You are the highest minister. Flying from the State, you did not cross its borders; since you returned, you have not punished the villain. If it was not you who murdered the marquis, who was it?" Seuen said, "Ah! the words (? She, I. iii. ode VIII. 1),

> 'The object of my anxiety
> Has brought on me this sorrow,'

are applicable to me."

'Confucius (?) said "Tung Hoo was a good historiographer of old time:—his rule for writing

was not to conceal. Chaou Seuen was a good great officer of old time:—in accordance with that law he accepted the charge of such wickedness. Alas! if he had crossed the border, he would have escaped it."

'Seuen then sent Chaou Ch'uen to Chow to meet duke [Wăn's] son Hih-t'un, whom he raised to the marquisate. On Jin-shin, Hih-t'un presented himself in the temple of duke Woo [the first marquis of Tsin].'

The words of Confucius quoted above by Tso-she are nowhere else to be found. Perhaps Tso had heard them from the sage, or they had been reported to him. Some even think that he put his own view here into the sage's lips to give it more weight. Tun's conduct in employing the real murderer to go to Chow for duke Ling's successor cannot be justified; but on the whole, the reader will probably conclude that he received hard measure, first from the historiographer of Tsin, and then from the sage as the compiler of the Ch'un Ts'ëw.

[The Chuen appends here a further narrative about the affairs of Tsin:—'At the time of the troubles occasioned by Le-ke [See the Chuen on V. iv. 8, *et al.*], an oath was taken [in Tsin] that they would not maintain in the State any of the sons of their marquises; and from that time they had no families in it which were branches of the ruling house. When duke Ch'ing [The above Hih-t'un], however, succeeded to the State, he gave offices to the eldest sons by their wives of the high ministers, and assigned them lands, so that they should form the branch-families of his House. He gave offices also to the other sons of the ministers by the same mothers, and recognized them by that designation [as the Heads of their families]. Their sons by concubines were made leaders of the duke's columns [of chariots]. Thus Tsin came to have ducal families, other sons, and leaders of the duke's columns. Chaou Tun begged that [his half-brother] Kwoh might be made [Head of] their branch of the ducal families, saying, "He was the loved son of our ruler's (duke Wăn's) daughter, and but for her I should have been a Teih [See the Chuen at the commencement of V. xxiv.]." The duke granted his request. In winter, Tun declared himself head of the flags-men of the chariots, and caused Ke of Ping [The above Kwoh], to whom he surrendered all his old adherents, to be made the great officer of their one among the ducal families.]'

Third year.

一章 三年、春、王正月、郊牛之口傷、改卜、牛牛死、乃不郊。

二章 猶三望。

三章 葬匡王。

四章 楚子伐陸渾之戎。

五章 夏、楚人侵鄭。

六章 秋、赤狄侵齊。

七章 宋師圍曹。

八章 冬、十月、丙戌、鄭伯蘭卒。

九章 葬鄭穆公。

左傳曰、三年、春、不郊而望。皆非禮也。望、郊之屬也、不郊、亦無望、可也。
㊀晉侯伐鄭、及郔、鄭及晉平、士會入盟。
楚子伐陸渾之戎、遂至於雒、觀兵於周疆。定王使王孫滿、勞楚子、楚子問鼎之大小輕重焉。對曰、
在德不在鼎、昔夏之方有德也、遠方圖物、貢金九牧、鑄鼎象物、百物而爲之備、使民知神姦、故民
入川澤山林、不逢不若、螭魅罔兩、莫能逢之、用能協於上下、以承天休。桀有昏德、鼎遷於商、載祀
六百。商紂暴虐、鼎遷於周。德之休明、雖小、重也、其姦回昏亂、雖大、輕也、天祚明德、有所底止。成王
定鼎於郟鄏、卜世三十、卜年七百、天所命也、周德雖衰、天命未改、鼎之輕重、未可問也。
夏、楚人侵鄭。鄭卽晉故也。
宋文公卽位三年、殺母弟須、及昭公子、武氏之謀也。使戴桓之族、攻武氏於司馬子伯之館、盡逐
武、穆之族。武、穆之族、以曹師伐宋。秋、宋師圍曹。報武氏之亂也。
冬、鄭穆公卒。初、鄭文公有賤妾、曰燕姞、夢天使與己蘭、曰、余爲伯鯈、余而祖也、以是爲而子、以蘭
有國香、人服媚之如是。旣、而文公見之、與之蘭而御之。辭曰、妾不才、幸而有子、將不信、敢徵蘭乎。
公曰、諾。生穆公、名之曰蘭。文公報鄭子之妃、曰陳嬀、生子華、子臧、子臧得罪而出、誘子華而殺之
南里、使盜殺子臧於陳宋之間。又娶於江、生公子士、朝於楚、楚人酖之、及葉而死。又娶於蘇、生子
瑕、子俞彌、俞彌早卒。洩駕惡瑕、文公亦惡之、故不立也。公逐羣公子、公子蘭奔晉、從晉文公伐鄭、
石癸曰、吾聞姬姞耦、其子孫必蕃、姞、吉人也、后稷之元妃也、今公子蘭、姞甥也、天或啟之、必將爲
君、其後必蕃、先納之、可以亢寵。與孔將鉏、侯宣多、納之、盟於大宮而立之、以與晉平。穆公有疾、曰、
蘭死、吾其死乎、吾所以生也。刈蘭而卒。

III. 1 In the [duke's] third year, in spring, in the king's first month, the bull for the border sacrifice received some injury in its mouth. It was changed, and the tortoise-shell consulted about the [other] bull. That died, and so the border sacrifice was not offered.

2 Still [the duke] offered the sacrifices to the three objects of Survey.
3 There was the burial of king K'wang.
4 The viscount of Ts'oo invaded the Jung of Luh-hwăn.
5 In summer, a body of men from Ts'oo made an incursion into Ch'ing.
6 In autumn, the Red Teih made an incursion into Ts'e.
7 An army of Sung laid siege to [the capital] of Ts'aou.
8 In winter, in the tenth month, on Ping-seuh, Lan, earl of Ch'ing, died.
9 There was the burial of duke Muh of Ch'ing.

Parr. 1,2. See on V. xxxi. 3—5. The border sacrifice, here, however, was probably that at the winter-solstice to Heaven. Kuh-lëang and other critics think that the characters,—牛之口傷, indicate that the bull had itself become ill, without receiving any external injury (緩辭也,傷自牛作也). Too says that the creature is here called 牛, and not 牲 or 'victim,' because the day for the sacrifice had not yet been divined for. Tso-she says:—'The giving up the border sacrifice, and yet offering those to the objects of Survey, were both contrary to rule. The latter were adjuncts of the former, and, if it were not offered, they might be omitted.' He does not say how the giving up the border sacrifice in the circumstances mentioned in the text was 'contrary to rule.' Maou thinks the fault was in giving it up so suddenly, without divining for another victim; but then he contends that the sacrifice was that offered at the beginning of summer, like the one in V. xxxi.

Par. 3. This burial must have been hurried on for some reason which we do not know. King K'wang was succeeded by his brother, king Ting (定王).

[The Chuen appends here:—'The marquis of Tsin invaded Ch'ing, and penetrated as far as Yen. Ch'ing then made peace with Tsin, and Sze Hwuy entered its capital, and made a covenant.]

Par. 4. The Jung of Luh-hwăn were a tribe of the Little Jung (小戎), whose original seat lay in the extreme west of the present Kan-suh; but, as related under the 22d year of duke He, they were removed by Ts'in and Tsin to E-ch'uen,—in the north of the pres. dis. of Sung (嵩縣), dep. Ho-nan; which brought them within the reach of Ts'oo. They were also called the Yin Jung (陰戎). For 渾 Kung has 賁; and both he and Kuh omit the 之 before 戎. The Chuen says:—The viscount of Ts'oo invaded the Jung of Luh-hwăn, and then went on as far as the Loh, where he reviewed his troops on the borders of Chow. King Ting sent Wang-sun Mwan [See the former mention of him in the Chuen on V. xxxiii. 1] to him with congratulations and presents, when the viscount asked about the size and weight of the tripods. Mwan replied, "[The strength of the kingdom] depends on the [sovereign's] virtue, and not on the tripods. Anciently, when Hëa was distinguished for its virtue, the distant regions sent pictures of the [remarkable] objects in them. The nine pastors sent in the metal of their provinces, and the tripods were cast, with representations on them of those objects. All the objects were represented, and [instructions were given] of the preparations to be made in reference to them, so that the people might know the sprites and evil things. Thus the people, when they went among the rivers, marshes, hills, and forests, did not meet with the injurious things, and the hill-sprites, monstrous things, and water-sprites, did not meet with them [to do them injury]. Hereby a harmony was secured between the high and the low, and all enjoyed the blessing of Heaven. When the virtue of Këeh was all-obscured, the tripods were transferred to Shang, for 600 years. Chow of Shang proved cruel and oppressive, and they were transferred to Chow. When the virtue is commendable and brilliant, the tripods, though they were small, would be heavy; when it gives place to its reverse, to darkness and disorder, though they were large, they would be light. Heaven blesses intelligent virtue;—on that its favour rests. King Ch'ing fixed the tripods in Këah-juh, and divined that the dynasty should extend through 30 reigns, over 700 years. Though the virtue of Chow is decayed, the decree of Heaven is not yet changed. The weight of the tripods may not yet be inquired about."'

Par. 5. The reason of this incursion was, says Tso-she, 'because Ch'ing had joined the party of Tsin.' See the Chuen appended to par. 3. The utter mercenariness of Ling of Tsin had alienated Ch'ing from it; but the earl seems to have hasted, on his death, again to join the side of the north against Ts'oo.

Par. 6. This is the first appearance of the Red Teih in the classic. They are supposed to have been so called, because they wore clothes of a red colour, as the White Teih preferred white. There were many tribes of them,—the Loo-she (潞氏), Këah-she (甲氏), &c. Their seats were in the pres. dep. of Loo-gan (潞安), Shan-se.

Par. 7. The Chuen says:—'Three years after the accession of duke Wăn of Sung, he put to

death his full brother, Seu, and the son of duke Ch'aou, because of the schemes of the Head of the Woo clan about them. He then made the clans of Tae and Hwan attack Woo-she in the court-house of Tsze-pih, the minister of War, and drove out of the State the clans of Woo and Muh. They [fled to Ts'aou], and with an army from it invaded Sung. In autumn, an army of Sung laid siege to the capital of Ts'aou, in return for the disorders occasioned by the officer Woo.

Par. 8. The Chuen says:—'In winter, duke Muh of Ch'ing died. [His father], duke Wăn, had a concubine of mean position, who was called Yen K'eih [As belonging to the House of the southern Yen], who dreamt that Heaven sent and gave her a *lan* flower, saying, "I am Pih-yĕw [The founder of that House]; I am your ancestor. This shall be [the emblem of] your child. As the *lan* is the most fragrant flower of a State, so shall men acknowledge and love him." After this, when duke Wăn saw her, he gave her a *lan* flower, and lay with her. She wished to decline his approaches, saying. "I am but a poor concubine, and should I be fortunate enough to have a son, I shall not be believed. I will venture to prove it by this *lan*." The duke agreed, and she bore a son, [who became] duke Muh, and named him Lan.

'Now duke Wăn had had an intrigue with Ch'in Kwei, the wife of [his uncle] Tsze-[e], and she bore to him Tsze-hwa and Tsze-tsang, the latter of whom for some offence left the State. His father by a deception put Tsze-hwa to death in Nan-le [See the 3d Chuen after V. xvi. 4], and he made some ruffians kill Tsze-tsang between Ch'in and Sung [See the 1st narrative in the Chuen after V. xxiv. 2].

'Wăn also took a wife from the House of Këang, who bore him Sze; but he having gone to the court of Ts'oo, was poisoned there, and died on his way back at Yeh.

'He also took a wife from the House of Soo, who bore him Hëa, and Yu-me. Yu-me died early; and both his father and Sëeh Këa hated Hëa, so that he was not appointed to succeed to the State. The duke then drove out all his own and his predecessors' sons, when Lan fled to Tsin, from which he attended duke Wăn in his invasion of Ch'ing [See the Chuen on V. xxx. 5]. Shih Kwei said, "I have heard that when Ke and K'eih make a match, their descendants are sure to be numerous. The K'eihs are lucky;—the great wife of How-tseih was one. Now, the duke's son Lau is the child of a K'eih. Heaven has perhaps opened the way for him. He must become our ruler, and his descendants will be numerous. Let us take the lead in receiving him, and we shall enjoy the greatest favour." Accordingly, with K'ung Tsëang-ts'oo and How Seuen-to, he received Lan, and brought him to Ch'ing, when they made a covenant with him in the grand temple, and had him appointed successor to the State;—thereby obtaining peace from Tsin.

'When duke Muh was ill, he said, "When the *lan* die, I will die. It is by them I live." When they cut the *lan*, he died.'

Par. 9. Something must have hurried on this burial, but the critics cannot tell what. For 穆 Kung-yang has 繆.

Fourth year.

一章 四年、春、王正月、公及齊侯平莒及郯、莒人不肯、公伐莒取向。

二章 秦伯稻卒。

三章 夏、六月、乙酉、鄭公子歸生弑其君夷。

四章 赤狄侵齊。

五章 秋、公如齊。

六章 公至自齊。

七章 冬、楚子伐鄭。

左傳曰、四年、春、公及齊侯平莒及郯、莒人不肯、公伐莒取向、非禮也。平國以禮、不以亂、伐而不治、亂也、以亂平亂、何治之有、無治、何以行禮。

楚人獻黿於鄭靈公、公子宋與子家將見、子公之食指動、以示子家、曰、他日我如此、必嘗異味。及入、宰夫將解黿、相視而笑、公問之、子家以告。及食大夫黿、召子公而弗與也、子公怒、染指於鼎、嘗之而出、公怒、欲殺子公、子公與子家謀先、子家曰、畜老、猶憚殺之、而況君乎。反譖子家、子家懼而從之。夏、弒靈公、書曰鄭公子歸生弒其君、權不足也。君子曰、仁而不武、無能達也。凡弒君稱君、君無道也、稱臣、臣之罪也。鄭人立子良、辭曰、以賢則去疾不足、以順、則公子堅長。乃立襄公、襄公將去穆氏、而舍子良、子良不可、曰、穆氏宜存、則固願也、若將亡之、則亦皆亡、去疾何爲。乃舍之、皆爲大夫。

㊂初、楚司馬子良生子越椒、子文曰、必殺之、是子也、熊虎之狀、而豺狼之聲、弗殺、必滅若敖氏矣、諺曰、狼子野心、是乃狼也、其可畜乎。子良不可、子文以爲大慼、及將死、聚其族曰、椒也知政、乃速行矣、無及於難、且泣曰、鬼猶求食、若敖氏之鬼、不其餒而。及令尹子文卒、鬬般爲令尹、子越爲司馬、蔿賈爲工正、譖子揚而殺之、子越爲令尹、己爲司馬、子越又惡之、乃以若敖氏之族、圄伯嬴於轑陽而殺之、遂處烝野、將攻王、王以三王之子爲質焉、弗受、師於漳澨。秋、七月、戊戌、楚子與若敖氏戰於皋滸、伯棼射王、汰輈、及鼓跗、著於丁寧、又射、汰輈、以貫笠轂、師懼退、王使巡師曰、吾先君文王克息、獲三矢焉、伯棼竊其二、盡於是矣。鼓而進之、遂滅若敖氏。初、若敖娶於䢵、生鬬伯比、若敖卒、從其母畜於䢵、淫於䢵子之女、生子文焉、䢵夫人使棄諸夢中、虎乳之、䢵子田見之、懼而歸、夫人以告、遂使收之。楚人謂乳穀、謂虎於菟、故命之曰鬬穀於菟、以其女妻伯比、實爲令尹子文。其孫箴尹克黃使於齊、還及宋、聞亂、其人曰、不可以入矣、箴尹曰、棄君之命、獨誰受之、君天也、天可逃乎。遂歸復命、而

自拘於司敗。王思子文之治楚國也、曰、子文無後、何以勸善。使復其所、改命曰生。冬、楚子伐鄭。鄭未服也。

IV. 1 In his fourth year, in spring, in the king's first month, the duke and the marquis of Ts'e [tried to] reconcile Keu and T'an. The people of Keu were not willing [to be reconciled], and the duke invaded Keu and took Hëang.

2 Taou, earl of Ts'in, died.

3 In summer, in the sixth month, on Yih-yëw, duke [Wăn's] son, Kwei-săng of Ch'ing, murdered his ruler, E.

4 The Red Teih made an incursion into Ts'e.

5 In autumn, the duke went to Ts'e.

6 The duke arrived from Ts'e.

7 In winter, the viscount of Ts'oo invaded Ch'ing.

Par. 1. T'an was a small State, of the same surname as Keu [*Sze*, 巳] which has left its name in the dis. of T'an-shing 郯城), dep. E-chow. Hëang is, no doubt, that mentioned in I. ii. 2. Tso-she says that the duke acted wrongly, in now attacking Keu. 'States must be reconciled by the rules of propriety, and not by disorder. To attack Keu, without regulating [the difference by those rules], was creating disorder. By disorder to attempt to reconcile disorder, left no room for the [proper] regulation; and without such regulation, how could any rule of propriety be carried out?'

Par. 3. E was the eldest son of duke Muh, who died in the 10th month of the last year. He enjoyed his earldom, therefore, but a very short time. The Chuen says:—"A large turtle had been presented from Ts'oo to duke Ling of Ch'ing. Kung-tsze Sung and Tsze-këa were going [soon after] to have an audience of the duke, when Tsze-kung's [The Kung-tsze Sung] forefinger began to move. He showed it to Tsze-këa, saying, "On other occasions, when my finger has done this, I have been sure to taste [soon] some extraordinary dish." When they entered the palace, the cook was about to cut up the turtle, and they looked at each other, and laughed. The duke [saw it, and] asked the reason, which Tsze-këa told him. When the duke, however, was feasting the [other] great officers on the turtle, he invited Tsze-kung, but did not give him any. Tsze-kung was angry, dipped his finger into a dish, tasted the turtle, and went out, which so enraged the duke that he wished to kill him. Tsze-kung then consulted with Tsze-këa about their first killing the duke; but Tsze-këa said, "Even an animal which you have long kept about you, you shrink from killing; how much more should you shrink from killing your ruler!" The other turned round, and threatened to bring a charge against Tsze-këa, who then agreed, through fear, to let him take his course; and Tsze-kung murdered duke Ling in the summer.

'The text says that Kwei-săng murdered his ruler, because his power was not sufficient [to prevent the deed, as it ought to have been]. The superior man may say that a man who is benevolent, but has not prowess, cannot carry out his benevolence. In cases of the murder of a prince, when he is mentioned [by name], it indicates that he was without principle (?), and the mention of the name of the minister indicates his guilt.

'The people of Ch'ing wanted to raise Tsze-lëang [A son of duke Muh by a concubine] to be earl, but he declined the dignity, saying, "If it is to be given to the worthiest, I, K'eu-ts'ih am not fit to receive it. If it is to be given according to natural order, my brother Këen is the oldest." On this [Këen, known as] duke Sëang was appointed. He wished to drive away all the sons of duke Muh excepting Tsze-lëang, who remonstrated against the proposed measure, saying, "The sons of Muh should all be allowed to remain, and this is what I wish. If you banish them, then I will go into banishment with the rest;—what should I do, [remaining here alone]?" On this the duke let them alone, and they all became great officers.'

The K'ang-he editors reject from their text all the remarks of his own, which Tso-she has interjected in the above Chuen, seeing in them only matter for question and condemnation. Kwei-săng certainly was more blameworthy for his share in the murder of his ruler than Chaou Tun for his part in the murder of Ling of Tsin.

Par. 4. See on p. 6 of last year.

Parr. 5, 6. [The Chuen gives here a long narrative relating to Ts'oo. 'Before this, Tsze-lëang, the minister of War in Ts'oo, had a son born to him,—Tsze-yueh Tsëaou. [When] Tsze-wăn [Tsze-lëang's elder brother] [saw the child], he said 'You must put him to death. He has the appearance of a bear or a tiger, and the voice of a wolf. If you do not kill him, he will cause the extinction of our Joh-gaou family. There is the common saying, 'A wolf-like child will have an evil heart.' This is a wolf, and should he be brought up in your family?" Tsze-lëang rejected this proposal,—to the great grief of Tsze-wăn, who collected all his family, when he was about to die, and said to them,

"When Tsëaou is entrusted with the govt., do you quickly leave the State, so as to avoid the misfortunes he will occasion." He then wept, and said, "If ghosts must be seeking for food, will not those of our Joh-gaou clan be famished?" When Tsze-wăn, who was the chief minister of Ts'oo, died, the office was given to Tow Pan [Tsze-wăn's son, designated Tsze-yang]. Tsze-yueh was then minister of War, and Wei Këa minister of Works. The latter made a false charge against Tsze-yang and procured his death, when Tsze-yueh was made chief minister, and Këa himself became minister of War, but was hated by Tsze-yueh, who, with the help of all the branches of the Joh-gaou clan, imprisoned him—Pih-ying—in Lëaou-yang, and put him to death. Tsëaou then took up his quarters in Ching-yay, and threatened to attack the king, who offered to place the sons of his three predecessors (Wăn, Ch'ing, and Muh) with him as hostages. The other, however, would not receive them, and encamped with his army on the banks of the Chang.

'In autumn, in the 7th month, the viscount of Ts'oo and the Joh-gaou fought at Kaou-hoo. Pih-fun [Tsëaou] shot an arrow at the king, which skirted the curved pole of his chariot, reached the frame of the drum in it, and hit the metal jingle. A second arrow skirted in the same way the curvature of the pole, and then pierced the bamboo screen above the wheel. The troops became frightened and retired. The king made it be circulated through the army, that when the former ruler, king Wăn, subdued Seih, he had got three [great] arrows, two of which had been stolen by Pih-fun, but had now been both discharged. He then made the drums be beaten again, and urged his men on, so that he [gained a complete victory, and] extinguished the clan of Joh-gaou.

'Before this, Joh-gaou [Joh-gaou was viscount of Ts'oo from B.C. 789 to 763] took to his harem a daughter of the House of Yun, who bore to him Tow Pih-pe [See the Chuen at the beginning of II. xiii.] but, on his father's death, this son followed his mother, and was brought up in Yun. He had an intrigue with a daughter of the viscount of Yun, the fruit of which was a son, afterwards styled Tsze-wăn. Her mother caused the child to be thrown away in the [marsh of] Mung. There a tigress suckled him. The thing was seen by the viscount of Yun, when hunting; and when he returned home in terror, his wife told him the whole affair, on which he sent for the child and had it cared for. The people of Ts'oo called suckling *now*, and a tiger they called *woo-t'oo*; hence the child was named Now-woo-t'oo [See his first appearance in the Chuen after III.xxx.2, where he is called T'oo-woo-t'oo instead of Now-woo-t'oo], and his mother was married to Pih-pe. The child subsequently became the chief minister of Ts'oo, Tsze-wăn. His grandson, K'ih-hwang, was minister of Remonstrance, and was absent on a mission to Ts'e [when the above rebellion took place]. He heard of it in Sung, on his way back, when his people said to him, "You must not enter the State." But he replied, "If I abandon the king's commission, who will receive it? My ruler is Heaven;—can Heaven be fled from?" He accordingly returned to Ts'oo, reported the discharge of his mission, and then delivered himself a prisoner to the minister of Crime. The king thought of Tsze-wăn's govt. of Ts'oo, and said, "If I leave Tsze-wăn without any posterity, how shall I encourage men to good?" He made K'ih-hwang return to his office, and changed his name to Săng.'

Par. 7. Tso-she says the reason of this invasion was that Ch'ing had not yet submitted, notwithstanding that Ts'oo had attacked it in the summer of last year.

Fifth year.

一章 五年、春、公如齊。

二章 夏、公至自齊。

三章 秋、九月、齊高固來逆子叔姬。

四章 叔孫得臣卒。

五章 冬、齊高固及子叔姬來。

六章 楚人伐鄭。

左傳曰、五年、春、公如齊、高固使齊侯止公、請叔姬焉。夏、公至自齊。書過也。秋、九月、齊高固來逆女。自爲也。故書曰逆叔姬、卿自逆也。冬、來、反馬也。楚子伐鄭、陳及楚平。晉荀林父救鄭伐陳。

V. 1 In his fifth year, in spring, the duke went to Ts'e.
2 In summer, the duke arrived from Ts'e.
3 In autumn, in the ninth month, Kaou Koo of Ts'e came to meet [his bride], the duke's second daughter.
4 Shuh-sun Tih-shin died.
5 In winter, Kaou Koo of Ts'e and the duke's second daughter came to Loo.
6 A body of men from Ts'oo invaded Ch'ing.

Par. 1. The Chuen says that, on this visit, Kaou Koo [A minister of Ts'e] made the marquis of Ts'e detain the duke, and ask him to give Koo his second daughter in marriage.

Par. 2. The Chuen says that this entry shows how the duke 'exceeded,' in the ceremony which is implied. What that ceremony was has been described on II. ii. 9. Now on this occasion the duke had been forcibly detained in Ts'e, and obliged to consent to marry his daughter to a man of rank inferior to his own, compromising his own character and that of his ancestors. But should he therefore have refrained from the ceremony 'proper,' on his own safe return to his State?

Par. 3. The Chuen says that Kaou Koo came himself to meet his bride, but that we have not the phrase 逆女, the lady being mentioned by her designation, because the case was that of a minister meeting her for himself. Too calls attention to there being no further entry about her going to Ts'e (歸于齊), because such entries were only made when the daughters of Loo married princes of States. Tso-she does not have the 子 before 叔姬. There can be no doubt as to its meaning here. Comp. VI. xii. 3; xiv. 12; xv. 11.

Par. 4. Too needlessly finds a reason for the day of Tih-shin's death not being given. Tih-shin is often mentioned as Chwang-shuh (莊叔), Chwang being his posthumous epithet. He was succeeded by his son K'ëaou-joo (僑如; given from the Sow-mwan giant whose death is mentioned in the Chuen on VI. xi. 6), known as Seuen-pih (宣伯).

Par. 5. The Chuen says:—'They came to Loo in winter, returning the horses:'—which needs explanation. On the marriage of a lady to a great officer or a husband of higher rank, she was escorted to her home with a carriage and horses;—one or many. Three days after, the carriage was sent back, but the horses were detained for 3 months, in case there should be need of them for the lady's return to her parents, the experiment of marriage not proving satisfactory. If it did prove so, then they also were sent back by a messenger. Here the husband himself accompanies his wife on her visit to her parents, and takes charge of the horses, to show his satisfaction with her. Still the critics all insist on the impropriety of the lady's visit to Loo;—it was too early for it, and the time had not come. Then, again, it was contrary to rule for her on such an occasion to be accompanied by her husband.

Par. 6. The Chuen says:—'On this invasion, Ch'in and Ts'oo made peace, when Seun Lin-foo relieved Ch'ing, and invaded Ch'in.'

Sixth year.

一章 六年、春、晉趙盾、衞孫免、侵陳。
二章 夏、四月。
三章 秋、八月、螽。
四章 冬、十月。

左傳曰、六年、春、晉衞侵陳。陳卽楚故也。
⊜夏、定王使子服求后於齊。
⊜秋、赤狄伐晉、圍懷及邢丘。晉侯欲伐之。中行桓子曰、使疾其民、以盈其貫、將可殪也。周書曰、殪戎殷、此類之謂也。
⊜冬、召桓公逆王后於齊。
⊜楚人伐鄭、取成而還。
⊜鄭公子曼滿、

與王子伯廖語、欲爲卿、伯廖告人曰、無德而貪、其在周易、豐之離、弗過之矣。閒一歲、鄭人殺之。

VI. 1 In the [duke's] sixth year, in spring, Chaou Tun of Tsin and Sun Mëen of Wei made an incursion into Ch'in.

2 It was summer, the fourth month.

3 In autumn, in the eighth month, there were locusts.

4 It was winter, the tenth month.

Par. 1. Sun Mëen,—there was a clan with the surname Sun in Wei, descended from a son of duke Woo, who died B. C. 757, a little before the commencement of the period of the Ch'un Ts'ëw. Tso-she says here that the reason of this incursion by Tsin and Wei was Ch'in's adherence to Ts'oo. The invasion of it by Seun Lin-foo the previous winter had failed to alter Ch'in's policy.

Kung-yang gives here in a long note an account of the murder of duke Ling of Tsin, substantially the same as that in Tso-she's Chuen on II. 4; and seems to think that the reappearance of Chaou Tun in this par. is a sort of condoning him for his connection with the deed.

Par. 2. See on I. vi. 3. [The Chuen introduces two brief notices:—'In summer, king Ting sent Tsze-fuh to ask a queen for him from Ts'e.' 'In autumn, the Red Teih invaded Tsin, when they besieged Hwae and Hing-k'ëw. The marquis of Tsin wished to invade their country [in return], but the officer Hwan of the middle column said to him, "Let [their chief first] make his people hate him [for his incessant warfare], filling up the measure of his practices, and then he may be utterly destroyed. The language in one of the Books of Chow,—'Exterminate the great Yin (Shoo, V. ix. 4),' is applicable to this kind of people."']

Par. 3. See II. v. 8.

Par. 4 [The Chuen appends here:—1st, 'In winter, duke Hwan of Shaou met the king's bride in Ts'e.' 2d, 'A body of men from Ts'oo invaded Ch'ing, took conditions of peace, and returned to Ts'oo.' 3d, 'Kung-tsze Man-mwan of Ch'ing spoke to the king's son Pih-lëaou, [who was serving in Ch'ing], about his wish to become a high minister. Pih-lëaou told another person, saying, "The case of one who covets [a high position] without the proper virtue appears from the Chow Yih, and is like the diagram Fung's (䷶) becoming Le (䷝). [Man-mwan] will not live beyond the time thereby indicated." After the interval of a year, the people of Ch'ing put Man-mwan to death.']

Seventh year.

一章 七年、春、衞侯使孫良夫來盟。

二章 夏、公會齊侯伐萊。

三章 秋、公至自伐萊。

四章 大旱。

五章 冬、公會晉侯、宋公、衞侯、鄭伯、曹伯、于黑壤。

左傳曰、七年、春、衞孫桓子來盟。始通、且謀會晉也。

夏、公會齊侯伐萊。不與謀也。凡師出、與謀曰及、不與謀曰會。

㊂赤狄侵晉、取向陰之禾。

鄭及晉平、公子宋之謀也、故相鄭伯以會。冬、盟於黑壤、王叔桓公臨之、以謀不睦。晉侯之立也、公不朝焉、又不使大夫聘、晉人止公於會。盟於黃父、公不與盟、以賂免。故黑壤之盟不書、諱之也。

VII. 1 In his seventh year, in spring, the marquis of Wei sent Sun Lëang-foo to Loo, to make a covenant [with the duke].

2 In summer, the duke joined the marquis of Ts'e in invading Lae.

3 In autumn, the duke arrived from the invasion of Lae.

4 There was great drought.

5 In winter, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Tsin, the duke of Sung, the marquis of Wei, the earl of Ch'ing, and the earl of Ts'aou, in Hih-jang.

Par. 1. The Chuen says that this mission of the officer Hwan [桓 was the posthumous title of Sun Lëang-foo] was the first intercourse between Wei and Loo since the duke's accession, and that the object was to consult about the duke's attending a meeting to be called by Tsin. For these purposes a friendly mission of inquiry (聘) would have been sufficient; but it is to be understood that Wei was acting in the interest of Tsin, the new ruler of which wished to assert what he considered his claim to be the leader of the States. Duke Seuen had, since his accession, been a devoted adherent of Ts'e, and had stood aloof from Tsin; and now Wei required from him the engagement of a covenant, to clear itself with Tsin, should the duke after all not attend the meeting.

Par. 2. Lae was a small State, held by Këangs, with the title of viscount,—in the pres. dis. of Hwang (黃縣), dep. Tăng-chow, Shantung. Tso-she here gives his canon regarding the use of 及 and 會, in the case at least of military expeditions, saying that the 會 here implies that Loo had not been a party in planning the expedition:—'In all military expeditions, where Loo had previously acted in the planning of them, 及 is used; where it had not done so, we have 會.' The K'ang-he editors accept the canon with a slight reservation.

Par. 4. See on V. xxi. 3. Too observes here that 'the sacrifice for rain had had no effect, or perhaps it had not been offered.' [The Chuen appends:—'The Red Teih made an incursion into Tsin, and cut down and carried off the growing grain of Hëang-yin'].

Par. 5. Hih-jang was in Tsin,—40 *le* north-west from the pres. dis. of Ts'in-shwuy, dep. Tsih-chow, Shan-se.

The Chuen says:—'Peace had been brought about between Ch'ing and Tsin by means of the counsels of Kung-tsze Sung, who therefore now attended the earl of Ch'ing, as his assistant, to this meeting. In winter, a covenant was made at Hih-jang, when the king's uncle, the duke of Hwan, was present, to consult on the case of discordant States. On the accession of the marquis of Tsin, [in the duke's 2d year], the duke had not paid a court-visit to him, nor had he since sent any great officer to Tsin with friendly inquiries. The people of Tsin therefore now detained him at the meeting, and when the covenant was made at Hwang-foo [*i. q.* Hih-jang], he did not take part in it. He got away to Loo, however, by means of bribes; and the text does not mention the covenant at Hih-jang, to conceal the duke's disgrace in connection with it.'

Eighth year.

一章 八年、春、公至自會。

二章 夏、六月、公子遂如齊、至黃乃復。

三章 辛巳、有事于大廟、仲遂卒于垂。

四章 壬午、猶繹、萬入、去籥。

五章 戊子、夫人嬴氏薨。

六章 晉師、白狄、伐秦。

七章 楚人滅舒蓼。

八章 秋、七月、甲子、日有食之、既。

九章 冬、十月、己丑、葬我小君敬嬴。

十章 雨、不克葬、庚寅、日中而克葬。

十一章 城平陽。

十二章 楚師伐陳。

左傳曰、八年、春、白狄及晉平。夏、會晉伐秦。晉人獲秦諜、殺諸絳市、六日而蘇。有事於大廟、襄仲卒而繹、非禮也。楚爲衆舒叛故、伐舒蓼、滅之、楚子疆之、及滑汭、盟吳越、而還。㊉晉胥克有蠱疾、郤缺爲政。秋、廢胥克、使趙朔佐下軍。冬、葬敬嬴、旱、無麻、始用葛茀。雨不克葬、禮也。禮、卜葬先遠日、辟不懷也。城平陽、書時也。陳及晉平、楚師伐陳、取成而還。

VIII. 1 In his eighth year, in spring, the duke arrived from the meeting [at Hih-jang].

2 In summer, in the sixth month, duke [Chwang's] son, Suy, went to Ts'e. When he had got to Hwang, he returned.

3 On Sin-sze, there was a sacrifice in the grand temple; and Chung Suy died at Ch'uy.

4 On Jin-woo, the sacrifice was repeated for the next day; but when the pantomimes entered, they put away their flutes.

5 On Mow-tsze, [duke Wăn's] wife, the lady Ying, died.

6 An army of Tsin and the White Teih invaded Ts'in.

7 A body of men from Ts'oo extinguished Shoo-lëaou.

8 In autumn, in the seventh month, on Këah-tsze, the sun was totally eclipsed.

9 In winter, in the tenth month, on Ke-ch'ow, we [had arranged to] bury our duchess, King Ying.

10 Because of rain the interment was not effected; but on [the next day] Kăng-yin, at mid-day, it was completed.

11 [The duke] walled P'ing-yang.

12 An army of Ts'oo invaded Ch'in.

Par. 1. See on V. 1, 2. The Chuen has here an entry, which terminates very strangely, and which the K'ang-he editors do not give, looking on it, no doubt, as incredible:—'This spring, the White Teih made peace with Tsin, and in the summer they joined it in an invasion of Ts'in. The people of Tsin caught a spy of Ts'in, and put him to death in Këang, in the market place, but on the 6th day he came alive again!'

Par. 2. Hwang,—see II. xvii. 1. Kuh-lëang seems to take 復 in the sense of 復命, 'reported the execution of his mission,' which is evidently incorrect. The meaning must be that given in the translation. From the mention of Suy's death in the next par., we must conclude that, when he got to Hwang, he felt himself too ill to proceed farther, and began to retrace his steps to Loo. The critics are hard upon him for doing so. Too says it was 'contrary to rule,' for, having received his ruler's commission, he should have gone on till he died, and arranged that his corpse should be carried to the capital of Ts'e!

Parr. 3, 4. Ch'uy was in Ts'e,—somewhere in the borders of the pres. dis. of P'ing-yin (平陰), dep. Yen-chow. The phrase 有事=有祭事, 'there was a sacrifice.' This is certain from the usage in the Ch'un Ts'ëw;—comp. 大事 in VI. ii. 6, and 有事, in X. xv. 2. But what particular sacrifice is intended in the text is a matter of controversy. Ying-tah and many other critics think it was the *Te* (禘) sacrifice;—see on V. viii. 4. Woo Ch'ing and others hold that it was merely the summer seasonal sacrifice. The discussion of this question is not important to the elucidation of the text.

The sacrifice was offered on Sin-sze, and that same day the Kung-tsze Suy died at Ch'uy. The two events are chronicled together, though it is not likely the news of Suy's death reached Loo before the offering of the sacrifice. It reached it, however, before the following day, when the previous sacrifice was repeated;—see the note on the name of the 9th Book in the 4th part of the Shoo. That repetition was comparatively unimportant, and the news of Suy's death should have prevented it. Hence Tso-she says that it was 'contrary to rule,' and we have the same decision regarding it, as from Confucius himself, in the Le Ke, II., Pt. II.ii. 20.

In p. 4, 萬 is the name for the pantomimic performers at the sacrifice. There were civil pantomimes (文舞) and martial pantomimes (武舞); and the term 萬 was used to cover them both. Here we are to think only of the civil. The martial pantomimes carried in their right hand an axe, and in the left a shield; the civil carried in their right a pheasant's feather, and in their left a flute, on which they played. The flutes were put away on this occasion, their sound being thought inconsistent with the feelings which the news of Suy's death should produce. It remains only to speak of the characters 仲遂 in p. 3, the former of which has occasioned the critics great trouble. The 公子 of p. 2 gives place here, it will be seen, to 仲, which was only Suy's designation as having been the second among his brothers. It became the surname of his descendants; and the simplest way of accounting for its employment here is to suppose, with Maou, that duke Seuen at once gave it to his deceased relative and minister as the clan-name (氏) of himself and his posterity.

Par. 5. This was duke Seuen's mother. Though only a concubine of duke Wăn, she appears here as his wife,—raised to that rank by her son. Kuh and Kung have 能 instead of 嬴, making the lady thereby to have been of the House of Ts'oo, and not of that of Ts'in.

Par. 6. See on III. 6. This is the first appearance of the white Teih in the Classic. See the Chuen at the commencement of this year.

Par. 7. 蓼 is with Kung-yang 鄝. Shoo-lëaou was a small State,—in the pres. dis. of Leu-këang (廬江), dep. Leu-chow, Gan-hwuy. The other Shoo States were near to it. Too Yu says erroneously that Shoo and Lëaou were two States. The Chuen says:—'Ts'oo, because the various Shoo States had revolted from it, attacked Shoo-lëaou and extinguished it. The viscount of Ts'oo laid out anew its boundaries, as far as the banks of the Hwah, took a covenant from Woo and Yueh, and returned [to Ying].'

Par. 8. 既=盡, 'completely,' as in II.iii.4. There is an error in the text in the record of this eclipse. It was total about half past 3 o'clock in the afternoon of Sept. 12, B. C. 600, thus corresponding to the 1st day of the tenth moon, which would on that year be Këah-tsze (甲子), as in the text. Wang Taou supposes that the 七 in the text should be 十, and would cast out the 秋, transferring the 冬 from the next par. to the head of this. But in that way we should have no entry in this year under the season of autumn;—which is contrary to the rule of the classic. Perhaps we should read 秋七月 as a paragraph, simply saying—'It was autumn, the 7th month.' Then this par. will begin 冬十月 which characters must be removed from p. 9, the day 己丑 of which would still be in the tenth month,—the 26th day of it.

[The Chuen appends here:—Seu K'ih of Tsin had an illness which unsettled his mind. Këoh Keuch became chief minister of the State. In autumn Seu K'ih was discharged from his office, and Chaou Soh was appointed assistant-commander of the 3d army.']

Parr. 9, 10. Kung and Kuh for 敬嬴 have 頃熊. But 頃 as a posthumous title is evidently wrong. 敬 so used denotes—'Day and

night reverently attentive to duty (日夜敬事曰敬).'

Tso-she records that, at this burial, there being no flax in consequence of drought, they first used ropes made of the fibres of the dolichos, to draw the bier. As the burial did not take place till the day after Ke-ch'ow, we must understand 己丑葬 as in the translation. That day had been determined on for the ceremony, after consulting the tortoise-shell, according to the rule mentioned in the Le Ke, I. Part I. v. 23, that the day should be determined at least ten days before. At the interment of a person of rank, however, the number of persons employed and observances to be attended to was so great, that we can easily understand how the business would be stopt by rain, though such delay was not allowed in the case of the burial of a common person. Tso-she says:—'Not to complete the burial because of the rain was according to rule. The rule required that the tortoise-shell should be consulted about an interment on a distant day, [not less than ten days], before it took place, to avoid the charge of not being affectionately solicitous in the case of such a duty.' The K'ang-he editors, however, strongly condemn the delay in the interment, thinking, with Kung and Kuh, that it was occasioned by the want of sufficient care and diligence in making the necessary preparations, even after the day had been fixed so long before.

Par. 11. P'ing-yang was 4 *le* to the northwest of the pres. dis. city of Sin-t'ae (新泰), dept. Tse-nan. Tso-she says the record was made to show the seasonableness of the undertaking.

Par. 12. The Chuen says:—'Ch'in and Tsin had made peace. An army of Ts'oo, [therefore], invaded Ch'in, took terms of submission from it, and returned.'

Ninth year.

一章 九年、春、王正月、公如齊。

二章 公至自齊。

三章 夏、仲孫蔑如京師。

四章 齊侯伐萊。

五章 秋、取根牟。

六章 八月、滕子卒。

七章 九月、晉侯、宋公、衞侯、鄭伯、曹伯、會于扈。

八章 晉荀林父帥師伐陳。

九章 辛酉、晉侯黑臀卒于扈。

十章 冬、十月、癸酉、衞侯鄭卒。

十一章 宋人圍滕。

十二章 楚子伐鄭、晉郤缺帥師救鄭。

十三章 陳殺其大夫洩冶。

左傳曰、九年、春、王使來徵聘、夏、孟獻子聘於周、王以爲有禮、厚賄之。

秋、取根牟、言易也。

滕昭公卒。

會於扈、討不睦也。陳侯不會、晉荀林父以諸侯之師伐陳、晉侯卒於扈、乃還。

冬、宋人圍滕。因其喪也。

陳靈公與孔寧、儀行父、通於夏姬、皆衷其祖服、以戲於朝。洩冶諫曰、公卿宣淫、民無效焉、且聞不令、君其納之。公曰、吾能改矣。公告二子、二子請殺之、公弗禁、遂殺洩冶。孔子曰、詩云、民之多辟、無自立辟、其洩冶之謂乎。

㊀楚子爲厲之役故、伐鄭、晉郤缺救鄭、鄭伯敗楚師於柳棼、國人皆喜、唯子良憂曰、是國之災也、吾死無日矣。

IX. 1 In his ninth year, in spring, in the king's first month, the duke went to Ts'e.

2 The duke arrived from Ts'e.

3 In summer, Chung-sun Mëeh went to the capital.

4 The marquis of Ts'e invaded Lae.

5 In autumn, [we] took Kin-mow.

6 In the eighth month, the viscount of T'ăng died.

7 In the ninth month, the marquis of Tsin, the duke of Sung, the marquis of Wei, the earl of Ch'ing, and the earl of Ts'aou, had a meeting in Hoo.

8 Sëun Lin-foo of Tsin led the armies [of the above States], and invaded Ch'in.

9 On Sin-yëw, Hih-t'un, marquis of Tsin, died in Hoo.

10 In winter, in the tenth month, on Kwei-yëw, Ch'ing, marquis of Wei, died.

11 A body of men from Sung laid siege to [the capital of] T'ăng.

12 The viscount of Ts'oo invaded Ch'ing; [and] Këoh Keueh of Tsin led a force, and relieved it.

13 Ch'in put to death its great officer Sëeh Yay.

Parr. 1, 2. Tso-she says nothing on these two parr. Fan Ning, Sun Fuh, and other critics, remark on the duke's throwing on one side the mourning for his mother, and going away to Ts'e; but we have seen that during all his rule the duke was reduced to a miserable subserviency to that State.

Par. 3. This Chung-sun Mëeh was the grandson of Kung-sun Gaou, whose name occurs so often in Books V. and VI. Of course he was the great-grandson of K'ing-foo, who died, or was obliged rather to strangle himself, in the 2d year of duke Min. Mëeh's posthumous title was Hëen (獻). He was 孟獻子;—see the Chuen on VI. xv. 4.

The Chuen says:—'In spring, the king had sent to Loo demanding from the duke a mission of friendly inquiries. In summer, [therefore], Măng Hëen went on such a mission to Chow, and the king, considering that he conducted it according to the rules of propriety, gave him rich gifts.' Too observes that the king's previous mission is not mentioned in the text, as a gentle condemnation of the king's conduct.

Par. 4. Lae,—see p. 3 of last year.

Par. 5. Acc. to Too Yu, Kin-mow was a State belonging to one of the E or wild tribes of the east;—in the south of the pres. dis. of E-shwuy (沂水), dep. E-chow. This identification is better than that of Kung-yang, who would

make it out to be a town of Choo (邾婁之邑). Tso-she thinks the 'took' (取) denotes the ease with which the capture was made. More likely is the opinion of Wang K'ih (汪克), that the term is a gentle one for 'extinguished,' partially concealing the lawlessness of Loo.

Par. 6. This was duke Ch'aou (昭公) of T'ăng. See on I. vii. 2; but in Yin's time the lords of T'ăng were marquises. They had now descended two steps, and were only viscounts.

Parr. 7—9. Hoo—see III. xxiii. 10, *et al.* Too, in assigning the situation of Hoo, always says it belonged to Ch'ing. Kung-yang, however, here says it belonged to Tsin; and the K'ang-he editors adduce the Bamboo books, under the reign of king Ching-ting, to show that, though the place originally belonged to Ch'ing, it ultimately became a possession of Tsin. At this time, however, it still belonged to Ch'ing.

The Chuen says:—'The meeting at Hoo was to punish discordant States. The marquis of Ch'in did not attend it [See on p. 12 of last year], and Seun Lin-foo, with the armies of the States, invaded Ch'in; but, on the death of the marquis of Tsin at Hoo, he returned.'

Acc. to Too, there was no Sin-yëw day in the 9th month. Kwei-yëw in next par. was the 16th of the 10th month: and Sin-yëw therefore must have been the 6th.

Par. 10. In this attack of T'ăng, Sung, says Tso-she, took advantage of the death of the viscount in the 8th month.

Par. 12. The Chuen says:—'The viscount of Ts'oo, because of the affair at Le [What affair this was is not known. Too finds it in connection with the 2d Chuen at the end of the 6th year], invaded Ch'ing, which was relieved by Këoh Keueh of Tsin. The earl of Ch'ing defeated an army of Ts'oo at Lëw-fan, to the joy of all the people. Tsze-lëang, however, was sad, and said, "This [victory] will prove a calamity to the State. We shall die before very long."'

Par. 13. The Chuen says:—'Duke Ling of Ch'in, with [his two ministers] K'ung Ning and E Hăng-foo, all had an intrigue with Hëa Ke [A daughter of the House of Ch'ing, surnamed Ke, the widow of an officer of Ch'in, surnamed or designated Hëa], and each of the three of them wore an article of her under clothing, with which they made game with one another in the court. Sëeh (Kung and Kuh have 泄 for 洩) Yay remonstrated with the duke, saying, "When ruler and ministers thus proclaim their lewdness, the people have nothing good to imitate. The report of such things is not good;—let your lordship put that article away." The duke said he would change his conduct, but he told the other two what Sëeh Yay had said; and when they asked leave to kill him, he did not forbid them. Yay thereon was killed. Confucius said, "The words of the ode, (She, III. ii. ode X. 6),

> 'When the people have many perversities
> Do not you set up your own perversity
> before them,'

are applicable to the case of Sëeh Yay."'

This cannot be the decision of Confucius upon the fate of Sëeh Yay, though we find it expanded in the Këa Yu (家語), Bk. XIX. (the 子路初見).

Tenth year.

一章 十年、春、公如齊、公至自齊。

二章 齊人歸我濟西田。

三章 夏、四月、丙辰、日有食之。

四章 己巳、齊侯元卒。

五章 齊崔氏出奔衛。

六章 公如齊。

七章 五月、公至自齊。

八章 癸巳、陳夏徵舒弑其君平國。

九章 六月、宋師伐滕。

十章 公孫歸父如齊、葬齊惠公。

十一章 晉人、宋人、衞人、曹人、伐鄭。

十二章 秋、天王使王季子來聘。

十三章 公孫歸父帥師伐邾、取繹。

十四章 大水。

十五章 季孫行父如齊。

十六章 冬、公孫歸父如齊。

十七章 齊侯使國佐來聘。

十八章 饑。

十九章 楚子伐鄭。

左傳曰、十年、春、公如齊、齊侯以我服故、歸濟西之田。

夏齊惠公卒。崔杼有寵於惠公、高國畏其偪也、公卒而逐之、奔衞。書曰崔氏。非其罪也。且告以族、不以名。凡諸侯之大夫違、告於諸侯曰、某氏之守臣某、失守宗廟、敢告。所有玉帛之使者、則告、不然則否。

公如齊奔喪。

陳靈公與孔寧、儀行父、飲酒於夏氏。公謂行父曰、徵舒似女。對曰、亦似君。徵舒病之。公出、自其廄射而殺之。二子奔楚。

滕人恃晉而不事宋。六月、宋師伐滕。

鄭及楚平、諸侯之師伐鄭、取成而還。

秋、劉康公來報聘。

師伐邾、取繹。

季文子初聘於齊。

冬、子家如齊、伐邾故也。國武子來報聘。

楚子伐鄭。晉士會救鄭、逐楚師於潁北。諸侯之師戍鄭。

(十)鄭子家卒。鄭人討幽公之亂、斲子家之棺、而逐其族。改葬幽公、謚之曰靈。

X. 1 In his tenth year, in spring, the duke went to Ts'e. The duke arrived from Ts'e,

2 The people of Ts'e restored to us the lands of Tse-se.

3 In summer, in the the fourth month, on Ping-shin, the sun was eclipsed.

4 On Ke-sze, Yuen, marquis of Ts'e, died.

5 The Head of the Ts'uy family of Ts'e left the State, and fled to Wei.

6 The duke went to Ts'e.

7 In the fifth month, the duke arrived from Ts'e.

8 On Kwei-sze, Hea Ch'ing-shoo of Ch'in murdered his ruler, P'ing-kwoh.

9 In the sixth month, an army of Sung invaded T'ăng.

10 Kung-sun Kwei-foo went to Ts'e, to the burial of duke Hwuy of Ts'e.

11 A body of men from Tsin, one from Sung, one from Wei, and one from Ts'aou, invaded Ch'ing.

12 In autumn, the king [by] Heaven's [grace] sent his youngest brother to Loo on a mission of friendly inquiries.

13 Kung-sun Kwei-foo led a force to invade Choo, and took Yih.

14 There were great floods.

15 Ke-sun Hăng-foo went to Ts'e.

16 In winter, Kung-sun Kwei-foo went to Ts'e.

17 The marquis of Ts'e sent Kwoh Tso to Loo on a mission of friendly inquiries.

18 There was famine.

19 The viscount of Ts'oo invaded Ch'ing.

Parr. 1,2. This was now the 4th time that the duke had repaired to the court of Ts'e. The Chuen says:—'In spring, the duke went to Ts'e; and the marquis of Ts'e, in consideration of the submission and service of the duke, restored the lands of Tse-se.' Those lands were taken by Ts'e, it will be remembered, in the duke's first year, being the price which Loo paid for Ts'e's support of the duke's usurpation.

Par. 3. This eclipse was visible at sunrise, on the 26th February, B. C. 598. Ping-shin was the 1st day of the moon.

Parr. 4,5. The Ts'uy family or clan was one of the most powerful in Ts'e. It was descended from a son of one of the ancient princes of the State,—duke Ting (丁公), who died B. C. 1052. To that son the lands of Ts'uy had been assigned, and Ts'uy became the surname of his descendants. We have met with a Ts'uy Yaou, who was present at the battle of Shing-puh, in the 28th year of duke He. The head of the clan at this time was, acc. to Tso-she, Ts'uy Choo (崔杼), and it is to him the text refers. We find him (?) long after this, in IX. xxv. 2, in Ts'e again, and murdering his ruler.

The Chuen says:—'In summer, duke Hwuy of Ts'e died. Ts'uy Choo had been a favourite with him; and [the ministers], Kaou and Kwoh, being afraid of Ts'uy's exercising a pressure upon them, drove him out;—when he fled to Wei. The language of the text,—'The Head of the Ts'uy family,' shows that he was not driven out for any fault of his (?); moreover, the announcement was made to Loo about him as the Head of his clan, and not by his name. When a great officer of any State fled from it, or was banished, the announcement of it ran,—"Our subject, so and so, Head of the clan so and so, has failed to maintain the charge of his ancestral temple; and we presume to announce the fact." Such announcement was made to other States in the case of one who had been sent with the mission-jade and offerings of silk (*i.e.*, on missions of friendly inquiries) to them; but not in the case of other officers.'

The reason why we have 崔氏 here, and not 崔杼, if indeed the officer was really Choo, need not be anxiously sought. Tso-she's canon about it is inadmissible; so is Kung-yang's, that it is to condemn the principle and the practice in Ts'e of hereditary offices (世卿); and

so is Kuh-lëang's, that it indicates that the clan, as well as the individual, was driven from the State.

Parr. 6,7. 'The duke,' says Tso-she, 'hurried away to Ts'e, to be present at the earliest ceremonies to the deceased marquis.' After this he paid no more visits to Ts'e.

Par. 8. The Chuen says:—'Duke Ling of Ch'in, with K'ung Ning and E Hăng-foo, was drinking in the house of the Hëa family [See the Chuen on the last par. of last year], when the duke said to Hăng-foo, "Ch'ing-shoo [The son of Hëa Ke, and Head of the family, as his father was dead] is like you." "He is also like your lordship," was the reply. Ch'ing-shoo [overheard these remarks, and] was indignant at them; and when the duke was [trying to] escape [from the house] by the stable, he shot, and killed him. The two officers fled to Ts'oo.' This is a case in which 'executed' would be a better rendering really of 弑 than 'murdered.'

Par. 9. The siege of the capital of T'ăng by Sung in the past year [p. 10] had, we may presume, been fruitless. Now, again, as the Chuen says, 'the people of T'ăng, relying upon Tsin, would not do service to Sung; and in the 6th month, an army of Sung invaded T'ăng.'

Par. 10. Kwei-foo was the son of Chung Suy, and of course was himself a Kung-sun, 'grandson' of duke Chwang. The burial of duke Hwuy took place before the proper time. Hwuy Ching-hëen observes that when we consider how the head of the Ts'uy clan was driven out of the State immediately after the duke's death, how the burial was hastened, and how his son is styled marquis (p. 17) before the year was expired, there must have been troubles in Ts'e, of which we have not any record.

Par. 11. The Chuen says:—'Ch'ing had made peace with Ts'oo [After the events related on p. 12 of last year]. The armies of these States, [therefore], invaded Ch'ing, took from it terms of submission, and returned.'

Par. 12. Kung-yang says that 'the king's youngest son' here introduced was the reigning king's full brother. His father therefore was king K'ing (頃王). The prince's descendants were dukes of Lëw, and the Chuen here calls him 'duke K'ang of Lëw,' adding that his visit was in return for that of Măng Hëen to the court, in p. 3 of last year.

Par. 13. Yih was a city of Choo,—in the pres. dis. of Tsow (鄒縣), dep. Yen-chow. But in the Chuen on VI. xiii. 3 the capital of Choo appears removed to Yih; and the taking of Yih would be equivalent to extinguishing Choo, which, we know, was not the case. On this account, the K'ang-he editors incline to adopt the reading of Kung-yang,—of 蘱 for 繹.

Par. 14. See II. i. 5, *et al.*

Par. 15. Tso-she says:—'Ke Wăn went on a friendly mission to Ts'e,—for the 1st time, since the accession of the new marquis.'

Par. 16. Tso-she says:—'In winter Tsze-këa (Kung-sun Kwei-foo's designation) went to Ts'e, with reference to our invasion of Choo.'

Par. 17. Tso-she says:—'Kwoh Woo's (武 was the posthumous title of Kwoh Tso) mission was in return for that of Ke Wăn, in p. 15.

Par. 18. Sun Fuh defines the term 'famine' as descriptive of the crops not coming to maturity, 'the five kinds of grain not ripening (五穀不成).'

Par. 19. The Chuen says:—'The viscount of Ts'oo invaded Ch'ing [See the reason on p. 11]. Sze Hwuy of Tsin relieved it, and drove the army of Ts'oo to the north of the Yin. Tsze-këa [The Kung-tsze Kwei-săng] died, and the people proceeded to punish the authors of the disorder in which duke Yëw died. They broke open the coffin of Tsze-këa, and drove all the branches of the family from the State. They changed the grave of duke Yëw, and gave him the posthumous title of Ling.'

Eleventh year.

一章 十有一年、春、王正月。

二章 夏、楚子、陳侯、鄭伯、盟於辰陵。

三章 公孫歸父會齊人伐莒。

四章 秋、晉侯會狄於欑函。

五章 冬、十月、楚人殺陳

夏徵舒。六章 丁亥、楚子入陳。七章 納公孫甯、儀行父於陳。

左傳曰、十一年、春、楚子伐鄭、及櫟。子良曰、晉、楚、不務德而兵爭、與其來者、可也。晉楚無信、我焉得有信。乃從楚。夏、楚盟於辰陵、陳、鄭、服也。

㊁楚左尹子重侵宋、王待諸郔、令尹蔿艾獵城沂、使封人慮事、以授司徒、量功命日、分財用、平板幹、稱畚築、程土物、議遠邇、略基趾、具餱糧、度有司、事三旬而成、不愆於素。

晉郤成子求成於衆狄、衆狄疾赤狄之役、遂服於晉。秋、會於欑函。衆狄服也。是行也、諸大夫欲召狄。郤成子曰、吾聞之、非德莫如勤、非勤何以求人。能勤有繼。其從之也、詩曰、文王既勤止、文王猶勤、況寡德乎。

冬、楚子為陳夏氏亂故、伐陳、謂陳人無動、將討於少西氏。遂入陳、殺夏徵舒、轘諸栗門、因縣陳。陳侯在晉。申叔時使於齊、反、復命而退。王使讓之曰、夏徵舒為不道、弒其君、寡人以諸侯討而戮之、諸侯、縣公、皆慶寡人、女獨不慶寡人、何故。對曰、猶可辭乎。王曰、可哉。曰、夏徵舒弒其君、其罪大矣、討而戮之、君之義也、抑人亦有言曰、牽牛以蹊人之田、而奪之牛、牽牛以蹊者、信有罪矣、而奪之牛、罰已重矣、諸侯之從也、曰討有罪也、今縣陳、貪其富也、以討召諸侯、而以貪歸之、無乃不可乎。王曰、善哉、吾未之聞也、反之可乎。對曰、可哉、吾儕小人、所謂取諸其懷而與之也。乃復封陳、鄉取一人焉以歸、謂之夏州。故書曰、楚子入陳、納公孫甯、儀行父於陳、書有禮也。

㊀厲之役、鄭伯逃歸、自是楚未得志焉。鄭既受盟於辰陵、又徼事于晉。

XI. 1 It was the [duke's] eleventh year, the spring, the king's first month.

2 In summer, the viscount of Ts'oo, the marquis of Ch'in, and the earl of Ch'ing, made a covenant in Shin-ling.

3 Kung-sun Kwei-foo joined an officer of Ts'e in invading Keu.

4 In autumn, the marquis of Tsin had a meeting with the Teih in Tswan-han.

5 In winter, in the tenth month, the people of Ts'oo put to death Hëa Ch'ing-shoo of Ch'in.

6 On Ting-hae, the viscount of Ts'oo entered [the capital of] Ch'in.

7 He restored Kung-sun Ning and E Hăng-foo to Ch'in.

Par. 2. The Chuen says:—'This spring, the viscount of Ts'oo invaded Ch'ing [Because of the action in the Chuen on par. 12 of the 9th year], and advanced, as far as Leih. Tsze-lëang (K'eu-tsih of the Chuen on IV. 3) said, "Tsin and Ts'oo make no effort to show kindness [to smaller States], but keep struggling for the superiority;—there is no reason why we should not take the side of the [first] comer. They have no faith;—why should we show good faith?" Accordingly, Ch'ing accepted the demands of Ts'oo; and in summer, Ts'oo took a covenant in Shin-ling, when Ch'in and Ch'ing make their submission to it.'

Shin-ling was in Ch'in,—40 *le* to the north-west of the dep. city of Ch'in-chow, Ho-nan. Kuh has 夷陵. This was the 2d time at which the chief of Ts'oo presided over a meeting of other princes. The 1st time was in the 27th year of duke He.

[The Chuen adds here:—'Tsze-ch'ung, minister of the Left, of Ts'oo, made an incursion into Sung, while the king (*i.e.*, the viscount) waited at Yen. Wei Gae-lëeh, the chief minister, undertook the walling of E, and appointed the border-warden to make the arrangements and calculations for the business. He then gave these to the superintendent of the work, who estimated the labour to be done, and the number of days; gave out all the money that was necessary for it; adjusted the frames, and provided the baskets and stampers, and other articles for raising the walls; apportioned equally their tasks, according to the distance of the labourers from the place; marked out with his feet the foundations; supplied the provisions; and determined the inspectors. The work was completed in 30 days, exactly in accordance with the previous calculations.']

Par. 3. Notwithstanding the operations of Ts'e and Loo against Ken in the duke's 4th year, that State, it would appear, continued to maintain a hostile attitude, which led to the invasion in the text.

Par. 4. We have here probably the issue of the policy towards the Teih, recommended to the marquis of Tsin in the Chuen appended to VI. 4. The Chuen says here:—'Këoh Ch'ing [Këoh Keueh] of Tsin sought for terms of peace from the Teih; and all the rest of their tribes, being distressed and indignant at the services required from them by the Red Teih, made submission to Tsin. The meeting this autumn was on the occasion of their doing so. In regard to the marquis's going to them, all the great officers wished to call [the chiefs of] the Teih [to Tsin], but Këoh Ch'ing said, "Where there is not virtue, the next best thing is to show earnest diligence. Without such diligence, how can we seek for the adherence of others? If we can show it, however, [success] will follow. Let the marquis go to them.' It is said in the ode (She, IV. i. [iii.] X.),

'King Wăn did indeed labour earnestly.'

[If king Wăn did so, how much more ought we, who are of such inferior virtue!"'

Tswan-han was in the territory of the Teih, but its site has not been more exactly determined.

Parr. 5—7. See IX. 13, and X. 8, with the Chuen on them. The Chuen says here:—'In winter, the viscount of Ts'oo, because of the deed perpetrated by the head of the Hëa family, invaded Ch'in, publishing a notice to the people that they should make no movement, as he wished to punish only the head of the Shaou-se [少西 was the name of the grand-father of Ch'ing-shoo. His designation was Tsze-hëa]. Forthwith he entered [the capital of] Ch'in, and put to death Hëa Ch'ing-shoo, having him torn in pieces by chariots [See the 1st Chuen, appended to II. xviii. 3] at the Leih gate. He then proceeded to make Ch'in a district [of Ts'oo].

'At this time, the marquis of Ch'in was in Tsin; and Shuh of Shin had been sent [by the viscount] to Ts'e. When Shuh returned, he reported the discharge of his mission, and withdrew, [without saying anything about the affairs of Ch'in]. The king sent to reprove him, saying, "Hëa Ch'ing-shoo acted very wickedly, murdering his ruler. With [the forces of my own and] other States I have punished and executed him. The princes of those States and the dukes of our districts have all congratulated me; what is the reason that you alone have offered no congratulation?" "May I still explain myself?" replied Shuh. "You may," said the king; and Shuh continued, "The crime of Hëa Ch'ing-shoo in murdering his ruler was great, and you performed a righteous deed in punishing and executing him. But the people have a saying, "He led his ox through another man's field, and the ox was taken from him." Now he that so led his ox to trample on another man's field indeed committed an offence; but when his ox was taken from him, the punishment was too severe. The princes followed you in this enterprise, saying it was to punish a criminal; but now you have made Ch'in one of your districts, desiring its riches. You called out the princes to punish an offender, and you are sending them away after satisfying your covetousness;—does not this seem improper?" The king replied, "Good! I had not heard this view of the case! Can I still give Ch'in back?" "That," said Shuh, "will be an instance of what we small men call "Taking a thing from one's breast and giving it [back]."'

'The viscount accordingly restored the State of Ch'in; but from each of its villages he took a man, and carried them with him to Ts'oo, where he settled them in a place which he called Hëa-chow. Hence what the text says,—"The viscount

of Ts'oo entered Ch'in, and restored Kung-sun Ning, and E Hăng-foo," is worded to show how the viscount observed the rules of propriety.'

The viscount of Ts'oo did right in not appropriating Ch'in to himself; but most western readers will form a very different judgment from Tso-she on his execution of Hëa Ch'ing-shoo and his restoration of the two villains, K'ung Ning and E Hăng-foo. Here, as elsewhere, Kung-yang has 甯 for 寗.

[The Chuen adds here:—'After the affair at Le [See on IX. 12], the earl of Ch'ing made his escape home, and [the viscount of] Ts'oo was not able subsequently to obtain his desire. And though Ch'ing accepted a covenant [from Ts'oo] this year at Shin-ling, it kept trying to strengthen itself by doing service to Tsin.']

Twelfth year.

一章 十有二年、春、葬陳靈公。

二章 楚子圍鄭。

三章 夏、六月、乙卯、晉荀林父帥師、及楚子戰於邲、晉師敗績。

四章 秋、七月。

五章 冬、十有二月、戊寅、楚子滅蕭。

六章 晉人、宋人、衞人、曹人、同盟於清丘。

七章 宋師伐陳、衞人救陳。

左傳曰、十二年、春、楚子圍鄭、旬有七日、鄭人卜行成、不吉。卜臨於大宮、且巷出車、吉。國人大臨、守陴者皆哭、楚子退師、鄭人脩城、進復圍之、三月、克之、入自皇門、至於逵路、鄭伯肉袒牽羊以逆、曰、孤不天、不能事君、使君懷怒以及敝邑、孤之罪也、敢不唯命是聽、其俘諸江南、以實海濱、亦唯命、其翦以賜諸侯、使臣妾之、亦唯命、若惠顧前好、徼福於厲、宣、桓、武、不泯其社稷、使改事君、夷於九縣、君之惠也、孤之願也、非所敢望也、敢布腹心、君實圖之。左右曰、不可許也、得國無赦。王曰、其君能下人、必能信用其民矣、庸可幾乎。退三十里、而許之平。潘尫入盟、子良出質。夏、六月、晉師救鄭、荀林父將中軍、

先縠佐之、士會將上軍、郤克佐之、趙朔將下軍、欒書佐之、趙括、趙嬰齊爲中軍大夫、鞏朔、韓穿、爲上軍大夫、荀首、趙同、爲下軍大夫、韓厥爲司馬。及河、聞鄭既及楚平、桓子欲還、曰、無及於鄭而勦民、焉用之、楚歸而動、不後。隨武子曰、善。會聞用師、觀釁而動、德刑政事典禮不易、不可敵也、不爲是征。楚軍討鄭、怒其貳而哀其卑、叛而伐之、服而舍之、德刑成矣、伐叛、刑也、柔服、德也、二者立矣。昔歲入陳、今茲入鄭、民不罷勞、君無怨讟、政有經矣、荆尸而舉、商農工賈不敗其業、而卒乘輯睦、事不奸矣。蔿敖爲宰、擇楚國之令典、軍行、右轅、左追蓐、前茅慮無、中權、後勁、百官象物而動、軍政不戒而備、能用典矣。其君之舉也、內姓選於親、外姓選於舊、舉不失德、賞不失勞、老有加惠、旅有施舍、君子小人、物有服章、貴有常尊、賤有等威、禮不逆矣。德立、刑行、政成、事時、典從、禮順、若之何敵之、見可而進、知難而退、軍之善政也、兼弱攻昧、武之善經也、子姑整軍而經武乎、猶有弱而昧者、何必。楚、仲虺有言曰、取亂侮亡、兼弱也、汋曰、於鑠王師、遵養時晦、耆昧也、武曰、無競惟烈、撫弱耆昧、以務烈所、可也。彘子曰、不可、晉所以霸、師武臣力也、今失諸侯、不可謂力、有敵而不從、不可謂武、由我失霸、不如死、且成師以出、聞敵彊而退、非夫也、命爲軍帥、而卒以非夫、唯羣子能、我弗爲也、以中軍佐濟。知莊子曰、此師殆哉、周易有之、在師之臨曰、師出以律、否臧凶、執事順成爲臧、逆爲否、衆散爲弱、川壅爲澤、有律以如己也、故曰律否臧、且律竭也、盈而以竭、夭且不整、所以凶也、不行之謂臨、有帥而不從、臨孰甚焉、此之謂矣、果遇必敗、彘子尸之、雖免而歸、必有大咎。韓獻子謂桓子曰、彘子以偏師陷、子罪大矣、子爲元帥、師不用命、誰之罪也、失屬亡師、爲罪已重、不如進也、事之不捷、惡有所分、與其專罪、六人同之、不猶愈乎。師遂濟。楚子北師次於郔、沈尹將中軍、子重將左、子反將右、將飲馬於河而歸、聞晉師既濟、王欲還、嬖人伍參欲戰、令尹孫叔敖弗欲、曰、昔歲入陳、今茲入鄭、不無事矣、戰而不捷、參之肉其足食乎。參曰、若事之捷、孫叔爲無謀矣、不捷、參之肉將在晉軍、可得食乎。令尹南轅返旆、伍參言於王曰、晉之從政者新、未能行令、其佐先縠剛愎不仁、未肯用命、其三帥者專行不獲、

聽而無上、衆誰適從、此行也晉師必敗、且君而逃臣、若社稷何。王病之、告令尹改乘轅而北之、次于管以待之、
晉師在敖鄗之間。鄭皇戌使如晉師、曰、鄭之從楚、社稷之故也、未有貳心、楚師驟勝而驕、其師老矣、而不設備、
子擊之、鄭師爲承、楚師必敗。彘子曰、敗楚服鄭、于此在矣、必許之。欒武子曰、楚自克庸以來、其君無日不討國
人而訓之于、民生之不易、禍至之無日、戒懼之不可以怠、在軍無日不討軍實而申儆之于、勝之不可保、紂之
百克而卒無後、訓之以若敖蚡冒篳路藍縷、以啟山林、箴之曰、民生在勤、勤則不匱、不可謂驕、先大夫子犯有
言曰、師直爲壯、曲爲老、我則不德、而徼怨於楚、我曲楚直、不可謂老、其君之戎、分爲二廣、廣有一卒、卒偏之兩、
右廣初駕、數及日中、左則受之、以至於昏、內官序當其夜、以待不虞、不可謂無備、子良、鄭之良也、師叔、楚之崇
也、師叔入盟、子良在楚、楚鄭親矣、來勸我戰、我克則來、不克遂往、以我卜也、鄭不可從。趙括、趙同曰、率師以來、
唯敵是求、克敵得屬、又何俟、必從彘子。知季曰、原屏、咎之徒也、趙莊子曰、欒伯善哉、實其言、必長晉國。楚少宰
如晉師、曰、寡君少遭閔凶、不能文、聞二先君之出入此行也、將鄭是訓定、豈敢求罪於晉、二三子無淹久。隨季
對曰、昔平王命我先君文侯曰、與鄭夾輔周室、毋廢王命、今鄭不率、寡君使羣臣問諸鄭、豈敢辱候人、敢拜君
命之辱。彘子以爲諂、使趙括從而更之曰、行人失辭、寡君使羣臣遷大國之迹於鄭、曰、無辟敵、羣臣無所逃命、
楚子又使求成於晉、晉人許之、盟有日矣、楚許伯御樂伯、攝叔爲右、以致晉師。許伯曰、吾聞致師者、御靡旌、摩
壘而還。樂伯曰、吾聞致師者、左射以菆、代御執轡、御下兩馬、掉鞅而還。攝叔曰、吾聞致師者、右入壘、折馘執俘
而還。皆行其所聞而復。晉人逐之、左右角之、樂伯左射馬、而右射人、角不能進、矢一而已、麋興於前、射麋麗龜、
晉鮑癸當其後、使攝叔奉麋獻焉、曰、以歲之非時、獻禽之未至、敢膳諸從者。鮑癸止之、曰、其左善射、其右有辭、
君子也。既免。晉魏錡求公族未得、而怒、欲敗晉師、請致師、弗許、請使、許之、遂往、請戰而還、楚潘黨逐之、及熒澤、
見六麋、射一麋以顧獻、曰、子有軍事、獸人無乃不給於鮮、敢獻于從者。叔黨命去之。趙旃求卿未得、且怒於失

楚之致師者、請挑戰、弗許、請召盟、許之、與魏錡皆命而往。郤獻子曰、二憾往矣、弗備必敗。彘子曰、鄭人勸戰、弗敢從也、楚人求成、弗能好也、師無成命、多備何爲。士季曰、備之善、若二子怒楚、楚人乘我、喪師無日矣、不如備之、楚之無惡、除備而盟、何損於好、若以惡來、有備不敗、且雖諸侯相見、軍衞不徹、警也、彘子不可、士季使鞏朔、韓穿、帥七覆於敖前、故上軍不敗。趙嬰齊使其徒先具舟於河、故敗而先濟。潘黨既逐魏錡、趙旃夜至於楚軍、席於軍門之外、使其徒入之、楚子爲乘廣三十乘、分爲左右、右廣雞鳴而駕、日中而說、左則受之、日入而說、許偃御右廣、養由基爲右、彭名御左廣、屈蕩爲右。乙卯、王乘左廣、以逐趙旃、趙旃棄車而走林、屈蕩搏之、得其甲裳。晉人懼二子之怒楚師也、使軘車逆之、潘黨望其塵、使騁而告曰、晉師至矣。楚人亦懼王之入晉軍也、遂出陳、孫叔曰、進之、寧我薄人、無人薄我、詩云、元戎十乘、以先啓行、先人也、軍志曰、先人有奪人之心、薄之也。遂疾進師、車馳卒奔、乘晉軍、桓子不知所爲、鼓於軍中、曰、先濟者有賞。中軍下軍爭舟、舟中之指可掬也、晉師右移、上軍未動。工尹齊將右拒卒、以逐下軍、楚子使唐狡與蔡鳩居告唐惠侯、曰、不穀不德而貪、以遇大敵、不穀之罪也、然楚不克、君之羞也、敢藉君靈、以濟楚師。使潘黨率游闕四十乘、從唐侯以爲左拒、以從上軍。駒伯曰、待諸乎。隨季曰、楚師方壯、若萃於我、吾師必盡、不如收而去之、分謗生民、不亦可乎。殿其卒而退、不敗。王見右廣、將從之乘、屈蕩尸之曰、君以此始、亦必以終、自是楚之乘廣先左。晉人或以廣隊不能進、楚人惎之脫扃、少進、馬還、又惎之拔旆投衡、乃出、顧曰、吾不如大國之數奔也。趙旃以其良馬二、濟其兄與叔父、以他馬反、遇敵不能去、棄車而走林、逢大夫與其二子乘、謂其二子無顧、顧曰、趙傁在後。怒之、使下、指木曰、尸女於是。授趙旃綏、以免、明日、以表尸之、皆重獲在木下。楚熊負羈囚知罃、知莊子以其族反之、廚武子御、下軍之士多從之、每射、抽矢菆、納諸廚子之房、廚子怒曰、非子之求、而蒲之愛、董澤之蒲、可勝既乎。知季曰、不以人子、吾子其可得乎、射吾不可以苟射故也。射連尹襄老獲之、遂載其尸、射公子穀臣、囚之、以二者還。及昏、楚師軍於邲、晉之餘師不

能軍宵濟、亦終夜有聲。丙辰、楚重至於邲、遂次于衡雍、潘黨曰、君盍築武軍、而收晉尸以爲京觀、臣聞克敵、必示子孫、以無忘武功。楚子曰、非爾所知也、夫文、止戈爲武、武王克商、作頌曰、載戢干戈、載櫜弓矢、我求懿德、肆于時夏、允王保之、又作武、其卒章曰、耆定爾功、其三曰、鋪時繹思、我徂惟求定、其六曰、綏萬邦、屢豐年、夫武、禁暴、戢兵、保大、定功、安民、和衆、豐財者也、故使子孫無忘其章、今我使二國暴骨、暴矣、觀兵以威諸侯、兵不戢矣、暴而不戢、安能保大、猶有晉在、焉得定功、所違民欲猶多、民何安焉、無德而强爭諸侯、何以和衆、利人之幾、而安人之亂、以爲己榮、何以豐財、武有七德、我無一焉、何以示子孫、其爲先君宮、告成事而已、武非吾功也、古者明王伐不敬、取其鯨鯢而封之、以爲大戮、於是乎有京觀、以懲淫慝、今罪無所、而民皆盡忠以死君命、又何以爲京觀乎。祀於河、作先君宮、告成事而還。是役也、鄭石制實入楚師、將以分鄭、而立公子魚臣、辛未、鄭殺僕叔、及子服。君子曰、史佚所謂毋怙亂者、謂是類也、詩曰、亂離瘼矣、爰其適歸、歸於怙亂者也夫。

(÷)鄭伯許男如楚。

(÷)秋、晉師歸、桓子請死、晉侯欲許之。士貞子諫曰、不可、城濮之役、晉師三日穀、文公猶有憂色、左右曰、有喜而憂、如有憂而喜乎。公曰、得臣猶在、憂未歇也、困獸猶鬭、況國相乎。及楚殺子玉、公喜而後可知也、曰、莫余毒也已。是晉再克而楚再敗也、楚是以再世不競、今天或者大警晉也、而又殺林父以重楚勝、其無乃久不競乎、林父之事君也、進思盡忠、退思補過、社稷之衛也、若之何殺之、夫其敗也、如日月之食焉、何損於明、晉侯使復其位。

冬、楚子伐蕭、宋華椒以蔡人救蕭、蕭人囚熊相宜僚、及公子丙、王曰、勿殺、吾退。蕭人殺之、王怒、遂圍蕭、蕭潰。申公巫臣曰、師人多寒、王巡三軍、拊而勉之、三軍之士、皆如挾纊、遂傅于蕭、還無社與司馬卯言、號申叔展、叔展曰、有麥麴乎。曰、無。有山鞠窮乎。曰、無。河魚腹疾奈何。曰、目于眢井而拯之、若爲茅絰、哭井則己、明日蕭潰、申叔

視其井、則茅絰存焉、號而出之。晉原穀、宋華椒、衞孔達、曹人同盟於清丘。曰、恤病討貳。於是卿不書、不實其言也。宋爲盟故伐陳。衞人救之。孔達曰、先君有約言焉、若大國討、我則死之。

XII. 1 In the duke's twelfth year, in spring, there was the burial of duke Ling of Ch'in.

2 The viscount of Ts'oo laid siege to [the capital of] Ch'ing.

3 In summer, in the sixth month, on Yih-maou, Seun Lin-foo of Tsin led a force, and fought with the viscount of Ts'oo at Peih, when the army of Tsin was disgracefully defeated.

4 It was autumn, the seventh month.

5 In winter, in the twelfth month, on Mow-yin, the viscount of Ts'oo extinguished Sëaou.

6 An officer of Tsin, one of Sung, one of Wei, and one of Ts'aou, made a covenant together at Ts'ing-k'ëw.

7 An army of Sung invaded Ch'in, [but] a body of men from Wei relieved it.

Par. 1. Twenty-two months had elapsed since the death of duke Ling at the hands of Hëa Ch'ing-shoo. We can hardly suppose that his body had been unburied all that time. Perhaps the rites of interment were now performed in a more regular and solemn manner, the coffin being deposited in a new grave.

Par. 2. The Chuen at the end of last year was preparatory to this par., to supply the reason for the fresh invasion of Ch'ing by Ts'oo. We have here the following narrative:—'In spring, the viscount of Ts'oo had held the capital of Ch'ing in siege for 17 days, when the people divined whether it would be well for them to accept conditions of peace, but the answer was not favourable. They then divined whether they should weep in the grand temple, and bring forth their chariots into the streets [*i. e.*, probably, to be ready for removing where Ts'oo might direct]; and the reply was favourable. The people of the city then made a great weeping, and the keepers of the parapets all cried aloud, so that the viscount of Ts'oo withdrew his men, till the people repaired the wall. He then advanced and renewed the siege, when the place was reduced at the end of three months. He entered the city by the Hwang gate, and proceeded to the principal street, where he was met by the earl of Ch'ing, with his flesh exposed, and leading a sheep. "Uncared for by Heaven," said the earl, "I could not serve your lordship, and aroused your anger, till it has been discharged upon my city. The offence is all mine; and I dare do nothing now but wait for your commands. If you carry us away to the south of the Këang, to occupy the land by the shores of the sea, be it so. If you take the State and give it to some other as its ruler, to whom I shall be as in the position of a handmaid, be it so. If you kindly regard former relations of friendship between our States, and to obtain blessing from [the kings] Le and Seuen, and from [the dukes] Hwan and Woo, you do not extinguish our altars, so that I may change my course, and serve your lordship equally with the governors of the nine [new] districts [which you have established], that will be your kindness, and it is my desire, but it is what I do not dare to hope for. I have presumed to disclose to you all my heart; your lordship will take your measures accordingly."

'His attendants urged the viscount not to grant [the earl's request], urging that, having got the State, he ought not to forgive him; but the king replied, "Since the ruler of Ch'ing can humble himself thus, he must be able to secure the faith of his people; how can I hope to obtain the State?" With this he retired 30 *le*, and granted peace. P'wan Wang entered the city and made a covenant; and Tsze-lëang left it to be a hostage [with Ts'oo].'

Par. 3. Peih was in Ch'ing,—6 *le* to the east of Ch'ing Chow, dep. K'ae-fung.

The Chuen says:—'In summer, in the 6th month, the armies of Tsin [marched to] relieve Ch'ing. Seun Lin-foo commanded the army of the centre [In place of Këoh Keueh], with Sëen Hwoh as his assistant [In room of Lin-foo]. Sze Hwuy commanded the first army, with Këoh K'ih as his assistant [In room of Chaou Soh]. Chaou Soh commanded the 3d army, with Lwan Shoo as his assistant. Chaou Kwoh and Chaou Ying-ts'e were the great officers of the army of the centre; Kung Soh and Chaou Ch'uen, those of the 1st army; and Seun Show and Chaou T'ung, those of the 3d. Han Këueh was marshal of the host.

'When they reached the Ho, they heard that Ch'ing had made peace with Ts'oo, and Hwan-tsze [Hwan was Lin-foo's posthumous title] wished to return, saying, "We are too late for the relief of Ch'ing; what will be the use now of perilling the lives of our people? Let us wait till Ts'oo has retired, and then make a movement [against Ch'ing]."

'Woo-tsze of Suy (Sze Hwuy) approved of this view, and said, "According to what I have heard, military enterprizes should be undertaken only when there is an opportunity of prosecuting them with advantage. An enemy who cultivates, without changing, kindness in his virtue, justice in his punishments, the ordering of his government, the right regulation of different affairs, and the statutes and rules of his State, is not to be contended with; it is not against such an one that we conduct punitive expeditions. Now when the army of Ts'oo punished Ch'ing, there was anger because of its double dealing, and compassion when the earl humbled himself. When it revolted from him, [the viscount] invaded it. When it submitted, he forgave it:—his kindness and justice were established. There was the justice of punishment in the attack of revolt; there was the kindness of virtue in the gentle dealing with submission. Both these things were shown.

'[Again], last year Ts'oo entered the capital of Ch'in, and this year it entered that of Ch'ing; but its people have not complained of the fatigue and toil, nor murmured against their ruler:—showing how well its government is ordered. [Then], throughout Ts'oo, when its forces are called out according to its system, its travelling merchants, husbandmen, mechanics, and stationary traders, have not their several occupations injuriously interfered with, and the footmen and chariot-men act in harmony with one another:—showing how collision is avoided in its ordering of affairs.

'[Further], when Wei Gaou became chief minister, he selected the best statutes of Ts'oo. When the army is marching, the [footmen of the] right keep on either side of the chariot, and those of the left go in quest of grass and rushes. The bearers of the standards of the *maou* keep in advance, looking out anxiously that nothing occur for which there is not preparation. The troops in the centre are ready to act as occasion may require, while behind them is the strength of the army. The different officers move according to the signals displayed, and the ordering of the army is ready for any emergency, without special orders for it being given. Thus is Ts'oo able to carry out its statutes.

[Lastly], When the viscount of Ts'oo raises individuals to office, they are of the same surname with himself, chosen from among his relatives, and of other surnames, chosen from the old servants of the State. But offices are given with due respect to the necessary qualifications, and rewards are conferred according to the service performed, while at the same time additional kindness is shown to the aged. Strangers receive gifts, and enjoy various exemptions. Officers and the common people have different dresses to distinguish them. The noble have a defined standard of honour; the mean have to comport themselves according to different degrees. Thus are the rules of propriety observed in Ts'oo.

'Now why should we enter on a struggle with a State which thus manifests kindness, carries out justice, perfects its government, times its undertakings, follows its statutes, and observes so admirably the rules of propriety? To advance when you see advance is possible, and withdraw in face of difficulties, is a good way of moving an army; to absorb weak States, and attack those that are wilfully blind, is a good rule of war. Do you for the present order your army accordingly, and follow that maxim. There are other States that are weak and wilfully blind; why must you deal with Ts'oo, [as if it were so]? There are the words of Chung Hwuy [Shoo, IV. ii. 7], 'Take their States from the disorderly, deal summarily with those that are going to ruin, absorb the weak.' The Choh ode (She, IV. i. [iii.] VIII.) [also] says,

> 'Oh! powerful was the royal army,
> But he nourished it in obedience to circumstances, while the time was yet dark;—

the king's object was to deal with the blind. [Again], in the Woo (She, IV. i. [i.] IX.) it is said,

> 'Irresistible was his ardour.'

If you soothe [for a time] the weak, and bring on the wilful blindness, aiming at ardour [like that of Woo], you will pursue the proper course."

'Che-tsze (Sëen Hwoh) then said, "This counsel is not good. Tsin obtained the leadership of the States by the prowess of its armies and the strength of its leaders. But now it is losing the States, and its strength cannot be spoken of. If, when the enemy is before us, we do not follow him, we cannot be said to have prowess. If we are to lose our chief place among the States, the best thing we can do is to die. Moreover, we marched out with our armies in array; if, because the enemy is strong, we retire, we shall not be men. To begin with our ruler's charge to a command in the army, and to end with not being a man:—you all may play that part, but I will not do so." Upon this with [the portion of] the army of the centre [under his command], he crossed the Ho.

'Chwang-tsze of Che (Seun Show) said, "This army is in great peril. The case is that indicated in the change of the diagram Sze (師, ䷆) into Lin (臨, ䷒). (On Sze) it is said, 'A host must be led forth according to the rules of service. If these be not good, there will be be evil.' When the commanders all observe their proper harmony, the rules are good; if they oppose one another, they are not. [The change of ☵ into ☱ indicates] the separation of the host producing weakness; it is the stopping up of a stream so as to form a marsh. The rules of service are turned into each one's taking his own way. Hence the words,—'the rules become not good;'—they are as it were dried up. The full stream is dried up; it is stopped and cannot have its course:—consequently evil must ensue. Lin [moreover] is the name for what does not proceed. When a commander does not follow the orders of his leader, what greater want of on-going could there be? and it is the case we now have. If we do meet the enemy we are sure to be defeated; and the calamity will be owing to Che-tsze. Though he should now escape, yet, on his return to Tsin, great evil will await him."

'Han Hëen-tsze (Han Keueh) said to Hwan-tsze, 'Che-tsze with his portion of the army has committed a grave offence. But you are commander-in-chief;—whose offence is it that the generals do not obey your orders? You have

lost our subject State (Ch'ing); and if you lose that army, your offence will indeed be heavy;—you had better advance. If the affair do not prove successful, there will be others to share the blame. Will it not be better for you to bear the blame as one of six than to bear it alone?"

'The whole army then crossed the Ho. The viscount of Ts'oo was halting, with his army looking northwards, at Yen. The governor of Shin commanded the centre; Tsze-chung, the left; and Tsze-fan, the right. The viscount meant to water their horses at the Ho, and then return to Ts'oo. When he heard that the army of Tsin had crossed, he wanted to withdraw before it; but his favourite, Woo Ts'an, wished to fight. Shuh-sun Gaou, the chief minister of Ts'oo, did not wish [to fight], and said, "Last year we entered Ch'in, and this year we have entered Ch'ing;—it cannot be said that we have accomplished nothing. If we fight and do not succeed, will the eating Ts'an's flesh be sufficient to atone for the result?" Ts'an replied, "If the battle be gained, you will be proved to have been incapable of planning. If it be lost, my flesh will be in the army of Tsin, and you will not get it to eat."

'The chief minister then turned his chariot to the south, and ordered the great standard to be carried back. But Woo Ts'an said to the king, "Tsin's chief minister is new, and cannot make his commands obeyed. His assistant commander, Seen Hwoh, is violent and headstrong, without any benevolence, and unwilling to obey the other's commands. The generals of the three armies would each take the chief controul, but not one of them can do so. In council there is no supreme Head; whom can the multitudes follow? In this expedition Tsin cannot fail to be defeated. Moreover, if your majesty flee before a subject of Tsin, what becomes of the honour of our altars?" The king felt powerfully these representations, and told the chief minister to change the course of the chariots, and proceed northwards. He then halted at Kwan to await the army of Tsin, which was between Gaou and K'aou.

'[In the meantime], Hwang Sëuh of Ch'ing came on a mission to the army of Tsin, saying, "Ch'ing has submitted to Ts'oo only to preserve its altars, and does not waver in its preference for your State. The army of Ts'oo is proud with repeated victories, and weary with the length of its service. Nor does it make preparations for an engagement. If you attack it, the army of Ch'ing will second you; and Ts'oo is sure to be defeated." Che-tsze said, "The defeat of Ts'oo, and the securing the adherence of Ch'ing, both depend on this action. We must agree to the envoy's proposal." Lwan Woo-tsze (Lwan Shoo), however, urged," Since the time when Ts'oo subdued Yung [See VI. xvi. 6], its ruler has let no day pass without training and instructing his people, saying, 'Ah! the people's welfare is not easily secured. Calamity may come without a day's warning. You must be cautious and apprehensive, never giving way to idleness.' In the army [also], he has not been a day without looking after the weapons, and admonishing the men, saying, 'Ah! victory cannot be made sure of. There was Chow, who, after a hundred conquests, yet left none to succeed him.' He has also inculcated on them the examples of Joh-gaou and Fun-maou, who laboured in wooden carts and tattered hempen clothes to bring the hills and forests under cultivation. He made this proverb for them also, 'People's weal depends on diligence; with diligence there is no want.' His army cannot be said to be elated. A former great officer [of our State], Tsze-fan, said, 'When an army has right on its side, it is strong; when the expedition is wrong, the army is weary and weak.' In this case we cannot plead our virtue, but are bent on a quarrel with Ts'oo. We are in the wrong, and Ts'oo is in the right;—its army cannot be said to be weary and weak. Its ruler's own chariots are divided into two bodies of 15 each. To each of them are attached 100 men, and an additional complement of 25 men. The body on the right is harnessed early, and kept on duty till mid-day, when that on the left takes its place till dusk. The officers in immediate attendance on the ruler keep watch by turns during the night. Thus provision is made against any surprise, and the army cannot be said to be without preparation. Tsze-lëang is the best man of Ch'ing and Sze-shuh [Pwan Wang] is highly honoured in Ts'oo. Sze-shuh entered [the capital of Ch'ing] and made a covenant; and Tsze-lëang is [a hostage] with Ts'oo. Ts'oo and Ch'ing are in friendly relations; and Ch'ing advises us to fight! If we conquer, it will come to us; if we do not conquer, it will draw off. According as I should divine, the counsel of Ch'ing is not to be followed."

'Chaou Hwoh and Chaou T'ung said, "We have led our host thus far, seeking for the enemy. We have to conquer the enemy, and recover our subject State;—what more do we wait for? We must follow Che-tsze.'

'Ke of Che [Chwang-tsze; Seun Show] said, "Yuen [Chaou T'ung] and Ping [Chaou Kwoh are partizans of our evil counsellor [Che-tsze]." Chaou Chwang-tsze [Chaou Soh] said, "Lwan Pih [Woo-tsze; Lwan Shoo] has spoken well! Let him make his words good, and he will take the chief command in Tsin."

'[After these discordant counsels], the sub-administrator of Ts'oo went to the army of Tsin, and said, 'Our ruler, when young, met with sorrowful bereavement, and was not able to cultivate the accomplishments of learning. But he has heard that his two predecessors [the kings Ch'ing and Muh] went backwards and forwards by this path. His only aim has been to instruct and settle Ch'ing, without seeking to give offence to Tsin. You, the officers of Tsin, should not remain here long." Ke of Suy (Sze Hwuy) replied, "Long ago king P'ing gave charge to our former ruler, the marquis Wăn, saying, 'Along with Ch'ing support the House of Chow, and do not disregard the king's charge.' Now Ch'ing is showing no regard for it, and our ruler sent us to ask it the reason; we do not presume to inflict any disgrace on you who have met us. Let me acknowledge the condescension of your ruler in this message." Che-tsze thought this reply was fawning, and sent Chaou Kwoh to follow the envoy with a different one, saying, "Our messenger gave you a wrong reply. Our ruler sent his servants to remove from Ch'ing every foot-print of your great State, telling us not to evade any enemy. We will not slink away from any commands you may lay on us."

'The viscount of Ts'oo, however, sent another message to ask for peace with Tsin, which was agreed to on the part of Tsin; and a day was set for a covenant.

'[In the meantime], Heu Pih of Ts'oo drove Yoh Pih, with Sheh Shuh on the right of the chariot, to flout and provoke the army of Tsin. Heu Pih said, "I have heard that when an army is flouted, the driver urges his chariot, with the flag shaking, close to the entrenchments, and then returns." Yoh Pih said, "I have heard that the archer on the left discharges a strong arrow, and then takes the reins, while the charioteer descends, dusts the horses, and adjusts the martingales, and then they return." Sheh Shuh said, "I have heard that the spearman on the right enters the entrenchments, cuts off an ear, takes another man prisoner, and returns." They all three did as they had heard, and were returning, pursued by the men of Tsin, who came after them like two horns, from the left, and the right. Yoh Pih shot the horses on the left, and the men on the right, so that the pursuers could not advance. He had but one arrow left, when a stag rose up before the chariot, which he shot right in the hump. Paou Kwei of Tsin was right behind him, when he made Sheh Shuh take the stag, and present it to the pursuer, saying, "It is not the season of the year for such a thing, the time for presenting animals has not arrived, but I venture to offer this to feast your followers." Paou Kwei stopped the pursuit, saying, "He on the left shoots well; he on the right speaks well;—they are superior men." So they got off. Wei E [A son of Wei Ch'ow; see the Chuen on V. xxvii., p. 4 and xxviii., p. 4] of Tsin had askedt o be appointed among the ducal clans [See the Chuen at the end of the 2d year], and been refused. In his resentment he wished to bring on the defeat of the army, and now asked [the commander-in-chief] to allow him to flout the army [of Ts'oo]. This was refused; but his further request to be sent with a message to it was granted; so he went, challenged Ts'oo to battle, and was returning. P'wan Tang of Ts'oo pursued him; but when E had got to the marsh of Yung, he saw six stags, and shot one of them. Then turning round, he presented it to Tang, saying, "Amid the business of the army, your hunters may have failed to supply you with fresh meat, and I venture to present this for your followers." On this Shuh-tang gave orders to leave off the pursuit.

'Chaou Chen [a son of Chaou Ch'uen] had asked to be made a minister [in Tsin], and been refused. He was angry, moreover, at the escape of the party of Ts'oo which had flouted the army, and begged to be allowed to go and provoke a battle. This was refused, but he was allowed to go and call Ts'oo to a covenant. So he and Wei E both went to the army of Ts'oo on their several missions.

'Këoh Hëen-tsze [Keoh K'ih] said, "These two dissatisfied spirits are gone. If we do not make preparations, we are sure to be defeated." Che-tsze said, "The people of Ch'ing advised us to fight, and we do not dare to follow their counsel. Ts'oo asked for peace, and we are not able to come to terms with it. There is no acknowledged authority in the army;—what can many preparations do?" Sze Ke [Sze Hwuy] said, "It is well to be prepared. If those two enrage Ts'oo, and its army come suddenly upon us, we shall lose our army in no time. Our best plan is to make preparations [for a battle]. If Ts'oo do not make an attempt upon us, we can remove our preparations, and make a covenant, without there being any injury to a good understanding. If it do make an attempt, being prepared for it, we shall not be defeated. Even in the case of an interview between two princes, they take the precaution not to dispense with a guard of troops."

'Che-tsze [still] refused to agree to this proposal, and Sze Ke sent Kung Soh and Han Ch'uen to place 7 ambushments in front of Gaou. By this means the 1st army was saved from the defeat [which ensued]. Chaou Ying-ts'e sent a party to prepare boats at the Ho; and in this way, though he shared in the defeat, he and his men were the first to cross the river.

'When P'wan Tang had driven away Wei E, Chaou Chen came that same night to the army of Ts'oo; and having spread his mat outside the gate of the camp, he sent his followers in. There were the two bodies of the viscount's own chariots, drawn up on the right and left. Those on the left had stood with the horses yoked from day-break till mid-day; and those on the left had then been similarly harnessed until sun-down. Heu Yen was charioteer to the king in the body on the right, with Yang Yëw-ke as spearman; while P'ăng Ming performed the same duty on the left, with K'euh Tang as spearman.

'On Yih-maou, the king at the head of the chariots of the left, drove out to pursue Chaou Chen, who abandoned his chariot, and ran into a wood, pursued by K'euh Tang, who got his buff-coat and lower garment. [Meanwhile], being afraid in the camp of Tsin that the two officers would enrage the army of Ts'oo, they had sent some large chariots to meet them. P'wan Tang, seeing at a distance the dust raised by these, sent a horseman with all speed to tell the king that the army of Tsin was advancing. The men of Ts'oo, [on their side], were also afraid lest the king should enter the army of Tsin, and issued from their camp in order of battle. Sun Shuh said, "Let us advance. It is better that we set upon them than let them set upon us. The ode says (She, II. iii. ode III., 4),

> 'Ten large war chariots
> Led the van;'—

the object was to be beforehand with the enemy. The 'Art of War' [also] says, 'Anticipate your enemy, and you take away his heart.' Let us press on them." Accordingly he hurried on the army. The carriages dashed along, and the footmen seemed to fly; and so they fell on the army of Tsin. Hwan-tsze did not know what he was doing, but ordered the drums to be beaten in the army, crying out, "A reward to those who first recross the river!" The army of the centre and the 3d army struggled for the boats, till the fingers [of those trying to get in, and that were cut off by those who had already got possession] could be taken up with both hands at once. The other armies moved to the right of the 1st, which alone held its place without moving. Ts'e, minister of Works [in Ts'oo], led the troops which had occupied the left front to pursue the 3d army. [At the same time], the

viscount sent T'ang Këaou and Ts'ae Këw-keu with a message to the marquis Hwuy of T'ang, saying, "All unworthy I am, and in my ambitious desires I have encountered a great enemy. I acknowledge my offence; but if Ts'oo do not conquer, it will be your lordship's disgrace. I venture to depend on your powerful influence to complete the victory of my army." While sending this message, he ordered P'wan Tang, with 40 of the chariots of reserve, to follow the marquis of T'ang, and to act on the left by following the 1st army [of Tsin]. Keu Pih, (Këoh K'ih) said, "Shall we await their onset?" Ke of Suy replied, "The army of Ts'oo is in the flush of its might. If it now collect around us, we are sure to be destroyed. Our best plan is to gather in our troops, and retreat. We shall share the reproach of the other armies, but we shall save the lives of the people." He then placed his own troops in the rear of the retreating forces, and retired without being defeated.

'The king, seeing his own chariots of the right, wished to continue the pursuit in one of them; but K'euh Tang stopped him, saying, "You began with this, and you must end with this." From this time in Ts'oo the chariots of the left got the precedence.

'[In the flight], a chariot belonging to Tsin sank in a rut, and could not proceed. A man of Ts'oo told its occupant to take out the frame for weapons. After this, it advanced a little, and then the horses wanted to turn. The same man advised to take out the large flag-staff, and lay it crosswise. When this was done, the carriage got out of the hole, when its occupant turned round and said to his helper, "We are not so accustomed to fly as the soldiers of your great State!"

'Chaou Chen gave his two best horses to assist his elder brother and his uncle, and was going back with the others, when he met the enemy, and was unable to escape them. He abandoned his chariot therefore, and ran into a wood. The great officer Fung was driving past with his two sons, and [catching sight of Chen], he told them not to look round. They did so, however, and said, "The old great officer Chaou is behind us." He was angry with them, and made them dismount, pointing to a tree, and saying, "Let me find your bodies there." He then gave the reins to Chaou Chen, who thus made his escape. The other, next day, found his sons' bodies at the spot which he had marked.

'Hëung Hoo-ke of Ts'oo took Ying of Che prisoner; and when [Ying's father], Chwang-tsze knew it, he returned to the battle-field with the soldiers of his own clan, Woo-tsze of Ch'oo [Wei E] acting as his charioteer, and many soldiers of the 3d army following him. Whenever he drew out an arrow, though it seemed to be strong, he placed it in the quiver of Woo-tsze, till the latter was angry, and said, "Are you not looking for your son? And do you grudge your arrows? Will it be possible to exhaust the willows of the Tung marsh?" Chwang-tsze replied, "If I do not get some one's son, shall I be able to recover mine? I must not shoot an arrow that I cannot be sure of." He then shot the *Lëen-yin*, Sëang Laou, killed him, and took the body into the carriage. Another arrow hit the Kung-tsze Kuh-shin, whom he made prisoner; and these two trophies obtained, he returned to the army of Tsin. When it was dusk, the army of Ts'oo encamped in Peih, while what remained of that of Tsin could not encamp anywhere, but kept crossing the Ho all the night, the noise of its movements never ceasing.

'On Ping-shin, the heavy waggons of Ts'oo were brought to Peih, and the viscount went on to Hăng-yung. P'wan Tang said to him, 'Why should your lordship not signalize your triumph by making a mound, and collect in it the bodies of the Tsinites so as to form a grand monument? I have heard that successful battles should be shown to posterity, so that the prowess of them may not be forgotten." The viscount said, "You do not know what you are talking about. The character for 'prowess,' is formed by those for 'to stay' and 'a spear' (武=止 and 戈). When king Woo had subdued Shang, he made the ode, which says (She, IV. i. [i.] VIII.),

> 'He has called in shields and spears;
> He has returned to their cases bows and arrows.
> I will seek true virtue,
> And display it throughout the great land,
> That as king I may indeed preserve our appointment.'

He also made the Woo (武; She, IV. i. [ii.] X.), of which the last stanza says,

> 'So he firmly established his merit.'

The 3d stanza says (see She, IV. i. [iii.] X. This is not now a part of the Woo song),

> 'We wish to develope the purposes [of king Wăn],
> And go to seek the settlement of the kingdom.'

The 6th stanza says (She, IV. i. [iii.] IX.),

> 'He gave repose to all the States.
> And there ensued several years of plenty.'

Thus military prowess is seen in the repression of cruelty, the calling in of the weapons of war, the preservation of the great appointment, the firm establishment of one's merit, the giving repose to the people, the harmonizing all [the States], and the enlargement of the general wealth; and king Woo took care by those stanzas that his posterity should not forget this. Now I have caused the bones of the soldiers of two States to lie bleaching on the earth:—an act of cruelty; I display my weapons of war to awe the States:—thus unable to call them in. Cruel and not calling in the weapons of war, how can I preserve the great appointment? And while still the State of Tsin remains, how can I firmly establish my merit? There are many things by which I oppose what the people desire, and how can they get repose from me? Without the practice of virtue, striving by force for supremacy among the States, how can I produce harmony among them? I have made my gain from the perils of others, and found my safety in their disorders;—these things are my glory, but what enlargement of the general wealth is there in them? Not one of the seven virtues belonging to military prowess attaches to me;—what have I to display to my posterity? Let us simply make here a temple for the tablets of my predecessors, and announce to

them our success. The merit of military prowess does not belong to me.

'[Moreover], in ancient times, when the intelligent kings punished disrespectful and disobedient States, they took the greatest criminals among them, and buried them under a mound as the greatest punishment. Thus it was that grand monuments were made for the warning of the unruly and bad. But now when it is not certain to whom tho guilt can positively be ascribed, and the people have all with the utmost loyalty died in fulfilling their ruler's commands, what grounds are there for rearing a grand monument?"

'After this the viscount offered sacrifice at the Ho, reared a temple for the tablets of his predecessors, announced to them the successful accomplishment of his enterprise, and returned to Ts'oo.

'At this time, Shih Che of Ch'ing entered the army of Ts'oo, and proposed to divide Ch'ing into two States, and appoint the Kung-tsze Yushin over one of them. On Sin-wei, Ch'ing put to death Puh-shuh (Yu-shin) and Tsze-fuh (Shih Che). The superior man may say that what the historiographer Yih remarked about not taking advantage of people's troubles was applicable to such parties. The ode says (She, II. v. ode X. 2),

> 'In such distress of disorder and separation,
> Whither can I betake myself?'

They betook themselves to those who would have taken advantage of the trouble and disorder!'

Par. 4. [The Chuen appends here:—1st, 'The earl of Ch'ing and the baron of Heu went to Ts'oo.' 2d, 'In autumn, the army of Tsin returned, and Hwan-tsze (Seun Lin-foo) requested that he might be put to death. The marquis was about to accede to the request, when Sze Ching-tsze [A member of the Sze clan. His name was 渥濁, Uh-chuh] said, "Do not do so. After the battle of Shing-puh [In the 28th year of duke He], the army of Tsin fed for 3 days on the grain [of the enemy], but there was still sorrow on the countenance of duke Wăn. His attendants said to him, "On an occasion of such joy you are still sorrowful; would you be joyful in a time of sorrow?" The duke replied, "While Tih-shin is still alive, my sorrow cannot cease. A wild beast in the toils will still fight; how much more the chief minister of a State!" When Ts'oo put Tsze-yuh [Tih-shin] to death, the joy of the duke could then be seen by all. He said, "There is now none to embitter my peace." In fact [the death of Tih-shin] was a second victory to Tsin, and a second defeat to Ts'oo; and through the time of two rulers Ts'oo could not again show itself strong. Now Heaven has, it may be, given a great warning to Tsin; but if you now proceed to put to death Lin-foo, thereby giving a second victory to Ts'oo, will not Tsin be reduced for a long time to a state of weakness? Lin-foo's service of his ruler has been of this character, that, in an advance, his thought has been how to display his loyalty, and, when obliged to withdraw, his thought has been how to retrieve his errors;—he is a bulwark to the altars of Tsin, and on what ground can you put him to death? His defeat is like an eclipse of the sun or moon; what injury does an eclipse do to those bodies?" On this, the marquis of Tsin ordered Hwan-tsze to resume his office.']

Par. 5. Sëaou,—see V. xxx. 6. Too observes that there was no Mow-yin day in the 12th month of this year. Mow-yin was the 9th day of the 11th month. The Chuen says:—'In winter the viscount of Ts'oo invaded Sëaou, which Hwa Tsëaou of Sung, with a body of men from Ts'ae, endeavoured to relieve. The people of Sëaou held as prisoners Hëung-sëang E-lëaou and the Kung-tsze Ping. The king said, "Do not put them to death, and I will retire." They put them to death, however, which enraged the king, so that he laid siege to their city; when the people dispersed. Woo-shin, duke of Shin, said to the king, "Many of the soldiers are suffering from the cold;" on which the king went round all the host, comforting the soldiers and encouraging them, which made them feel as if they were clad in quilted garments. They then approached Sëaou, when Sëuen Woo-shay spoke with the marshal Maou, and asked him to call Shuh-chen of Shin to him. Shuh-chen said, "Have you any wheaten cakes made with leaven?" "No," said the other. "Have you any spirits made from the hill grass?" "No," was the reply again. "What then will you do when your belly is pained with the fish from the river?" asked Shuh-chen. The other replied, "Look into a dry well, and save me out of it." "If you place a band of rushes on it," [said Shuh-chen, "I will know it]. And when you hear the sound of weeping near the well, it will be I."

'Next day, the people of Sëaou dispersed. Shuh of Shin looked for the well, and there was the rush-band at it. He then wept, and brought out [his friend] Woo-she.'

Par. 6. The K'ang-he editors observe that here for the first time we have the great officers of States covenanting together about the affairs of their States. Ts'ing-k'ëw was in Wei, 70 *le* to the south-east of the present K'ae-chow, dep. Ta-ming, Chih-le. Tso-she says:—'Hwoh of Yuen (Sëen Hwoh), Hwa Tsëaou of Sung, Tah of Wei, and an officer of Ts'aou, covenanted together at Ts'ing-k'ëw, to the effect that they would compassionate States which were in distress, and punish those that were disaffected.' He adds, 'The names of the ministers are not recorded, because they did not make their words good.'

Par. 7. Ch'in had taken the side of Ts'oo, and was therefore a 'disaffected State,' against which the States mentioned in the preceding par. should have acted in common, whereas we have Wei going to its help.

The Chuen says:—'In accordance with the covenant, Sung invaded Ch'in, but the people of Wei went to its help. K'ung Tah said, "Our former ruler had a treaty with Ch'in; if the great State [of Tsin] come to punish us [for helping it], I will die on account of the affair."

Thirteenth year.

一章 十有三年、春、齊師伐莒。

二章 夏、楚子伐宋。

三章 秋、螽。

四章 冬、晉殺其大夫先穀。

左傳曰、十三年、春、齊師伐莒。莒恃晉而不事齊故也。

夏、楚子伐宋。以其救蕭也。君子曰、清丘之盟、唯宋可以免焉。

秋、赤狄伐晉、及清、先穀召之也。冬晉人討邲之敗、與清之師、歸罪於先穀而殺之、盡滅其族。君子曰、惡之來也、己則取之、其先穀之謂乎。

㊂清丘之盟、晉以衛之救陳也、討焉。使人弗去、曰、罪無所歸、將加而師。孔達曰、苟利社稷、請以我說、罪我之由、我則爲政、而亢大國之討、將以誰任、我則死之。

XIII. 1 In the [duke's] thirteenth year, in spring, an army of Ts'e invaded Keu.

2 In summer, the viscount of Ts'oo invaded Sung.

3 In autumn, there were locusts.

4 In winter, Tsin put to death its great officer, Sëen Hwoh.

Par. 1. Kung-yang has Wei (衛) here instead of Keu; but the latter is no doubt the correct reading. Nowhere in the Ch'un Ts'ëw have we any account of hostilities between Ts'e and Wei, whereas from the 4th year of duke Sëuen there seems to have been a state of chronic hostility between Keu on the one part, and Loo and Ts'e on the other [See IV. 1; XI. 3]. Tso-she says that the reason for the invasion in the text was because Keu, depending on the protection of Tsin, would not do service to Ts'e.

Par. 2. Tso-she says:—'The viscount of Ts'oo invaded Sung, because it had endeavoured to relieve Sëaou. The superior man may say that, in [the account of] the covenant of Ts'ing-k'ëw, Sung might have escaped [the disapprobation indicated by the suppression of the name of its minister].'

Par. 3. Here again Kung-yang has 螺 for 螽.

Par. 4. For 穀 Kuh-leang has 縠. Sëen Hwoh deserved to die, for the great defeat at Peih was mainly owing to his insubordination; and he had since engaged in other nefarious plotting. The Chuen says:—'In autumn, the Red Teih, at the invitation of Sëen Hwoh, invaded Tsin, and advanced as far as Ts'ing. In winter, Tsin, to avenge the defeat at Peih and this advance of the Teih to Ts'ing, laid the blame of both affairs on Sëen Hwoh, and put him to death, exterminating also all the branches of his clan. The superior man may say that the maxim, "When evil comes on a man, it has been brought on by himself," found an illustration in Sëen Hwoh.'

[The Chuen appends here:—'In consequence of the covenant at Ts'ing-k'ëw, Tsin sent to demand from Wei an account of its relieving Ch'in. The messenger would not go away, and said, "If the offence be not laid on some one, my mission will be followed up by an army of attack." K'ung Tah said, "If it will be of advantage to the State, please lay the blame on me. The ground of criminating me lies in the fact that from me proceeded the movement which has excited the great State to demand reparation? I will die for this matter.']

Fourteenth year.

一章 十有四年、春、衞殺其大夫孔達。
二章 夏五月、壬申、曹伯壽卒。
三章 晉侯伐鄭。
四章 秋、九月、楚子圍宋。
五章 葬曹文公。
六章 冬、公孫歸父會齊侯於穀。

左傳曰、十四年、春、孔達縊而死。衞人以說于晉、而免。遂告於諸侯曰、寡君有不令之臣達、構我敝邑於大國、既伏其罪矣、敢告。衞人以爲成勞、復室其子、使復其位。夏、晉侯伐鄭、爲邲故也。告於諸侯、蒐焉而還。中行桓子之謀也、曰、示之以整、使謀而來。鄭人懼、使子張代子良於楚、鄭伯如楚、謀晉故也。鄭以子良爲有禮、故召之。楚子使申舟聘於齊、曰、無假道於宋、亦使公子馮聘於晉、不假道於鄭。申舟以孟諸之役惡宋、曰、鄭昭宋聾、晉使不害、我則必死。王曰、殺女、我伐之。見犀而行。及宋、宋人止之、華元曰、過我而不假道、鄙我也、鄙我亡也、殺其使者、必伐我、伐我亦亡也、亡一也。乃殺之、楚子聞之、投袂而起、屨及於窒皇、劍及於寢門之外、車及於蒲胥之市。秋、九月、楚子圍宋。冬、公孫歸父會齊侯於穀、見晏桓子、與之言魯樂。桓子告高宣子、曰、子家其亡乎、懷於魯矣、懷必貪、貪必謀人、謀人、人亦謀己、一國謀之、何以不亡。

㊂孟獻子言于公曰、臣聞小國之免于大國也、聘而獻物、于是有庭實旅百、朝而獻功、于是有容貌、采章、嘉淑、而有加貨、謀其不免也、誅而薦賄、則無及也、今楚在宋、君其圖之。公說、

XIV. 1 In the [duke's] fourteenth year, in spring, Wei put to death its great officer, K'ung Tah.

2 In summer, in the fifth month, on Jin-shin, Show, earl of Ts'aou, died.

3 The marquis of Tsin invaded Ch'ing.
4 In autumn, in the ninth month, the viscount of Ts'oo laid siege to [the capital of] Sung.
5 There was the burial of duke Wăn of Ts'aou.
6 In winter, Kung-sun Kwei-foo had a meeting with the marquis of Ts'e at Kuh.

Par. 1. This is the sequel to the narrative at the end of the last year. The Chuen says:—'In the duke's 14th year, in spring, K'ung Tah strangled himself, which the people of Wei represented so as to satisfy Tsin, and escape [further proceedings from that State]. They then announced the thing to the States, saying, "Our ruler had a bad minister, Tah, who brought our poor city into collision with the great State. The minister has suffered for his crime, and we venture to inform you of it." But considering the services which Tah had performed in pacifying [the State], they gave his son [a daughter of the marquis] to wife, and made him continue in his father's position [as a great officer].'

Par. 3. Ch'ing had acknowledged the supremacy of Ts'oo, after Tsin's defeat at Peih; hence this invasion of it. It is strange the K'ang-he editors should find the sage's approval of the invasion in the words of the text,—'the marquis of Tsin.' The marquis conducted the expedition in person, and the fact is so stated. The right or wrong of it is to be determined by other considerations.

The Chuen says:—'In summer, the marquis of Tsin invaded Ch'ing, because of the defeat at Peih. He announced his doing so to the various States, held a review of his troops, and returned. This was by the counsel of Chung-hang Hwan-tsze [Sëun Lin-foo. Chung-hang here becomes = his surname. For the origin of the denomination, see the Chuen at the end of V. xxviii], who said, "Show them our array, and let them consult about it, and come to us." The people of Ch'ing were afraid, and sent Tsze-chang to take the place of Tsze-lëang in Ts'oo [See the Chuen on XII. 2]. The earl also went to Ts'oo, to consult about Tsin; and the State, considering with what propriety Tsze-lëang had behaved [in formerly declining the marquisate], recalled him.'

Par. 4. This invasion of Sung and siege of its capital was a further movement of Ts'oo to weaken Tsin. How it was brought about is related in the Chuen:—'The viscount of Ts'oo sent Shin Chow on a friendly mission to Ts'e, telling him that he should go through Sung without asking a right of way. At the same time he sent the Kung-tsze P'ing on a friendly mission to Tsin, without asking permission to pass through Ch'ing. Shin Chow, remembering how he had incurred the resentment of Sung in the affair at Măng-choo [See the Chuen on VI. x. 6. 7. Chow here is the Woo-wei there], said, "Ch'ing is clear-sighted, but Sung is deaf. The messenger to Tsin will suffer no harm, but I am sure to meet with my death." The king said, "If Sung put you to death, I will invade it." Chow then introduced [his son], Se, to the king, and went on his journey.

'When he came to Sung, they detained him there. Hwa Yuen said, "To pass through our State without asking our permission, is to treat our State as if it were a border of Ts'oo,—is to deal with it as if Sung were not a State. If we put to death its messenger, Ts'oo is sure to invade us, and Sung will perish. In either case Sung ceases to be a State." Accordingly, Shin Chow was put to death. When the viscount heard of it, he shook down his sleeves and rose from his seat. His shoes were brought to him when he had reached the threshold of his chamber; his sword was brought to him outside the door of the chamber; and his carriage reached him when he had got to the market-place called P'oo-seu. In autumn, in the 9th month, he laid siege to the capital of Sung.'

Par. 6. Kuh,—see III. vii. 4, *et al.* Kung-sun Kwei-foo,—see on X. 10. Wang Paou and other critics strongly condemn Kwei-foo as having been the first great officer who did according to his own pleasure in the administration of the government of Loo. The Chuen says:—'At this meeting, when Kwei-foo saw Gan Hwan-tsze, he spoke with him about the affairs of Loo, rejoicing [in his own position there]. Hwan-tsze told Kaou Seuen-tsze [the Kaou Koo of V. 3] about it, saying, "Tsze-këa [The designation of Kwei-foo] is sure to come to ruin. He is all intent on [the dignities of] Loo. Being so, he is sure to cherish a covetous ambition, and then to be scheming against others. But when one schemes against others, they will scheme against him; and when a whole State schemes against a man, how can he escape going to ruin?'

[The Chuen appends here:—'Măng Hëen-tsze [See the Chuen on VI. xv. 4] said to the duke, "I have heard that the way in which a small State escapes [being incriminated by] a great one is by sending to it friendly missions and making various offerings, on which there are the hundred things set forth in the court-yard. Or if the prince go himself to the court [of the great State] to show his services, then he assumes a pleased appearance, and makes elegant and valuable presents, even beyond what could be required of him. He acts thus lest he should not escape [being incriminated]. If, after being reprimanded, he present rich offerings, it is too late. Ts'oo is now in Sung; let your lordship consider what should be done." The duke was pleased.']

Fifteenth year.

一章 十有五年、春、公孫歸父會楚子于宋。

二章 夏五月、宋人及楚人平。

三章 六月、癸卯、晉師滅赤狄潞氏、以潞子嬰兒歸。

四章 秦人伐晉。

五章 王札子殺召伯、毛伯。

六章 秋、螽。

七章 仲孫蔑會齊高固于無婁。

八章 初稅畝。

九章 冬、蝝生。

十章 饑。

左傳曰、十五年、春、公孫歸父會楚子于宋。

宋人使樂嬰齊告急于晉、晉侯欲救之。伯宗曰、不可、古人有言曰、雖鞭之長、不及馬腹、天方授楚、未可與爭、雖晉之彊、能違天乎、諺曰、高下在心、川澤納汙、山藪藏疾、瑾瑜匿瑕、國君含垢、天之道也、君其待之。乃止。使解揚如宋、使無降楚、曰、晉師悉起、將至矣。鄭人囚而獻諸楚、楚子厚賂之、使反其言、不許、三而許之、登諸樓車、使呼宋而告之、遂致其君命。楚子將殺之、使與之言、

曰、爾既許不穀而反之、何故、非我無信、女則棄之、速卽爾刑。對曰、臣聞之、君能制命爲義、臣能承命爲信、信載義而行之爲利、謀不失利、以衞社稷、民之主也、義無二信、信無二命、君之賂臣、不知命也、受命以出、有死無霣、又可賂乎、臣之許君、以成命也、死而成命、臣之祿也、寡君有信臣、下臣獲考、死又何求。楚子舍之以歸。夏五月、楚師將去宋、申犀稽首于王之馬前、曰、毋畏知死、而不敢廢王命、王棄言焉。王不能答。申叔時僕、曰、築室反耕者、宋必聽命。從之、宋人懼、使華元夜入楚師、登子反之牀、起之曰、寡君使元以病告、曰、敝邑易子而食、析骸以爨、雖然、城下之盟、有以國斃、不能從也、去我三十里、唯命是聽。子反懼、與之盟、而告王、退三十里、宋及楚平、華元爲質、盟曰、我無爾詐、爾無我虞。

潞子嬰兒之夫人、晉景公之姊也、酆舒爲政而殺之、又傷潞子之目、晉侯將伐之。諸大夫皆曰、不可、酆舒有三儁才、不如待後之人。伯宗曰、必伐之、狄有五罪、儁才雖多、何補焉、不祀、一也、耆酒、二也、棄仲章而奪黎氏地、三也、虐我伯姬、四也、傷其君目、五也、怙其儁才、而不以茂德、茲益罪也、後之人或者將敬奉德義、以事神人、而申固其命、若之何待之、不討有罪、曰將待後、後有辭而討焉、毋乃不可乎、夫恃才與衆、亡之道也、商紂由之、故滅、天反時爲災、地反物爲妖、民反德爲亂、亂則妖災生、故文反正爲乏、盡在狄矣。晉侯從之。六月癸卯、晉荀林父敗赤狄於曲梁。辛亥、滅潞。酆舒奔衞、衞人歸諸晉、晉人殺之。

秋七月、秦桓公伐晉、次於輔氏。壬午、晉侯治兵於稷、以畧狄土、立黎侯而還。及雒、魏顆敗秦師於輔氏、獲杜回、秦之力人也。初、魏武子有嬖妾、無子、武子疾、命顆曰、必嫁是。疾病則曰、必以爲殉。及卒、顆嫁之、曰、疾病則亂、吾從其治也。及輔氏之役、顆見老人結草以亢杜回、杜回躓而顛、故獲之。夜夢之曰、余而所嫁婦人之父也、爾用先人之治命、余是以報。

王孫蘇與召氏、毛氏爭政、使王子捷殺召戴公、及毛伯衞。卒立召襄。

⨸晉侯賞桓子狄臣千室、亦賞士伯以瓜衍之縣、曰、吾獲狄土、子之功也、微子、吾喪伯氏矣。羊舌職說是賞也、曰、周書所謂庸庸祗祗者、謂此物也夫、士伯庸中行伯、君信之、亦庸士伯、此之謂明德矣、文王所以造周、不是過也、故詩曰、陳錫哉周、能施也、率是道也、其何不濟。

⨸晉侯使趙同獻狄俘於周、不敬。劉康公曰、不及十年、原叔有大咎、天奪之魄矣。

初稅畝。非禮也。穀出不過藉、以豐財也。

冬、蝝生、饑、幸之也。

XV. 1 In the [duke's] fifteenth year, in spring, Kung-sun Kwei-foo had an interview with the viscount of Ts'oo in Sung.

2 In summer, in the fifth month, the people of Sung made peace with the people of Ts'oo.

3 In the sixth month, on Kwei-maou, an army of Tsin extinguished the Loo tribe of the Red Teih, and carried Ying-urh, viscount of Loo, back with it to Tsin.

4 A body of men from Ts'in invaded Tsin.

5 The king's son Chah put to death the earls of Shaou and Maou.

6 In autumn, there were locusts.

7 Chung-sun Mëeh had a meeting with Kaou Koo of Ts'e in Woo-low.

8 For the first time an [additional] tithe was levied from the acre.

9 In winter, the larvæ of locusts were produced.

10 There was famine.

Par. 1. It is said at the end of the concluding Chuen of last year, that the duke was pleased with the suggestion of Măng Hëen that he should send a friendly mission to the viscount of Ts'oo. Here we are told how he proceeded to do so.

Par. 2. 宋人及楚人平=宋及楚平, 'Sung made peace with Ts'oo.' In accounts of peace made between States, only the names of the States are given, without the addition of 人 as here;—see X. vii. 1; XI.x.1, *et al.* But no stress is to be laid on the 人 here, as if it indicated the princes or ministers by whom the treaty of peace was made. The use of it is merely a variation of the usual style (史異辭耳);—see the gloss of Ying-tah, *in loc.*

The Chuen relates:—'The people of Sung sent Yoh Ying-ts'e to announce to Tsin how hard they were pressed, and the marquis of Tsin wished to proceed to their relief. Pih-tsung, however, said, 'No. The ancients had a saying that, however long the whip was, it did not reach the horse's belly. Heaven is now giving [the power] to Ts'oo, and we cannot contend against it. Strong as Tsin is, can it resist Heaven? There are the common sayings, 'The mind must determine how high or how low it can go;' 'the rivers and meres receive [much] filth;' 'the hills and thickets hide noxious things;' 'the finest gems have flaws;' 'princes of States must [at times] take dirt in their mouths.' This is the way of Heaven; let your lordship wait [for another opportunity]." The marquis then desisted from his purpose, and sent Heae Yang to Sung, to advise [the duke] not to surrender to Ts'oo, saying, "Tsin is raising all its forces, and they will [soon] be with you." The people of Ch'ing took him prisoner, and delivered him to Ts'oo, when the viscount offered him large bribes to induce him to convey a message of a contrary character. He refused at first, but finally agreed to do so. He was then mounted on a turreted carriage; and having called the attention of the people of Sung, he delivered the message with which the marquis had entrusted him. The viscount was going to put him to death, and sent him a message, saying, "Why did you thus violate the promise which you made to me? I do not break my faith with you;—it is you who have

cast [our agreement] away. Go quickly, and receive your punishment." Hëae Yang replied. "I have heard that when a prince gives out his command, it is a righteous act which he discharges, and when a minister receives that command, he is bound in fidelity to fulfil it. The faithful fulfilment of the righteous command is beneficial to the State, and he who lays his plans so that that benefit shall be secured for the defence of the altars is the people's friend. The righteous command does not admit of two fidelities; fidelity does not recognize two commands. When your lordship tried to bribe me, you knew not the uature of a command. I came forth with the command which I had received; and though I die, it has not fallen to the ground. To die in fulfilling the command is my happiness;—[it will be seen that] my prince had a faithful servant. I have been able to accomplish my task;—though I die, what more should I seek for?" [On hearing this reply], the viscount let him go to return [to Tsin].

'In summer, in the 5th month, the army of Ts'oo was about to withdraw from Sung, when Shin Se bowed with his head to the ground before the king's horses, and said, "Though Woowei [Shin Chow, Se's father] knew it would cost him his life, he did not dare to decline your majesty's commission; and your majesty is breaking your word!" The king could not answer him. His charioteer, Shin Shuh-she, said, "If you build houses here, and send half the army back to till the ground, Sung will receive your commands and submit to them." [The king followed the counsel], and the people of Sung were afraid, and sent Hwa Yuen by night into the army of Ts'oo. He went up to the couch of Tsze-fan, and roused him, saying, "My master has sent me to inform you of our distress. In the city we are exchanging our children and eating them, and splitting up their bones for fuel. Notwithstanding, if you require us to make a covenant with you under the walls, we will not do so, though our city should be utterly overthrown. Withdraw from us 30 *le*, and then we will accept your commands." Tsze-fan was afraid, made a covenant with Yuen, and informed the king, who retired 30 *le*, when Sung and Ts'oo made peace, Hwa Yuen remaining as a hostage with Ts'oo. The words of their covenant were, "We [of Ts'oo] will not deceive you; do not you doubt us."'

Par. 3. 赤狄潞氏;—see on III. 6. We see from this par. that the chiefs of the Loo tribes had the title of viscount. The Chuen relates:—'The wife of Ying-urh, viscount of Loo, was an elder sister of duke King of Tsin. The power of the tribe was in the hands of Fung Shoo, who put this lady to death, and injured one of the viscount's eyes. The marquis of Tsin wished to attack the tribe, but the great officers all advised against such an undertaking, saying that Fung Shoo possessed three extraordinary endowments, and that Tsin had better wait for a future opportunity to deal with the Loo-she. Pih-tsung, however, said, "We must attack them [now]. [That] Teih is chargeable with five crimes, and of what help will his many extraordinary endowments be to him? His first crime is that he does not offer sacrifices; his second, that he is given to drunkenness; his third, that he abandoned Chung Chang, and took away the territory of the chief of Le; his fourth, that he dealt so cruelly with the eldest daughter of our State; and his fifth, that he injured the eye of his ruler. His reliance on his extraordinary endowments, to the neglect of all virtue, only increases his guilt. His successor will perhaps reverently addict himself to the cultivation of virtue and righteousness, so as to serve both Spirits and men, thereby strengthening his title to the country;—how will it be, if we should wait for such an one? If we do not punish the present criminal, but say, 'Let us wait for his successor,' and then proceed to punish him, who may have reasons to allege why he should not be touched at all, will not our course be unreasonable? To rely on one's endowments and numbers is the way to ruin;—Chow of Shang followed it, and his utter ruin was the consequence. When the seasons of heaven are reversed, we have calamities; when the productions of the earth are reversed, we have prodigious things; when the virtues of men are reversed, we have disorders. It is those disorders which give rise to the calamities and prodigious things, just as the character for *correctness*, when reversed, produces that for *failure* [See the 說文解字注, in the 皇清經解, Ch. 642, 下, art. 1). All these things are predicable of the Teih."

'The marquis of Tsin followed this counsel; and in the 6th month, on Kwei-maou, Seun Lin-foo defeated the Red Teih at K'ëuh-lëang. On Sin-hae he extinguished Loo. Fung Shoo fled to Wei, the people of which sent him to Tsin, where he was put to death.'

Par. 4. There had been no hostilities between Ts'in and Tsin, since the invasion of Tsin mentioned in the duke's 2d year. We do not know what led to the invasion in the text, though, from the Kwoh Yu, Bk. XIII. art. 1, we may suppose that Ts'in was jealous of Tsin's acquisition of the Loo-she. The Chuen says:—'In autumn, in the 7th month, duke Hwan of Ts'in invaded Tsin, and halted with his army at Foo-she. On Jin-woo, the marquis of Tsin led a body of troops and exercised them at Tsih, to secure the annexation of the territory of the Teih. He then restored the marquis of Le, and had got as far as Loh on his return, when Wei Ko defeated the army of Ts'in at Foo-she, taking prisoner Too Hwuy, who was [known as] the strong man of Ts'in. Before this, [Wei Ko's father], Wei Woo-tsze had a favourite concubine, who brought him no child. When he was ill, he charged Ko that he should marry her to some one; but afterwards, when he had become very ill, he told him that he must bury her alive in his grave. After his father's death, Ko provided her with a husband, saying, "When my father was so very ill, his senses were disordered; I will follow the charge he gave when his mind was right." At the battle of Foo-she, he saw an old man who was making ropes of grass in the way of Too Hwuy, against which the strong man tript, so that he fell and was taken. In the night, Ko dreamt that the old man said to him, "I am the father of the woman whom you provided with a husband. Because you followed the charge which your father gave you when in his senses, I have thus recompensed you."'

Par. 5. 王札子 is simply = 王子札, 'the king's son, Chah.' Why the characters are so inverted it is difficult to say. What the paragraph relates shows that the court of Chow must have been in as disorderly and lawless a condition as the courts of the difft. States. Chah was probably a brother of the reigning king. The Chuen says:—'Wang-sun (*i. e.*, A grandson of some former king) Soo had a contention with the chiefs of Shaou and Maou about the chief sway in the government, and made the king's son Tsze-tsëeh [The designation of Chah) put to death duke Tae of Shaou and Wei, earl of Maou. Afterwards, Sëang of Shaou was appointed [in his father's place].'

Par. 6. [The Chuen here relates:—1st, 'The marquis of Tsin rewarded Hwan-tsze with the revenues of a thousand families with which the Teih ministers had been endowed, and he also rewarded Sze Pih [The Sze Ching-tsze of the 2d narrative appended to XII. 4] with the district of Kwa-yen, saying, "That I have got the territory of the Teih is all owing to you. But for you, I should have lost Pih-she [Seun Lin-foo; See the Chuen just referred to]. Yang-sheh Chih, speaking of these rewards, said "The words in [one of] the Books of Chow (Shoo. V. ix. 4), 'He employed the employable, and revered the reverend,' are applicable to such a case as this. Sze Pih advised the employment of Chung-hang Pih. The marquis confided in him, and followed his advice. This may be called a case of 'intelligent virtue.' The virtue by which king Wăn raised the House of Chow did not go beyond this. Hence the ode (She, III. i. ode I. 2) says,

'Vast were the gifts of Chow,'

and thus it was that [king Wăn] could perpetuate [his fortune]. It is impossible that he should not succeed who follows this way."'

2d. 'The marquis of Tsin sent Chaou T'ung to present the spoils of the Teih at the court of Chow, where he behaved disrespectfully. Duke K'ang of Lëw said, "In less than ten years Shuh of Yuen (Chaou T'ung) will be sure to meet with great calamity. Heaven has taken his wits away from him."']

Par. 7. Chung-sun Mëeh is the Măng Hëen-tsze, with whom we have met already. Kaou Koo is the minister of Ts'e, whose marriage with one of the duke's daughters is related in the 5th year. Too says that Woo-low was a town of Ke (杞邑); but Kung-yang has 牟 for 無, and the place would thus be the Mow-low which Keu took from Ke in the 4th year of duke Yin. We do not know what the two ministers met about, and need not occupy ourselves with the conjectures of the critics.

Par. 8. Tso-she says:—'This enactment was contrary to rule. The grain contributed by the people should not have exceeded the tithe from the system of mutual dependence [See Mencius, III. Pt. I. iii. 6], having respect to the enlargement of the people's wealth.' It would appear then, acc. to this view, that, besides the produce of every tenth acre, cultivated by the common labour of the farmers round it, and the property of the State, duke Seuen now required another 10th from the produce of the other 9 acres which every family cultivated for itself. And this is probably correct. From the Analects, XII. ix. 3, we learn that, in Confucius' time, two tenths of the produce of the land were levied by the State, and it is most likely that we have in the text the first imposition of the second of these. Kung and Kuh, however, think that the text only speaks of the abandonment of the ancient system of the cultivation of the public tenth of the land by the common labour of the husbandmen in the different plots around it, and the dividing it among them, and then requiring from each family a tenth of the produce of its allotment. The K'ang-he editors merely say that Hoo Gan-kwoh maintains this view, while Choo He preferred that of Too Yu, founded on Tso-she's remarks, without giving any opinion of their own.

Parr. 9,10. 蝝 is the name for the locust in the grub or caterpillar state (始生曰蝝, 大曰螽). I cannot understand the note of Tso-she on these paragraphs. He says:—'In winter the larvæ were produced, and there was famine. The language shows thankfulness for the luck.' Acc. to Too, his idea is that those larvæ were produced in the winter when they could not do much harm; but the winter of Chow was only the natural autumn of the year. In the natural summer there had been a plague of locusts; and now towards the end of autumn came these caterpillars to devour what the locusts had left. There was no 'luck' to be thankful for, but terrible calamity, and famine was the consequence.

Sixteenth year.

一章 十有六年、春、王正月、晉人滅赤狄甲氏、及留吁。

二章 夏、成周宣榭火。

三章 秋、郯伯姬來歸。

四章 冬、大有年。

左傳曰、十六年、春、晉士會帥師滅赤狄甲氏、及留吁、鐸辰。三月、獻狄俘、晉侯請於王、戊申、以黻冕命士會將中軍、且爲大傅。於是晉國之盜、逃奔于秦。羊舌職曰、吾聞之、禹稱善人、不善人遠、此之謂也夫。詩曰、戰戰兢兢、如臨深淵、如履薄冰、善人在上也、善人在上、則國無幸民、諺曰、民之多幸、國之不幸也、是無善人之謂也。夏、成周宣榭火。人火之也。凡火、人火曰火、天火曰災。秋、郯伯姬來歸。出也。

㈡爲毛召之難故、王室復亂、王孫蘇奔晉、晉人復之。

㈢冬、晉侯使士會平王室、定王享之、原襄公相禮、殽烝、武子私問其故、王聞之、召武子曰、季氏、而弗聞乎、王享有體薦、宴有折俎、公當享、卿當宴、王室之禮也。武子歸而講求典禮、以修晉國之法。

XVI. 1 In the [duke's] sixteenth year, in spring, in the king's first month, a body of men from Tsin extinguished the Këah and Lëw-yu tribes of the Red Teih.

2 In summer, the archery-court of [king] Sëuen at Ch'ing-chow was set on fire.

3 In autumn, the duke's eldest daughter, who had been married to [the viscount of] T'an, returned to Loo [divorced].

4 In winter, there was a very plentiful year.

Par. 1. The Këah-she and the Lëw-yu were, after the Loo-she, the principal tribes of the Red Teih; the former having their site in the pres. dis. of Ke-tsih (雞澤), dep. Kwang-p'ing, Chih-le, while that of the second, was in the dis. of T'un-lëw (屯留), dep. Loo-gan, Shan-se. The Chuen mentions another tribe,—that of the Toh-shin, which appears to have been a branch of the Lëw-yu. On the extinction of these tribes, all the territory of the Red Teih came into the possession of Tsin.

The Chuen says:—'In spring, Sze Hwuy of Tsin led a force, and extinguished the Keah tribe of the Red Teih, and also the tribes of Lëw-yu and Toh-shin. In the 3d month he presented the spoils of the Teih [to the king]. The marquis of Tsin requested [the robes of appointment for him] from the king, and on Mow-shin, with the apron and cap he appointed Sze Hwuy to the command of the army of the centre, and also to be grand-guardian. After this the thieves of Tsin all fled into Ts'in. Yang-sheh Chih said, "I have heard that when Yu promoted good men, the bad men all disappeared; and here is an instance of the same. The words of the ode (She, II. v. ode II. 6),

'Be fearful and cautious,
As if approaching a deep abyss,
As if treading on thin ice,'

are descriptive of a good man in a high situation. When that is the case, there are no people in the State trusting to luck. 'When there are many people trusting to luck,' the common saying goes, 'that is unlucky for the State.' That is applicable to a time when there are no good men."'

Par. 2. Kung-yang has 謝 for 榭; and both Kung and Kuh have 災 for 火. Tso-she says that in all accounts of fires, 火 denotes that the fire was caused by men, and 災 that it was from Heaven. Ch'ing-chow is the same as Loh-yang, the eastern or 'lower' capital of Chow;—see the Shoo, V. xxiv. 1. Too defines 榭 by 講武屋, 'a house for the practice of military exercises,' archery being specially intended. Kung-yang and, recently, Maou understand the term in the meaning of 'temple;' but the other signification is ably vindicated by Ying-tah. 宣 is probably = 宣王, though the meaning cannot be said to be well ascer-

tained. Sëuen was a distinguished king, and might well have left a court or pavilion at Ch'ing-chow, called by his name.

Par. 3. T'an,—see IV. 1. When the duke's daughter was married to the earl of T'an, we are not told. What is related in the 4th year shows that there were friendly relations between Loo and T'an; but Tso-she says that the lady's coming back to Loo here was in consequence of her being divorced, or sent away from Ts'an (出也).

[The Chuen appends here:—1st, 'In consequence of the troubles about [the earls of] Shaou and Maou [See p. 5 of last year], the royal House was again thrown into confusion. Wang Sun-soo fled to Tsin, by which he was restored.' 2d, 'In winter, the marquis of Tsin sent Sze Hwuy to pacify the royal House, when king Ting feasted him, duke Sëang of Yuen directing the ceremonies. The meat was brought in cut on the platters. Woo-tsze (Sze Hwuy) privately asked the reason of this arrangement; and when the king heard that he did so, he called him, and said, 'Mr. Ke (季 was Hwuy's designation), have you not heard this;—when the king feasts the princes, the animals are brought in, not cut up; but when he entertains their ministers, the meat is served cut up on the platters. This is the rule of the royal House." When Woo-tsze returned to Tsin, he examined all its statutes [affecting entertainments], to regulate correctly its various rules.']

Par. 4. The critics cannot be content with accepting this paragraph as the simple statement of a fact by way of contrast to the suffering in the last quarter of the previous year; but cast about to find some moral reason for the record. See on II. iii. 10, where we have 有年 for 'a good year.' Here we have 大有年, 'a very good year.'

Seventeenth year.

一章 十有七年、春、王正月、庚子、許男錫我卒。

二章 丁未、蔡侯申卒。

三章 夏、葬許昭公、葬蔡文公。

四章 六月、癸卯、日有食之。

五章 己未、公會晉侯、衛侯、曹伯、邾子、同盟於斷道。

六章 秋、公至自會。

七章 冬、十有一月、壬午、公弟叔肸卒。

左傳曰、十七年、春、晉侯使郤克徵會於齊、齊頃公帷婦人使觀之、郤子登、婦人笑於房。獻子怒、出而誓曰、所不此報、無能涉河。獻子先歸、使欒京廬待命于齊、曰、不得齊事、無復命矣。郤子至、請伐齊、晉侯弗許、請以其私屬、又弗許。齊侯使高固、晏弱、蔡朝、南郭偃會。及斂盂、高固逃歸。夏、會於斷道、討貳也。盟於卷楚、辭齊人、晉人執晏弱於野王、執蔡朝於原、執南郭偃於溫。苗賁皇使、見晏桓子、歸言於晉侯曰、夫晏子何罪、昔者

諸侯事吾先君、皆如不逮、舉言羣臣不信、諸侯皆有貳志、齊君恐不得禮、故不出、而使四子來、左右或沮之、曰、君不出、必執吾使、故高子及斂盂而逃、夫三子者曰、若絕君好、寧歸死焉、爲是犯難而來、吾若善逆彼、以懷來者、吾又執之、以信齊沮、吾不既過矣乎、過而不改、而又久之、以成其悔、何利之有焉、使反者得辭、而害來者、以懼諸侯、將焉用之、晉人緩之、逸。

(三)秋、八月、晉師還。范武子將老、召文子曰、燮乎、吾聞之、喜怒以類者鮮、易者實多、詩曰、君子如怒、亂庶遄沮、君子如祉、亂庶遄已、君子之喜怒、以已亂也、弗已者、必益之、郤子其或者欲已亂於齊乎、不然、余懼其益之也、余將老、使郤子逞其志、庶有豸乎、爾從二三子唯敬。乃請老、郤獻子爲政。

冬、公弟叔肸卒、公母弟也。凡大子之母弟、公在曰公子、不在曰弟。凡稱弟、皆母弟也。

XVII. 1 In the [duke's] seventeenth year, in spring, in the king's first month, on Kăng-tsze, Seih-go, baron of Heu, died.

2 On Ting-we, Shin, marquis of Ts'ae, died.

3 In summer there were the burials of duke Ch'aou of Heu, and of duke Wăn of Ts'ae.

4 In the sixth month, on Kwei-maou, the sun was eclipsed.

5 On Ke-we, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Tsin, the marquis of Wei, the earl of Ts'aou, and the viscount of Choo, when they made a covenant together in Twan-taou.

6 In autumn, the duke arrived from the meeting.

7 In winter, in the eleventh month, on Jin-woo, the duke's younger brother, Shuh-heih, died.

Parr. 1—3. Ke Pun (季本; Ming dynasty), says:—'At this time Heu and Ts'ae were of the party of Ts'oo. Their announcing the death of their princes to Loo, and Loo's messages to them of condolence, show that it also inclined to the same side.

Par. 4. Here for the second time there is a serious error in these records of eclipses. The 1st day of the 6th month in this year was Këah-shin (甲辰), the day after Kwei-maou, and there was no eclipse upon it. This was ascertained by Këang Kih (姜岌), of the eastern Tsin dynasty. He and the Buddhist priest Yih-hang (一行) of the T'ang dynasty, made out an eclipse to have been possible on Yih-hae (乙亥), the 1st day of the 5th month; but that was in the southern hemisphere. There was one on Sin-we, in the 11th month; but it was not visible in Loo. There was, however an eclipse in Seuen's 7th year in the 6th month, when the day Kwei-maou was the new moon; and I have no doubt it is that which is entered here by some displacement of the tablets.

Par. 5. Twan-taou was in Tsin,—in the east of the pres. Ts'in Chow (沁州), Shen-se. The Chuen says:—'In spring, the marquis of Tsin having sent Këoh K'ih to require the marquis of Ts'e to attend a meeting, duke K'ing placed his mother and her attendants [婦人 simply='his women'] behind a curtain so that they might see the envoy, [who had some bodily defect]; and as he ascended the steps, they were heard laughing in their apartment. Hëen-tsze [The posthumous title of Këoh K'ih] was indignant, and swore, "If I do not revenge this insult, may I not cross the Ho again!" He then

returned himself first to Tsin, making Lwan King-lëu wait behind till he should have something to report from Ts'e, and charging him not to bring him any word till he had got some charge against it. On his arrival [at Këang] he asked that Ts'e might be invaded, which the marquis refused. He then begged leave to invade it with his own adherents, which was also denied him.

'[By and by], the marquis of Ts'e sent Kaou Koo, Gan Joh, Ts'ae Chaou, and Nan-kwoh Yen to the meeting which had been called; of whom Kaou Koo fled back to Ts'e from Lëen-yu. The meeting was held in summer at Twan-taou, when it was resolved to punish the disaffected; and a covenant was made at Keuen-ts'oo, to which the officers of Ts'e were not admitted. The people of Tsin seized and held Gan Joh in Yay-wang; Ts'ae Chaou in Yuen; and Nan-kwoh Yen in Wăn. Fun-hwang of Mëaou [This was a son of Tow Tsëaou of Ts'oo, who had taken refuge in Tsin, after the events related in the Chuen after VII. iv. 6] was sent to have an interview with Gan Hwan-tsze; and on his return, he said to the marquis of Tsin, "What crime is the officer Gan chargeable with? Formerly, the States all served your predecessors, as if they could not be prompt enough in doing so. [Now], they all say that the ministers of Tsin do not treat them with good faith, and, therefore, their minds are disaffected. The marquis of Ts'e was afraid he would not be received courteously, and did not come to the meeting, but sent four of his officers to attend it. Some of his attendants tried to stop his doing so, saying, 'If your lordship does not go out, Tsin will seize and hold our messengers.' It was on this account that Kaou-tsze ran away at Lëen-yu. The three other officers, however, said, 'That will destroy the friendship between our ruler and Tsin; we had rather die on our return [than do that].' On this account they came on at the risk of all suffering. If we had received them well, it would have been the way to encourage others to come to us. But have we not done wrong in seizing and holding them so as to justify those who tried to prevent their being sent? What advantage can we gain by long persisting in the wrong, so as to make them regret that they came on? We only supply him who fled back with an excuse for his conduct; and of what use is it to frighten the States by injuring those who come to us?" On this the people of Tsin treated Gan-tsze gently, and allowed him to get away.'

On the force of the 'together (同),' in the account of this covenant, the critics seem to differ, some holding that it indicates the 'common' purpose of the States to punish Ts'e, others their common opposition to Ts'oo. The K'ang-he editors would extend the meaning to both those objects.

[The Chuen appends here:—1st, 'In autumn, in the 8th month, the army of Tsin returned.' 2d, 'Fan Woo-tsze [Sze Hwuy. At first he was invested with Suy (隨), and is thence call Suy Woo-tsze; afterwards he received the city of Fan, which became the surname of his descendants] being about to withdraw from the public service on account of his age, he called to him [his son] Wăn-tsze, and said, "Sëeh [The son's name], I have heard that they are few whose satisfaction or whose anger rests on its proper object, while with many the feeling passes to other objects. The ode (She, II. v. ode IV. 2) says,

> 'If the king were to be angry [with slanderers]
> The disorder would probably be quickly abated.
> If he were to show his joy [in the good],
> The disorder would probably quickly cease!

Thus a superior man's being either made pleased or angry leads to the stopping of disorder. If that be not stopt, it goes on to increase. Perhaps Këoh-tsze wishes to bring the disorder he is producing to an end by an invasion of Ts'e. If he do not succeed in that, I am afraid he will increase the disorder. I will declare myself too old, and let him obtain his wish, which may perhaps lead to the dispersion [of the present evil]. Do you follow the other officers, and be careful of your conduct." On this he asked liberty to retire on the ground of his age, and Këoh Hëen-tsze became the chief administrator of the government.']

Par. 7. Tso-she says that Shuh-heih was a full brother of the duke, and then he gives the following canon:—'All the full brothers of the eldest son, while their father is alive, are called Kung-tsze (duke's sons); and when he is dead, Kung-te (duke's brothers). The appellation "younger brother" always denotes a full brother of the ruling duke.'

Eighteenth year.

一章 十有八年、春、晉侯、衞世子臧、伐齊。

二章 公伐杞。

三章 夏、四月。

四章 秋、七月、邾人、戕鄫子於鄫。

五章 甲戌、楚子

旅卒。六章公孫歸父如晉。七章冬、十月、壬戌、公薨於路寢。八章歸父還自晉、至笙、遂奔齊。

左傳曰、十八年、春、晉侯、衛太子臧、伐齊、至於陽穀、齊侯會晉侯盟於繒、以公子彊爲質於晉、晉師還、蔡朝、南郭偃、逃歸。

(三)夏、公使如楚乞師、欲以伐齊。

秋、邾人戕鄫子于鄫。凡自虐其君曰弒、自外曰戕。

楚莊王卒。楚師不出、既而用晉師、楚于是乎有蜀之役。

公孫歸父以襄仲之立公也、有寵、欲去三桓、以張公室、與公謀而聘於晉、欲以晉人去之。

冬、公薨。季文子言于朝曰、使我殺適立庶、以失大援者、仲也夫。臧宣叔怒曰、當其時不能治也、後之人何罪、子欲去之、許請去之。遂逐東門氏。子家還、及笙、壇帷、復命於介、既復命、袒括髮、即位哭、三踊而出、遂奔齊。書曰歸父還自晉、善之也。

XVIII. 1 In the [duke's] eighteenth year, in spring, the marquis of Tsin and Tsang, heir-son of Wei, invaded Ts'e.

2 The duke invaded Ke.

3 It was summer, the fourth month.

4 In autumn, in the seventh month, an officer of Choo murdered the viscount of Tsăng in his capital.

5 On Këah-seuh, Leu, viscount of Ts'oo, died.

6 Kung-sun Kwei-foo went to Tsin.

7 In winter, in the tenth month, on Jin-sëuh, the duke died in the State-chamber.

8 Kwei-foo was returning from Tsin; but when he got to Săng, he fled to Ts'e.

Par. 1. The Chuen says:—'When the invading armies had reached Yang-kuh, the marquis of Ts'e had a meeting with the marquis of Tsin, when they made a covenant in Tsăng, the former agreeing that his son Këang should go to Tsin as a hostage. On this the army of Tsin returned, and Ts'ae Chaou and Nan-kwoh Yen made their escape back to Ts'e.'

Hoo Gan-kwoh thinks this invasion of Ts'e was brought about by Këoh K'ih, to gratify his resentment against that State. The K'ang-he editors argue that it was a public movement on the part of the marquis of Tsin to punish Ts'e, because its marquis had kept away from the meeting at Twan-taou. Certainly the growth of the power of Ts'oo was mainly owing to Ts'e's standing aloof from Tsin as the chief among the northern States.

Par. 3. [The Chuen appends here:—'In summer, the duke sent to Ts'oo, to ask the assistance of an army;—wishing to invade Ts'e.']

Par, 4. Kuh-lëang has 繒 for 鄫. Acc. to Tso-she, 戕 is the character employed to denote the murder of the prince of a State by some one of another State, just as 弒 indicates that the perpetrator was one of the prince's own subjects. Tsăng,—see V. xiv. 2. In V. xix. 4 we have an account of a terrible outrage by the people of Choo on a former prince of Tsăng. Wang K'ih-kwan (汪克寬) thinks that by 邾人 in the text we should understand the 邾子, 'the viscount of Choo;' but this seems inconsistent with the use of the character 戕. 邾人, however, may denote—'a party of men from Choo.'

Par. 5. Here for the first time we have the death of one of the viscounts of Ts'oo recorded. His burial, however, is not mentioned, and there would have been a difficulty in recording it, as the deceased viscount must have then received the title which he claimed of 'king.' The Chuen says:—'In consequence of the death of king Chwang, the army [The help of which Loo had asked] did not come forth. Afterwards Loo availed itself of an army of Tsin [See VIII. ii. 2], in consequence of which Ts'oo had the meeting and covenant at Shuh (VIII. ii. 10].'

Par. 6. The object of this visit is given in the Chuen:—'Kung-sun Kwei-foo was a favourite with the duke, whose elevation was due to [Kwei-foo's father], Sëang-chung. Wishing to remove the three clans descended from duke Hwan, and thereby increase the power of the ducal House, he consulted with the duke, and went on a friendly mission to Tsin, hoping to accomplish his object by means of the people of Tsin.'

Par. 7. See on III. xxxii. 4.

Par. 8. The Chuen says:—'In winter, on the death of the duke, Ke Wăn-tsze [Ke-sun Hăng-foo] said in the court, "It was Chung who made us kill the son of the proper wife, and set up the son of another, so as to lose the great helper we might have calculated on." Sëuen-shuh [Tsang Heu; son of Tsang Wăn-chung, or Tsang-sun Shin in III.xxviii. 6], was angry, and said, "Why did you not deal with him at the time? What offence is his son chargeable with? But if you wish to send their clan away, allow me to do it." Accordingly he drove the Tung-mun clan out of the State. Tsze-këa had then returned from Tsin as far as to Săng. He there cleared a space of ground, and raised a tent on it, where he delivered the account of his mission to his assistant, [that it might be transmitted to Loo]. Having done so, he took off his upper garment, bound his hair up with sackcloth, went to the place for it and wept, gave three leaps, and left the tent. He then fled to Ts'e. The style of the paragraph,—"Kwei-foo returned from Tsin," is commendatory of him.' For 笙 Kung and Kuh have 檉. The place was in Loo.

First year.

成公

一章 元年、春、王正月、公卽位。
二章 二月、辛酉、葬我君宣公。
三章 無冰。
四章 三月、作丘甲。
五章 夏、臧孫許及晉侯、盟于赤棘。
六章 秋、王師敗績于茅戎。
七章 冬、十月。

㊀左傳曰、元年、春、晉侯使瑕嘉平戎于王、單襄公如晉拜成。劉康公徼戎、將遂伐之。叔服曰、背盟而欺大國、此必敗、背盟不祥、欺大國不義、神人弗助、將何以勝。不聽、遂伐茅戎。三月、癸未、敗績于徐吾氏。爲齊難故、作丘甲。聞齊將出楚師。夏、盟于赤棘。秋、王人來告敗。㊁冬、臧宣叔令修賦繕完、具守備、曰、齊楚結好、我新與晉盟、晉楚爭盟、齊師必至、雖晉人伐齊、楚必救之、是齊楚同我也、知難而有備、乃可以逞。

I. 1 In his first year, in spring, in the king's first month, the duke came to the [vacant] seat.

2 In the second month, on Sin-yëw, we buried our ruler, duke Seuen.

3 There was no ice.

4 In the third month, the *K'ëw* and buff-coat ordinance was made.

5 In summer, Tsang-sun Heu and the marquis of Tsin made a covenant in Ch'ih-keih.

6 In autumn, the king's army was disgracefully defeated by the Maou-jung.

7 It was winter, the tenth month.

TITLE OF THE BOOK.—成公, 'Duke Ch'ing.' He was marquis of Loo for 18 years, from B. C. 589—572. His name was Hih-kwăng (黑肱). He was the son of duke Seuen by his wife, a daughter of the House of Ts'e, and known as Muh Këang (穆姜). We have the account of Seuen's marriage with her in the 1st year of the last Book, and Hih-kwăng was, therefore, probably about 17 years old at his father's death. The posthumous title Ch'ing denotes 'Tranquillizer of the people, and Establisher of government (安民立政日成).'

His first year synchronized with the 17th of king Ting (定王); the 10th of King (景) of Tsin; the 9th of K'ing (頃) of Ts'e; the 10th of Muh (穆) of Wei; the 2d of King (景) of Ts'ae; the 15th of Sëang (襄) of Ch'ing; the 5th of Seuen (宣) of Ts'aou; the 9th of Ch'ing (成) of Ch'in; the 47th of Hwan of Ke; the 21st of Wăn of Sung; the 15th of Hwan (桓) of Ts'in; and the 1st of Shin, king Kung (共王審), of Ts'oo.

Par. 1. See on VI.i.1.

Par. 2. This interment seems to have been regular;—five months after the duke's death.

Par. 3. The 2d month of the Chow year was the 12th month of Hëa's,—the last month of the natural winter. The season must have been one of unusual warmth, which is the reason why we have the record.

[The Chuen appends here:—'In the spring, the marquis of Tsin sent Këa of Hëa [See the Chuen introduced at VI. xiii. 1] to make peace between the Jung and the king; and duke Sëang of Shen went to Tsin to express [the king's] acknowledgment of the service. Duke K'ang of Lëw, however, wished to take advantage of the Jungs' being thrown off their guard and to attack them. Shuh-fuh said to him, "You will be violating the covenant, and doing despite to the great State;—you are sure to be defeated. To violate a covenant is inauspicious; to do despite to the great State is unrighteous. Neither Spirits nor men will help you in such a course; and how can you expect to conquer?" The duke did not listen to the warning, but proceeded to invade the Maou Jung; and in the 3d month, on Kwei-we, he received a great defeat from the Seu-woo tribe.']

Par. 4. Tso-she says that this ordinance was made because of the [impending] difficulties with Ts'e; but of the nature of the ordinance he says nothing. Duke Seuen, in his 17th year, had attended the conference of Twan-taou, a principal object of which was the punishment of Ts'e, and had gone on to cultivate more than Loo had done for long the friendship of Tsin. Ts'e, it was understood, contemplated an invasion of Loo, and Loo passed the ordinance in the text to increase its means of defence. So far the critics are agreed; but even Maou acknowledges that the nature of the ordinance has not been satisfactorily ascertained.

K'ëw (丘 or 邱) is a territorial designation. Nine families occupied a *tsing* (井; see on Mencius, III. Pt. I. iii. 13); 4 *tsing* made a *yih* (邑); 4 *yih* made a *k'ëw*; and 4 *k'ëw* made a *tëen* (甸). A *tëen* contained 8 square *le*. The addition of a *le* on each side made a *ch'ing* (成). 甲 may be taken in the sense of 'a buff-coat or coat of mail' 'a soldier clad in a buff-coat;' 'a company of soldiers.'

Kung and Kuh both take 甲 in the first of these senses; and think that the ordinance required the people in the *k'ëw* all to make buff-coats,—how many is not stated. But as Lëw Ch'ang observes, if this were the meaning, the text should be 丘作甲 and not 作丘甲.

Too Yu says:—'A *k'ëw* or 16 *tsing* contributed 1 war-horse and 3 oxen; a *tëen* or 64 *tsing* contributed 1 war-chariot, 4 war-horses, 12 oxen, 3 mailed soldiers, and 72 footmen. The present ordinance levied the contribution of a *tëen* from a *k'ëw*.' We cannot suppose that the ordinance in the text was so extreme and oppressive.

Hoo Gan-kwoh, going on a conversation between T'ae-tsung of the T'ang dynasty and his minister Le Tsing (李靖), thought that whereas a *k'ëw* had formerly contributed 18 footmen, which formed 1 *këah*, the number was now increased to 25, the 4 *k'ëw* or the whole *tëen* thus sending into the field 100 men along with its chariot. This view has been very generally followed; but recently, Wan Sze-ta (萬斯大), of the period K'ang-he, suggested the view that the ordinance had respect simply to the mailed soldiers of the chariot contributed by a *tëen*, increasing their number from three,—the charioteer, the archer on the left, and the spearman or lancer on the right—to four, and leaving the number of the footmen unchanged. Sometimes there were 4 men, however, in the chariot as we learn from the Chuen on the defeat of the Teih at Hëen, in the 11th year of duke Wăn; and this he thinks was made the rule at this time in prospect of hostilities with Ts'e. See the 學春秋隨筆 in the 皇清經解, 卷五十七.

Par. 5. Tsang-sun Heu,—see the Chuen on VII. xviii. 8. Ch'ih-keih was in Tsin; but its situation has not been more particularly determined. Tso-she says:—'[Loo] had heard that Ts'e was about to come forth with an army of Ts'oo, and in summer made this covenant with Tsin.' Chaou P'ăng-fei supposes, what is very likely, that the confederation against Ts'e, of which we have the issue in par. 3 of next year, was now agreed upon.

Par. 6. The Maou-jung (Kung and Kuh have 貿戎) had their site in the south-east of the pres. dis. of P'ing-luh (平陸), Këae Chow, Shan-se. The defeat here sustained by the king's troops is that mentioned in the Chuen after par. 3. Too Yu says it is recorded now, because it was only now, in the autumn, that it was announced to Loo.

Par. 7. [The Chuen relates here:—'In winter. Tsang Seuen-shuh [Tsang-sun Heu] gave orders that the military levies should be made, the walls all well repaired, and the instruments of defence provided, saying, "Ts'e and Ts'oo are in bonds of friendship, and we have lately made a covenant with Tsin. Tsin and Ts'oo are striving for the presidency of covenants. The army of Ts'e is sure to come [against us]; and though the people of Tsin invade Ts'e, Ts'oo will go to its relief:—thus both Ts'oo and Ts'e will together attack us. When we see our difficulties and make preparation for them, they may be resolved."']

Second year.

一章 二年、春、齊侯伐我北鄙。

二章 夏、四月、丙戌、衞孫良夫帥師、及齊師戰于新築、衞師敗績。

三章 六月、癸酉、季孫行父、臧孫許、叔孫僑如、公孫嬰齊、帥師會晉郤克、衞孫良夫、曹公子首、及齊侯戰于鞌、齊師敗績。

四章 秋、七月、齊侯使國佐如師、己酉、及國佐盟于袁婁。

五章 八月、壬午、宋公鮑卒。

六章 庚寅、衞侯速卒。

七章 取汶陽田。

八章 冬、楚師、鄭師、侵衛。

九章 十有一月、公會楚公子嬰齊于蜀。

十章 丙申、公及楚人、秦人、宋人、陳人、衛人、鄭人、齊人、曹人、邾人、薛人、鄫人、盟于蜀。

左傳曰、二年、春、齊侯伐我北鄙、圍龍、頃公之嬖人盧蒲就魁門焉、龍人囚之。齊侯曰、勿殺、吾與而盟、無入而封。弗聽、殺而膊諸城上。齊侯親鼓、士陵城、三日取龍、遂南侵及巢丘。

衛侯使孫良夫、石稷、甯相、向禽、將侵齊、與齊師遇。石子欲還、孫子曰、不可、以師伐人、遇其師而還、將謂君何、若知不能、則如無出、今既遇矣、不如戰也。夏有

石成子曰、師敗矣、子不少須、衆懼盡、子喪師徒、何以復命。皆不對、又曰、子、國卿也、隕子、辱矣、子以衆退、我此乃止。且告車來甚衆、齊師乃止、次于鞫居、新築人仲叔于奚救孫桓子、桓子是以免。既、衛人賞之以邑、辭、請曲縣繁纓以朝、許之。仲尼聞之曰、惜也、不如多與之邑、唯器與名、不可以假人、君之所司也、名以出信、信以守器、器以藏禮、禮以行義、義以生利、利以平民、政之大節也、若以假人、與人政也、政亡、則國家從之、弗可止也已。

孫桓子還于新築、不入、遂如晉乞師、臧宣叔亦如晉乞師、皆主郤獻子。晉侯許之七百乘、郤子曰、此城濮之賦也、有先君之明、與先大夫之肅、故捷、克于先大夫、無能爲役、請八百乘、許之。郤克將中軍、士燮佐上軍、欒書將下軍、韓厥爲司馬、以救魯衛、臧宣叔逆晉師、且道之、季文子帥師會之、及衛地、韓獻子將斬人、郤獻子馳、將救之、至則既斬之矣、郤子使速以徇、告其僕曰、吾以分謗也。師從齊師于莘、六月、壬申、師至于靡笄之下、齊侯使請戰、曰、子以君師、辱于敝邑、不腆敝賦、詰朝請見。對曰、晉與魯衛、兄弟也、來告曰、大國朝夕釋憾于敝邑之地、

寡君不忍、使羣臣請于大國、無令輿師淹于君地、能進不能退、君無所辱命。齊侯曰、大夫之許、寡人之願也、若其不許、亦將見也。齊高固入晉師、桀石以投人、禽之而乘其車、繫桑本焉、以徇齊壘、曰、欲勇者賈余餘勇。癸酉、師陳于鞌、邴夏御齊侯、逢丑父爲右、晉解張御郤克、鄭丘緩爲右。齊侯曰、余姑翦滅此而朝食。不介馬而馳之、郤克傷於矢、流血及屨、未絶鼓音、曰、余病矣。張侯曰、自始合、而矢貫余手及肘、余折以御、左輪朱殷、豈敢言病、吾子忍之。緩曰、自始合、苟有險、余必下推車、子豈識之、然子病矣。張侯曰、師之耳目、在吾旗鼓、進退從之、此車一人殿之、可以集事、若之何其以病敗君之大事也、擐甲執兵、固卽死也、病未及死、吾子勉之。左并轡、右援枹而鼓、馬逸不能止、師從之。齊師敗績、逐之、三周華不注。韓厥夢子輿謂己曰、且辟左右。故中御而從齊侯、邴夏曰、射其御者、君子也。公曰、謂之君子而射之、非禮也。射其左、越於車下、射其右、斃於車中。綦毋張喪車、從韓厥曰、請寓乘、從左右、皆肘之、使立于後、韓厥俛定其右。逢丑父與公易位、將及華泉、驂絓于木而止。丑父寢于轏中、蛇出於其下、以肱擊之、傷而匿之、故不能推車而及。韓厥執縶馬前、再拜稽首、奉觴加璧以進、曰、寡君使羣臣爲魯衞請、曰、無令輿師陷入君地、下臣不幸、屬當戎行、無所逃隱、且懼奔辟而忝兩君、臣辱戎士、敢告不敏、攝官承乏。丑父使公下、如華泉取飲、鄭周父御佐車、宛茷爲右、載齊侯以免。韓厥獻丑父、郤獻子將戮之、呼曰、自今無有代其君任患者、有一于此、將爲戮乎。郤子曰、人不難以死免其君、我戮之不祥、赦之以勸事君者。乃免之。齊侯免、求丑父、三入三出、每出齊師以帥退、入于狄卒、狄卒皆抽戈楯冒之、以入于衞師、衞師免之、遂自徐關入。齊侯見保者、曰、勉之、齊師敗矣。辟女子、女子曰、君免乎、曰、免矣。曰、銳司徒免乎、曰、免矣。曰、苟君與吾父免矣、可若何。乃奔。齊侯以爲有禮、既而問之、辟司徒之妻也、予之石窌。晉師從齊師、入自丘輿、擊馬陘。齊侯使賓媚人賂以紀甗、玉磬與地、不可、則聽客之所爲。賓媚人致賂、晉人不可、曰、必以蕭同叔子爲質、而使齊之封內盡東其畝。對曰、蕭同叔子非他、寡君之母也、若以匹敵、則亦晉君之母也、吾子布大命於諸侯、而曰、必質其

毋以爲信、其若王命何、且是以不孝令也、詩曰、孝子不匱、永錫爾類、若以不孝令於諸侯、其無乃非德類也乎、先王疆理天下、物土之宜、而布其利、故詩曰、我疆我理、南東其畝、今吾子疆理諸侯、而曰盡東其畝而已、唯吾子戎車是利、無顧土宜、其無乃非先王之命也乎、反先王則不義、何以爲盟主、其晉實有闕、四王之王也、樹德而濟同欲焉、五伯之霸也、勤而撫之、以役王命、今吾子求合諸侯、以逞無疆之欲、詩曰、布政優優、百祿是遒、子實不優、而棄百祿、諸侯何害焉、不然、寡君之命使臣、則有辭矣、曰、子以君師辱於敝邑、不腆敝賦、以犒從者、畏君之震、師徒橈敗、吾子惠徼齊國之福、不泯其社稷、使繼舊好、唯是先君之敝器土地、不敢愛、子又不許、請收合餘燼、背城借一、敝邑之幸、亦云從也、況其不幸、敢不唯命是聽。魯衛諫曰、齊疾我矣、其死亡者、皆親暱也、子若不許、讎我必甚、唯子則又何求、子得其國寶、我亦得地、而紓于難、其榮多矣、齊晉亦唯天所授、豈必晉、晉人許之、對曰、羣臣帥賦輿、以爲魯衛請、若苟有以藉口、而復于寡君、君之惠也、敢不唯命是聽。禽鄭自師逆公。

秋七月、晉師及齊國佐盟于袁婁、使齊人歸我汶陽之田。

⨸公會晉師于上鄍、賜三帥先路三命之服。司馬、司空、輿師、候正、亞旅、皆受一命之服。

八月、宋文公卒。始厚葬、用蜃炭、益車馬、始用殉、重器備、椁有四阿、棺有翰檜、君子謂華元、樂舉、於是乎不臣、臣、治煩去惑者也、是以伏死而爭、今二子者、君生則縱其惑、死又益其侈、是棄君於惡也、何臣之爲。

九月、衞穆公卒。晉三子自役弔焉、哭于大門之外、衛人逆之、婦人哭于門內、送亦如之、遂常以葬。

⨸楚之討陳夏氏也、莊王欲納夏姬。申公巫臣曰、不可、君召諸侯、以討罪也、今納夏姬、貪其色也、貪色爲淫、淫爲大罰、周書曰、明德愼罰、文王所以造周也、明德、務崇之之謂也、愼罰、務去之之謂也、若興諸侯、以取大罰、非愼之也、君其圖之、王乃止。子反欲取之、巫臣曰、是不祥人也、是夭子蠻、殺御叔、弒靈侯、戮夏南、出孔儀、喪陳國、何不祥如是、人生實難、其有不獲死乎、天下多美婦人、何必是。子反乃止。王以予連尹襄老、襄老死于邲、不獲

其尸、其子黑要。烝焉、巫臣使道焉、曰、歸、吾聘女。又使自鄭召之曰、尸可得也、必來逆之。姬以告王、王問諸屈巫、對曰其信。知罃之父成公之嬖也、而中行伯之季弟也、新佐中軍而善鄭皇戌、甚愛此子、其必因鄭而歸王子與襄老之尸、以求之、鄭人懼於邲之役、而欲求媚于晉、其必許之。王遣夏姬歸、將行、謂送者曰、不得尸、吾不反矣。巫臣聘諸鄭、鄭伯許之、及共王卽位、將爲陽橋之役、使屈巫聘于齊、且告師期、巫臣盡室以行、申叔跪從其父、將適郢、遇之曰、異哉、夫子有三軍之懼、而又有桑中之喜、宜將竊妻以逃者也。及鄭、使介反幣、而以夏姬行、將奔齊、齊師新敗、曰、吾不處不勝之國、遂奔晉、而因郤至、以臣于晉、晉人使爲邢大夫。子反請以重幣錮之、王曰、止、其自爲謀也則過矣、其爲吾先君謀也則忠、忠社稷之固也、所蓋多矣、且彼若能利國家、雖重幣晉將可乎、若無益于晉、晉將棄之、何勞錮焉。

⨸晉師歸、范文子後入、武子曰、無爲吾望爾也乎。對曰、師有功、國人喜以逆之、先入、必屬耳目焉、是代帥受名也、故不敢、武子曰、吾知免矣。郤伯見、公曰、子之力也夫。對曰、君之訓也、二三子之力也、臣何力之有焉。范叔見、勞之如郤伯、對曰、庚所命也、克之制也、燮何力之有焉。欒伯見、公亦如之、對曰、燮之詔也、士用命也、書何力之有焉。

宣公使求好于楚、莊王卒、宣公薨、不克作好、公卽位、受盟于晉、會晉伐齊、衞人不行使于楚、而亦受盟于晉、從于伐齊、故楚令尹子重爲陽橋之役、以救齊、將起師、子重曰、君弱、羣臣不如先大夫、師衆而後可、詩曰、濟濟多士、文王以寧、夫文王猶用衆、況吾儕乎、且先君莊王屬之曰、無德以及遠方、莫如惠恤其民、而善用之、乃大戶、已責、逮鰥、救乏、赦罪、悉師、王卒盡行、彭名御戎、蔡景公爲左、許靈公爲右、二君弱、皆彊冠之。冬、楚師侵衞、遂侵我師于蜀、使臧孫往、辭曰、楚遠而久、固將退矣、無功而受名、臣不敢。楚侵及陽橋、孟孫請往賂之、以執斲、執鍼、織紝、皆百人、公衡爲質、以請盟。楚人許平。

十一月、公及楚公子嬰齊、蔡侯、許男、秦右大夫說、宋華元、陳公孫
寧、衞孫良夫、鄭公子去疾、及齊國之大夫、盟于蜀、卿不書、匱盟也、
于是乎畏晉、而竊與楚盟、故曰匱盟。蔡侯、許男、不書、乘楚車也、謂
之失位。君子曰、位其不可不慎也乎、蔡許之君、一失其位、不得列
于諸侯、況其下乎、詩曰、不解于位、民之攸塈、其是之謂矣。
⊙楚師及宋、公衡逃歸。臧宣叔曰、衡父不忍數年之不宴、以棄魯
國、國將若之何、誰居、後之人必有任是夫、國棄矣。是行也、晉辟楚、
畏其衆也。君子曰、衆之不可以已也、大夫爲政、猶以衆克、況明君
而善用其衆乎、大誓所謂商兆民離、周十人同者、衆也。
⊙晉侯使鞏朔獻齊捷于周、王弗見、使單襄公辭焉、曰、蠻夷戎狄、
不式王命、淫湎毀常、王命伐之、則有獻捷、王親受而勞之、所以懲
不敬、勸有功也、兄弟甥舅、侵敗王畧、王命伐之、告事而已、不獻其
功、所以敬親暱、禁淫慝也。今叔父克遂有功于齊、而不使命卿鎮
撫王室、所使來撫余一人、而鞏伯實來、未有職司于王室、又奸先
王之禮、余雖欲于鞏伯、其敢廢舊典以忝叔父、夫齊、甥舅之國也、
而大師之後也、寧不亦淫從其欲、以怒叔父、抑豈不可諫誨。士莊
伯不能對、王使委于三吏、禮之如侯伯克敵、使大夫告慶之禮、降
于卿禮一等、王以鞏伯宴而私賄之、使相告之曰、非禮也、勿籍、

II. 1 In the [duke's] second year, in spring, the marquis of Ts'e invaded our northern border.

2 In summer, in the fourth month, on Ping-seuh, Sun Lëang-foo of Wei led a force, and fought with the army of Ts'e at Sin-chuh, when the army of Wei received a severe defeat.

3 In the sixth month, on Kwei-yëw, Ke-sun Hăng-foo, Tsang-sun Heu, Shuh-sun K'eaou-joo, and Kung-sun Ying-ts'e, led a force, and joined Këoh K'ih of Tsin, Sun Lëang-foo of Wei, and the Kung-tsze Show of Ts'aou, [after which] they fought with the marquis of Ts'e at Gan, when the army of Ts'e received a severe defeat.

4 In autumn, in the seventh month, the marquis of Ts'e sent Kwoh Tso to the army [of the allies], which made a covenant with him on Ke-yëw at Yuen-low.

5 In the eighth month, on Jin-woo, Paou, duke of Sung, died.

6 On Kăng-yin, Suh, marquis of Wei, died.

7 We took the lands of Wăn-yang.

8 In winter, an army of Ts'oo and an army of Ch'ing made an incursion into Wei.

9 In the eleventh month, the duke had a meeting with the Kung-ts'e Ying-ts'e of Ts'oo in Shuh.

10 On Ping-shin, the duke made a covenant in Shuh with an officer of Ts'oo, an officer of Ts'in, an officer of Sung, an officer of Ch'in, an officer of Wei, an officer of Ch'ing, an officer of Ts'e, an officer of Ts'aou, an officer of Choo, an officer of Sëeh, and an officer of Tsăng.

Par. 1. The Chuen says:—'In the course of this invasion, the marquis of Ts'e laid siege to Lung, when his favourite, Leu-p'oo Tsëw-kwei was made prisoner in attacking one of the gates. The marquis said, "Do not put him to death, and I will make a covenant with you, and not enter your borders." The people of Lung did not listen to the request, but put their prisoner to death, and dismembered him on the top of the wall. The marquis beat the drum himself, while his soldiers strove to mount the wall; and in three days Lung was taken. He then made an incursion southwards as far as Ch'aou-k'ëw.' Too observes that he cannot account for the silence of the text about this capture of Lung, and the subsequent incursion to Ch'aou-k'ëw.

Par. 2. Sin-chuh was in Wei,—20 *le* south of the pres. district city of Wei (魏縣), dep. Ta-ming, Chih-le. The 及 in the text has made some critics think that the battle was in consequence of an invasion of Ts'e by Wei, while its being fought in Wei looks as if it were in consequence of an invasion of that State by Ts'e. The K'ang-he editors, observe that Sun Lëang-foo was indeed marching to invade Ts'e, when the army of that State, flushed with its successes in Loo, met him before he had left his own State, and defeated him. As he had given occasion, by his advance towards Ts'e, however, to the action, the 及 is used.

The Chuen says:—'The marquis of Wei sent Sun Lëang-foo, Shih Tseih, Ning Seang, and Hëang K'in, to lead an incursion into Ts'e, when they met with the army of that State. Sheh-tseih wished to retreat; but Sun-tsze said, "No. Here we are with an army invading Ts'e. If we retreat on meeting with its army, what shall be said of our ruler? If we knew that we could not [cope with it], we had better not have come forth. Since we have met it, our best plan is to fight." In summer, * * * *
* * * * *

Shih Ch'ing-tsze [Shih Tseih; 成 was his posthumous title] said, "The army is defeated. If you do not wait a little [for reinforcements], I am afraid it will be entirely destroyed. If you lose all your men, what report will you have to give [to our ruler]" The other commanders could make no reply, and he continued, [addressing the general]. "You are the chief minister of the State. Should we lose you, it will be a disgrace to it. Do you retire with the great body of the troops, while I remain here [to cover your retreat]." * * *
* * * * *

By-and-by the approach of a great number of chariots was announced, and the army of Ts'e stayed its advance, halting at Këuh-keu.

'It was Chung-shuh Yu-he, commandant of Sin-chuh, who thus came to the relief of Sun Hwan-tsze, and secured his escape. In consequence, the people of Wei would have rewarded Yu-he with a city, but he refused it, and asked that he might be allowed to have his suspended instruments of music disposed incompletely [like those of the prince of a State], and to appear at court with the saddle-girth and bridle-trappings of a prince;—which was granted to him.

'When Chung-ne [Confucius] heard of this, he said, "Alas! it would have been better to give him many cities. It is only peculiar articles of use, and names, which cannot be granted to other [than those to whom they belong];—to them a ruler has particularly to attend. It is by [the right use of] names that he secures the confidence [of the people]; it is by that confidence that he preserves the articles [distinctive of ranks]; it is in those articles that the ceremonial distinctions of rank are hid; those ceremonial distinctions are essential to the practice of righteousness; it is righteousness which contributes to the advantage [of the State]; and it is that advantage which secures the quiet of the people Attention to these things is the condition of [good] government. If they be conceded where they ought not to be conceded, it is giving away the government to the recipients. When the government thus perishes, the State will follow it;—it is not possible to arrest that issue."'

Par. 3. Too says that Gan was in Ts'e, and Kuh-lëang says that it was 500 *le* from the capital of that State. But so great a distance is irreconcileable with the account which we have in the Chuen of the immediate advance of the victors after the battle to Ying-k'ëw. Gan was probably the same place known previously by the name of Leih-hëa (歷下),—in the pres. dep. of Ts'e-nan. For 公子首 Kung-yang has 公子手.

The Chuen says:—'Sun Hwan-tsze returned to Sin-chuh; but instead of entering it, he went on immediately to Tsin to beg the assistance of an army. [At the same time], Tsang Seuen-shuh [Tsang-sun Heu] had gone to Tsin for a similar purpose; and they both lodged with Këoh Hëen-tsze [Këoh K'ih; see the Chuen on VII. xvi. 5], to whom the marquis granted [an army of] 700 chariots [for an expedition against Ts'e]. Këoh-tsze said, "This was the amount of the force at

Shing-puh [See the 28th year of duke He], where it triumphed through the wisdom of our duke and the cautious valour of his great officers, whose servant I am not fit to be." He then requested a force of 800 chariots, which was granted him. He himself commanded the army of the centre. Sze-sëëh [Fan Wăn-tsze; see the 2d Chuen appended to VII. xvii. 5], as assistant, had the command of the 1st army, and Lwan-shoo commanded the 3d; Han Keueh [Han Hëen-tsze; see account of the battle of Peih in the Chuen on VII. xii. 3] being marshal of the host. And thus they proceeded to the relief of Loo and Wei. Tsang Seuen-shuh met the army and guided its march, while Ke Wăn-tsze [Ke-sun Hăng-foo] joined it with the forces [of Loo].

'When the army came to the territory of Wei, Han Hëen-tsze being about to behead a man, Këoh Hëen-tsze hurried in his chariot to save the culprit; but before he arrived, the punishment was inflicted. Immediately he sent [the man's head] all round the host, saying to his charioteer, "I will thus share the reproach of the deed." The army followed that of Ts'e to Sin, and in the 6th month, on Jin-shin, it arrived at the foot of [mount] Mei-ke. There the marquis of Ts'e sent a challenge to fight, saying [to Këoh K'ih], "You have condescended to come to my poor State with the army of your ruler; I will see you to-morrow morning with our poor levies." The other replied, "Tsin is the brother of Loo and Wei. They came and told our ruler that your great State was venting its indignation, morning and evening, on their poor countries. He could not bear [to hear of their sufferings], and sent us, his ministers, to intercede for them with your great State, charging us that we should not remain with our host long in your territory. We can advance, but we cannot retreat. You need not trouble yourself to send [any further] message." The marquis said, "What they grant us is what I desire. If they had not granted it, I should have seen them all the same."

'Kaou Koo of Ts'e entered the army of Tsin, and with a stone struck down a man. He then took him, and, [leaving his own chariot], mounted that of the prisoner, tied a mulberry tree to it, and so exhibited himself round the entrenchments of Ts'e, crying out, "If any one wants valour, I will sell him what I have left to spare."

'On Kwei-yëw, both the armies were drawn up in array at Gan. The charioteer of the marquis of Ts'e was Ping Hëa, with Fung Ch'ow-foo as spearman on the right. Heae Chang was charioteer to Keoh K'ih, with Ch'ing Këw-hwan as spearman on the right. The marquis said, "Let me exterminate those, and then I will take my breakfast." With this he galloped forward, without having his horses covered with mail. Këoh K'ih was wounded by an arrow, till the blood ran down to his shoes, but he never let the sound of the drum cease. [At last], he said, "I am in pain." Chang-how [Hëae Chang. 侯 was his designation] said, "At the first encounter one arrow pierced my hand, and another my wrist. But I broke them and continued my driving, till the left wheel is of a deep purple, not daring to speak of the pain. Do you, Sir, bear yours." Hwan said, "From the first encounter, whenever we have come to difficult ground, I have got down and pushed the chariot along. You, Sir, have not known it because of your distress." Chang-how said, "The eyes and ears of the army are on our flag and drum. It will advance or retire as our chariot does. While there is one man left to direct this chariot, we may achieve success. Why should you for your pain cause the failure of our ruler's great enterprize? When one dons his armour and takes his weapons, it is to go in the way of death; you are not in pain to death;—strive to combat with it." With this, he held the reins with his left hand, and with the right took the drumstick, and beat the drum. The trained horses urged on, unable to stop, followed by the army. The army of Ts'e received a great defeat; [and the marquis] was pursued thrice all round [the hill of] Hwa-foo-choo.

'Han Keueh had dreamt, [the night before], that Tsze-yu, [his father], said to him, "Avoid both the left and the right [of the chariot]." In consequence of this, he drove in the middle place, and pursued the marquis of Ts'e. Ping Hëa said, "Shoot the driver; he is a superior man." The marquis said, "Since you call him a superior man, it would be contrary to rule to shoot him." He shot therefore the man on the left, who fell down below the chariot, and then the man on the right, who died in it. [Just then], Ke Woo-chang, who had lost his own chariot, came up to Han Këueh, and asked that he would take him into his. He agreed to do so, but with his elbow moved him away first from the left and then from the right, and made him stand behind himself. [Soon after], he bent forward and adjusted the body of the spearman who had been on the right, [which gave an opportunity to] Fung Ch'ow-foo and the marquis to change places. When the fugitives had nearly reached the spring of Hwa, one of the outside horses was caught by a tree, and stopped. Ch'ow-foo, [some time before], had been lying in a sleeping carriage, when a snake made its appearance beneath him, which he struck with his elbow. It bit him, and though he had concealed the wound, he was now unable to push the carriage on, and the pursuers came up. Han Keueh went with a rope in his hand before the marquis's horses, bowed twice with his head to the ground, and then presented to him a cup, with a *peih* in it, saying, "My ruler sent us to intercede with you on behalf of Loo and Wei, charging us not to allow our army to enter deep into your lordship's territory. Unfortunately, I found myself thrown among the soldiers, and could not avoid my present position. I was afraid, moreover, that if I fled away so as to escape from it, I should disgrace both my own ruler and your lordship. And being now in the position of a soldier, I venture to tell you of my want of ability, and to undertake the office [of your charioteer], so supplying your present need." Ch'ow-foo then made the marquis descend from the chariot, and go to the spring of Hwa to fetch some water, when he was received into an attendant chariot by Ch'ing Chow-foo, Yuen Fei being the spearman on the right, and made his escape. Han Keueh presented Ch'ow-foo [as the marquis] to Këoh Hëen-tsze, who, [on discovering the fraud], was about to put him to death. The prisoner cried out, "Henceforth no one will take upon himself in his room the danger to which his ruler is exposed. One such person there is here; and will you put him to death?" Këoh-tsze said, "This man did not

shrink from the risk of death to secure the escape of his ruler;—if I execute him, it will be inauspicious. I will forgive him as an encouragement to those who wish to serve their ruler." Accordingly, he spared his life, and in the meantime, the marquis, after his escape, thrice entered [the army of Tsin], and thrice issued from it, looking for Ch'ow-foo. Every time he hurried on at the head of his soldiers to stimulate those who wished to retire, and then he entered among the Teih men, who presented their spears and their shields, covering him till he passed through them into the army of Wei, which allowed him to make his escape.

'The army then went through the pass of Seu, the marquis charging the commandants [of the cities] whom he saw to exert themselves to the utmost, as the army was defeated. [Some one] urged a woman to get out of the way, but she said, "Has the marquis escaped?" Being told he had, she said, "Has the commander of the vanguard escaped?" Being told again that he also had escaped, she said, "Since the marquis and my father have escaped, it does not matter so much;" and ran away. The marquis considered that she was a woman of propriety; and finding on inquiry that she was the wife of the superintendent of entrenchments, he gave him the city of Shih-lëw.

'The army of Tsin pursued that of Ts'e, entering the country by [the city of] K'ëw-yu, and going on to attack Ma-hing. The marquis sent Pin Me-jin [Kwoh Tso; but why he is thus designated here has not been fully explained] to offer [the invaders] the steamer and the musical stone of jade [which Ts'e had taken] from Ke, and the territory [of Wei and Loo, which it had taken]; and if this would not satisfy them, to ascertain what they wanted. Pin Me-jin offered these bribes; but the general of Tsin refused [to grant peace for them], and required that Ts'e should deliver up the daughter of T'ung-shuh of Sëaou as a hostage, and make the divisions of the fields in all the State run from east to west. The messenger replied, "The daughter of T'ung-shuh of Sëaou is no other than the mother of our ruler. Our States are of equal rank, and she is not inferior to the mother of the ruler of Tsin. If you, in giving out your great commands to the States, say to them, 'You must pledge the mothers [of your rulers] with us as the proof of your good faith,' what will be the character of such a course in relation to the commands of the [former] kings? And moreover, it is to command men not to be filial. The ode (She, III. ii. ode II. 5) says:—

> 'For such filial piety unceasing,
> There will for ever be conferred blessing on you.'

If you command the other princes to be unfilial, will you not be causing the fellows of your ruler to do what is not virtuous?

'The former kings, in laying out the boundaries and divisions of the land, examined the character of the ground so that the greatest benefit might be derived from it. Hence the ode (She, II. vi. ode VI. 1) says:—

> 'We have laid out the boundaries and smaller divisions,
> The south-lying and east-lying acres.'

But now when you would lay out the fields of the other States, and say, 'Their divisions must all run only from east to west,' such an arrangement would be of advantage only to your war-chariots. There is no regard in it to the character of the ground;—is not this to disown the commands [and example] of the former kings?

'To go against the former kings is to be unrighteous;—how can [the State which does so] be lord of covenants? Tsin is here in error. The kindly rule of the four [great] kings was seen in their establishment of virtue, and in their sympathy with and furtherance of the common wishes of all the people. The presidency of the five leaders of the States was signalized by their laborious cherishing of the States, and leading them to obey the commands of the kings. But now you seek to unite all the States for the gratification of your own limitless desires. The ode (She, IV. iii. ode IV. 4) says,

> 'Mildly he spread the rules of his government abroad,
> And all dignities became concentrated in him.'

You indeed have not that mildness, and you throw away [from Tsin] those dignities; but what harm can the [other] States receive from that?

'If you do not accede [to our request for peace], my ruler commissioned me to deliver this further message:—With the armies of your ruler you came to our poor State, and with our poor levies we gave largess to your followers. Through the terror inspired by your ruler, our troops were defeated and dispersed. If you, Sir, will kindly extend your favour to the fortunes of the State of Ts'e, and not destroy our altars, but allow the old friendship between your State and ours to be continued, then we shall not grudge giving up the precious things of our former rulers and the lands [which they had taken]. If you will not grant us this, then we will collect the fragments of our forces, and ask for another battle before the walls of our capital. Should we have the good fortune (to win it), we will still obey your orders. Should we not have that fortune, we shall much more not dare but listen to your commands."

Loo and Wei strongly urged [Këoh K'ih], saying, "Ts'e is angry with us. Those who have died in battle are the marquis's relatives and favourites. If you do not grant [his request for peace], his enmity to us will be extreme. And what can you be seeking for? You have got the most precious things of his State. We have also got our territory, and are relieved from our difficulties. Your glory is great, and between Ts'e and Tsin, victory is the gift of Heaven; Tsin cannot be sure of it." *On this*, the general of Tsin agreed to grant peace, replying [to Pin Mei-jin], "We brought our chariots here, to make intercession for Loo and Wei. That we are now furnished with an answer which we can carry back to our ruler, is from the kindness of your ruler. We dare do nothing but listen to your commands." K'in Ch'ing then proceeded from the army to Loo to meet the duke."

Par. 4. Of Yuen-low (Kuh-lëang has 爰婁, and says it was 50 *le* from the capital of Ts'e),

the site is not exactly determined. Chang Hëah says it was in the west of the pres. dis. of Lin-tsze, dept. Ts'ing-chow. Others find it in the dis. of Tsze-ch'uen (淄 巛), dep. Tse-nan. The Chuen says:—'In autumn, in the 7th month the army of Tsin approached the capital of Ts'e. Kwoh Tso made a covenant at Yuen-low, by which the people of Tsin were required to return to us the lands of Wăn-yang.'

[The Chuen adds here:—'The duke [of Loo] met the army of Tsin at Shang-ming, and to each of its three commanders (Këoh K'ih, Sze Sëeh, and Lwan Shoo) he gave a carriage of leather, with the robes of a minister of three degrees. The marshal of the host, the superintendent of entrenchments, the master of the chariots, the master of the scouts, and the other great officers inferior to them, all received the robes of an officer of one degree.']

Par. 5. The Chuen says:—'In the 8th month duke Wăn of Sung died. He was the first [duke of Sung] to whom they gave an extravagant interment, using mortar made of [burnt] frogs [for the walls of the grave], with more than the usual number of [earthen] carriages and [straw] horses. For the first time men (? images of men) were interred with the corpse. The number of articles prepared for such an occasion was augmented. The outer coffin was made with 4 pillars, and the inner one was ornamented above and on the sides. The superior man will say:—"Hwa Yuen and Yoh Keu did not act on this occasion as ministers ought to do. It is the part of ministers to control the restless movements and remove the errors of their ruler, striving to do so even at the risk of their lives. These two officers, while their ruler was alive, allowed him to take the way of error; and when he was dead, they acted as if they were increasing his extravagance. They abandoned their ruler to wickedness, having nothing about them of the proper character of ministers."

Par. 6. The marquis of Wei must have died either during, or immediately after, his return from Ts'e. Kung-yang gives his name 遬 instead of 速. The Chuen says:—'In the 9th month, duke Muh of Wei died. The three generals of Tsin, on their way from the campaign [in Ts'e], went [to the capital of Wei] to offer their condolences, and wept outside the great gate [of the palace]. The officers of Wei met them there, and the women wept inside the gate. The same rule was observed when the generals were escorted away;—and this became the regular method of condolence when there was to be an interment [in Wei].'

[The Chuen appends here two long narratives:—1st, 'When Ts'oo punished the Head of the Hëa family in Ch'in [See VII. xi. 5, and read the Chuen there and on ix. 13, x. 8] king Chwang wanted to take [his mother], Hëa Ke, to his harem; but Woo-shin, duke of Shin, said to him, "Do not do so. You called out the States to punish a criminal. If you now take Hëa Ke to your harem, it will be through desire of her beauty. Such desire is lewdness, and lewdness is a great crime. One of the Books of Chow [Shoo, V. ix. 2] says, 'He illustrated virtue and carefully abstained from wickedness;'—it was thus that King Wăn made Chow [what it became]. 'He illustrated his virtue;'—that is, he did his utmost to exalt it. 'He carefully abstained from wickedness;'—that is, he did his utmost to put it away. If, having roused the States to this expedition, you go on to commit a great wickedness, that is not careful abstinence from it. Let your lordship well consider the matter." The king on this desisted from his purpose.

'Tsze-fan then wished to take her; but Woo-shin said to him, "She is a woman of evil omen. She brought [her brother] Tsze-man, to an early death; proved the death of [her husband] Yu-shuh; occasioned the murder of the marquis Ling, the execution of [her son] Hëa Nan, the expulsion of K'ung and E, and the ruin of the State of Ch'in. What more inauspicious a woman could there be? Man's life is encompassed with difficulties;—is there any one who cannot [naturally] find death? There are many beautiful women in the world;—why must you have this one?" Tsze-fan on this [likewise] gave up his purpose.

The king then gave her to the Lëen-yin. Sëang Laou, who died at the battle of Peih [In the 12th year of duke Seuen], though his body had not been found. His son Hih-yaou then had a connection with her; but Woo-shin sent a message to her, saying, "Return [to Ch'ing], and I will make you regularly my wife." He further brought it about that they should send from Ch'ing to call her there, on the ground that the body [of her husband, Sëang Laou] could be found, and that she must come and meet it. [Hëa] Ke informed the king of this message, who asked K'ëuh Woo [Woo-shin] about it. Woo-shin replied, 'The thing is true. The father of Che Ying [A prisoner in Ts'oo, since the battle of Peih] was a favourite with duke Ch'ing [of Tsin], and is the youngest brother of Chung-hang Pih [Seun Lin-foo]. He has recently been made assistant-commander of the army of the centre, and is very friendly with Hwang Seuh of Ch'ing. He is much attached to this son, and is sure, through Ch'ing, to offer to restore our king's son [A prisoner, since the same battle, in Tsin] and the body of Sëang Laou in exchange for him. The people of Ch'ing are afraid [of Tsin] in consequence of the battle of Peih, and anxious to conciliate its favour, so that they will agree to the wishes of Che Ying's father." [On hearing this], the king sent Hëa Ke back to Ch'ing, and as she was about to commence the journey, she said to those who were escorting her, "If I do not get the body [of my husband], I will not return here." [Thus she went to Ch'ing, and by and by], Woo-shin made proposals of marriage with her to the earl of Ch'ing, who accepted them.

'After the accession of king Kung [in Ts'oo] when he was arranging for the expedition to Yang-k'ëaou [In the winter of this year], he sent K'euh Woo to go on a friendly mission to Ts'e, and to inform the marquis of the time of taking the field. Woo-shin took all his family along with him, and was met by Shin Shuh-kwei, who was going to Ying in the suite of his father. Shuh-kwei said to him, 'How strange! You have the anxiety of all the armies of the State on your mind, and yet you are as bright as if proceeding to an encounter among the mulberry trees. You ought to be stealing a marriage with some lady!" When Woo-

shin got to Ch'ing, he sent his assistant in the mission back to Ts'oo with the presents [he had received for Ts'e], and proceeded to go elsewhere with Hëa Ke. He had been minded to fly to Ts'e, but as its army had sustained the recent defeat, he said, "I will not live in a State which is not victorious," and fled to Tsin, where, by means of Këoh Che, he obtained an appointment, and was made commandant of Hing. Tsze-fan requested [the king of Ts'oo to present large offerings [to Tsin], and get him dismissed from its service; but the king said, "He has gone in the way in which he had planned for himself; but in the plans which he laid for my father he was loyal. Loyalty secures the stability of the altars, and may cover a multitude of offences. If he prove of advantage to it, moreover, would Tsin listen to our request, though it were made with large offerings? If he do not prove of service, Tsin will cast him off, without our having the trouble of seeking his dismissal."'

2d. 'When the army returned to Tsin, Fan Wăn-tsze [Sze Sëeh; see the Chuen on p. 3] was the last [of the generals] to enter the capital. Woo-tsze, [his father], said to him, "Have you not made me wait for you?" He replied, "The army has done good service, and the people are meeting it with joy. If I had entered first, I should have attracted to myself their eyes and ears, and received the fame which belongs to the commander-in-chief. On this account I did not dare [to enter sooner]." Woo-tsze said, "I know by this that he will keep out of danger."

'Këoh Pih had an interview with the duke, who said to him, "The victory was due to you." He replied, "It was due to your lordship's instructions, and to the efforts of all your officers. No peculiar merit belonged to me." Fan Shuh [Fan Wăn-tsze] had an interview, and the duke complimented him in the same way, when he replied, "I got my appointment through [Seun] Kăng [the commander of the 1st army. Sze Sëeh's was only a temporary appointment], and the dispositions were made by K'ih. No peculiar merit belonged to me." When Lwan Pih had an interview, the duke addressed him also in the same way, but he said, 'It was Sëeh who instructed me, and the soldiers obeyed their orders. No peculiar merit belonged to me.']

Par. 7. See on V. xxxi. 1. Tsin had insisted on Ts'e's surrendering this territory to Loo; and Loo would seem to have now taken decisive measures to secure it.

Parr. 8,9,10. The Chuen says:—'Duke Seuen had sent to ask the friendship [and aid] of Ts'oo [See the Chuen after VII. xviii. 3 and 5], but in consequence of his death and that of king Chwang, Loo and Ts'oo had not become allied. When duke Ch'ing succeeded to the State, he accepted a covenant with Tsin, and joined that State in the invasion of Ts'e. [At the same time], the people of Wei had neglected to send any mission to Ts'oo, and had also accepted a covenant with Tsin, and followed it against Ts'e. Tsze-ch'ung, the chief minister of Ts'oo, therefore, made the expedition of Yang-k'ëaou for the relief of Ts'e. When he was about to raise the army for the service, he said, "Our ruler is young, and we are not equal to the great officers of a former day. We shall require a large force in order to succeed. The ode (She, III. i. ode I. 3) says,

'Numerous was the array of officers,
And by them king Wăn enjoyed repose.'

If even king Wăn employed a large force, much more must we do so! Moreover, our late ruler, duke Chwang, gave an order saying, "When our virtue is not sufficient to reach to distant regions, our best plan is to show kindness and compassion to our own people, and use them well.'

'On this, he instituted a grand census from house to house, remitted taxes, was kind to the old and widowed, gave help to the needy, and pardoned offenders. He then raised all the forces of the State. The king's own troops also went. P'ăng Ming drove the king's chariot, having duke King of Ts'ae on the left, and duke Ling of Heu on the right. These two princes were both young, and they were capped, notwithstanding, for the occasion.

'In winter the army of Ts'oo made an incursion into Wei, and then into our territory, where it encamped at Shuh. The duke wished to send Tsang-sun [Seuen-shuh] to it, but he declined, saying, "[The army of] Ts'oo has come far, and been long on the way. It is sure to withdraw, and I do not dare to receive the fame of effecting such a service." Ts'oo then advanced to Yang-k'ëaou, and Măng-sun [Măng Hëen-tsze, called also Chung-sun Mëeh] begged leave to go and bribe it [to retreat]. He took with him 100 mechanics, 100 female embroiderers, and as many weavers, with [the duke's son] Kung-hăng, as a hostage, and with them requested a covenant, when Ts'oo agreed to make peace.

'In the 11th month, the duke, with king [Muh's] son, Ying-ts'e of Ts'oo, the marquis of Ts'ae, the baron of Heu, Yueh, great officer of the right, of Ts'in, Hwa Yuen, of Sung, Kung-sun Ning of Ch'in, Sun Lëang-foo of Wei, the Kung-tsze K'eu-tsih of Ch'ing, and a great officer, of Ts'e, made a covenant at Shuh.'

Tso-she adds:—'The names of the ministers of the different States are not given in the text, because this was an imperfect covenant. It may be called so, because they were at this time afraid of Tsin, and made the covenant with Ts'oo by stealth. The marquis of Ts'ae and the baron of Heu are not mentioned, because they had occupied the carriage of [the viscount of] Ts'oo, and might be said to have lost their rank. The superior man will say, "His rank is what a man must be careful of! When once the rulers of Ts'ae and Heu had failed to assert their rank, they were not numbered with the princes of the States;—how much greater would be the consequence to men of inferior station! What the ode (She, III. ii. ode V. 4) says,

'Not being idle in their stations,
They secure the repose of the people,'

may be applied to a case like this."'

Shuh was a place belonging to Loo,—in the west of the dis. of T'ae-gan, dep. of the same name. The K'ang-he editors observe that the 公子 in p. 9 before 嬰齊 is the first time that any scion of the House of Ts'oo is thus designated; that the precedence given to Ts'oo and Ts'in in p. 10 shows the power of those States; and that Tso-she is right in the reason which he assigns for the absence of Ts'ae and Heu in the enumeration.

[The Chuen gives here the two following narratives:—1st, 'When the army of Ts'oo reached Sung [on its return], Kung-hăng [See above in the last Chuen] stole away from it, back to Loo. Tsang Seuen-shuh said "Hăng-foo, in thus shrinking from the discomfort of a few years, has had no regard to the welfare of the State of Loo. How shall the State deal with the case? Who will sustain the consequences? Hereafter, the people will have to suffer them. The State has been abandoned." During this expedition, Tsin avoided Ts'oo through fear of the multitude of its army. The superior man will say, "Numbers cannot be dispensed with. Great officers, having the authority in their hands, could overcome by numbers;—how much more must an intelligent ruler who uses his numbers well do so! What 'The great Declaration' (Shoo, III. i. Pt. ii. 6) says, about Shang's having millions of people, divided in heart and Chow's having ten men united, illustrates the value of numbers (?)"']

2d. 'The marquis of Tsin sent Kung-soh [Sze Chwang-pih 士莊伯] to Chow with the prisoners and spoils of Ts'e, but the king would not see him, and made duke Sëang of Shen decline [the offerings], saying, "When any of the wild tribes, south, east, west or north, do not obey the king's commands, and by their dissoluteness and drunkenness are violating all the duties of society, the king gives command to attack them. Then when the spoils taken from them are presented, the king receives them in person, and rewards their punishers;—thus curbing the disrespectful, and encouraging the meritorious. When States, ruled by princes of the same surname with the royal House, or by princes of other surnames, are doing despite to the king's rules, he gives command to attack them. Then an announcement is made of the service performed, but no trophies of it are presented:—[the king] in this way showing his respect for his relatives and friends, and preventing rude license [in the punishment]. Now my uncle [of Tsin], having obtained a victory over Ts'e, yet has not sent any of his ministers commissioned by me to guard and comfort the royal House. The messenger whom he has sent to comfort me, the One man, is this Kung-pih, whose office gives him no introduction to the royal House, which is contrary to the rules of the former kings. Though I wish to receive Kung-pih, yet I do not dare to disgrace my uncle by setting at naught the old statutes. And Ts'e is a State ruled by princes of another surname, descendants of the grand-tutor [of king Wăn]. Granting that its ruler rudely indulged his own desires so as to excite the anger of my uncle, would it not have been sufficient to remonstrate with him, and instruct him?"

'To this speech Sze Chwang-pih could make no reply, and the king entrusted the entertaining of him to his three [principal] ministers. They treated him with the ceremonies due to the great officer of a president of the States, announcing his ruler's conquest of his enemies,—a degree lower than the ceremonies proper to a high minister. The king also gave him an entertainment, and presented him privately with gifts, making the director of the ceremonies say to him, "This is contrary to rule. Do not make a record of it."']

Third year.

一章 三年、春、王正月、公會晉侯、宋公、衞侯、曹伯、伐鄭。

二章 辛亥、葬衞穆公。

三章 二月、公至自伐鄭。

四章 甲子、新宮災、三日哭。

五章 乙亥、葬宋文公。

六章 夏、公如晉。

七章 鄭公子去疾帥師伐許。

八章 公至自晉。

九章 秋、叔孫僑如帥師圍棘。
十章 大雩。
十一章 晉郤克、衞孫良夫、伐廧咎如。
十二章 冬、十有一月、晉侯使荀庚、來聘、衞侯使孫良夫來聘。
十三章 丙午、及荀庚盟、丁未、及孫良夫盟。
十四章 鄭伐許。

左傳曰、三年、春、諸侯伐鄭、次于伯牛、討邲之役也。遂東侵鄭、鄭公子偃、帥師禦之、使東鄙覆諸鄤、敗諸丘輿、皇戌如楚獻捷。
夏、公如晉、拜汶陽之田。
許恃楚而不事鄭、鄭子良伐許。
㈠晉人歸楚公子穀臣、與連尹襄老之尸於楚、以求知罃。於是荀首佐中軍矣、故楚人許之。王送知罃、曰、子其怨我乎。對曰、二國治戎、臣不才、不勝其任、以爲俘馘、執事不以釁鼓、使歸卽戮、君之惠也、臣實不才、又誰敢怨。王曰、然則德我乎。對曰、二國圖其社稷、而求紓其民、各懲其忿、以相宥也、兩釋纍囚、以成其好、二國有好、臣不與及、其誰敢德。王曰、子歸、何以報我。對曰、臣不任受怨、君亦不任受德、無怨無德、不知所報。王曰、雖然、必告不穀。對曰、以君之靈、纍臣得歸骨于晉、寡君之以爲戮、死且不朽、若從君之惠而免之、以賜君之外臣首、首其請於寡君、而以戮於宗、亦死且不朽、若不獲命、而使嗣宗職、次及於事、而帥偏師、以修封疆、雖遇執事、其弗敢違、其竭力致死、無有二心、以盡臣禮、所以報也。王曰、晉未可與爭、重爲之禮而歸之。
秋、叔孫僑如圍棘、取汶陽之田、棘不服、故圍之。

晉郤克、衛孫良夫、伐廧咎如。討赤狄之餘焉。廧咎如潰、上失民也。

冬、十一月、晉侯使荀庚來聘、且尋盟。衛侯使孫良夫來聘、且尋盟。公問諸臧宣叔曰、中行伯之於晉也、其位在三。孫子之於衛也、位爲上卿、將誰先。對曰、次國之上卿、當大國之中、中當其下、下當其上大夫、小國之上卿、當大國之下卿、中當其上大夫、下當其下大夫、上下如是、古之制也、衛在晉、不得爲次國、晉爲盟主、其將先之。丙午、盟晉、丁未、盟衛、禮也。

⨸十二月、甲戌、晉作六軍、韓厥、趙括、鞏朔、韓穿、荀騅、趙旃、皆爲卿、賞鞌之功也。

⨸齊侯朝於晉、將授玉、郤克趨進曰、此行也、君爲婦人之笑辱也、寡君未之敢任。晉侯享齊侯、齊侯視韓厥、韓厥曰、君知厥也乎。齊侯曰、服改矣。韓厥登、舉爵曰、臣之不敢愛死、爲兩君之在此堂也。

⨸荀罃之在楚也、鄭賈人有將寘諸褚中以出、旣謀之、未行、而楚人歸之、賈人如晉、荀罃善視之、如實出己。賈人曰、吾無其功、敢有其實乎。吾小人、不可以厚誣君子。遂適齊。

III. 1 In his third year, in spring, in the king's first month, the duke joined the marquis of Tsin, the duke of Sung, the marquis of Wei, and the earl of Ts'aou, in invading Ch'ing.

2 On Sin-hae there was the burial of duke Muh of Wei.

3 In the second month, the duke arrived from the invasion of Ch'ing.

4 On Keah-tsze the new temple took fire, when we wailed for it three days.

5 On Yih-hae there was the burial of duke Wăn of Sung.

6 In summer, the duke went to Tsin.

7 K'eu-tsih, duke [Muh's] son, of Ch'ing led an army, and invaded Heu.

8 The duke arrived from Tsin.

9 In autumn, Shuh-sun K'ëaou-joo led an army, and laid siege to Keih.

10 There was a grand sacrifice for rain.

11 Këoh K'ih of Tsin, and Sun Lëang-foo of Wei, invaded the Tsëang-kaou-joo.

12 In winter, in the 11th month, the marquis of Tsin sent Seun Kăng to Loo on a friendly mission; and the marquis of Wei sent Sun Lëang-foo on the same.

13 On Ping-woo we made a covenant with Seun Kăng, and on Ting-we we made one with Sun Lëang-foo.

14 Ch'ing invaded Heu.

Par. 1. This par. shows how the weaker States oscillated between the two great ones of Tsin and Ts'oo, making covenants with them, and immediately after breaking them, according as the pressure came from them. Loo, Sung, Wei, and Ts'aou had all been parties with Ch'ing to the covenant at Shuh, in which the presidency of Ts'oo was acknowledged, only two months before this; yet here they are, at the summons of Tsin, banded together with it, and invading Ch'ing. The Chuen says:—In the 3d year, in spring, the States [mentioned] invaded Ch'ing, when their armies halted at Pih-nëw; the object being to avenge the battle of Peih [? Sufficient reasons for the attack of Ch'ing may be found without going back so far as that battle]. A detachment then proceeded eastwards into the country, which was met by duke [Muh's] son, Yen, who defeated it at K'ëw-yu, having previously placed an ambuscade at Man in the eastern borders. Hwang Seuh proceeded to Ts'oo with the trophies of this victory.'

As the last earl of Ts'aou and the marquis of Wei were both unburied, their successors should not be mentioned here by their titles, but simply as 衞子 and 曹子, according to the analogy of 宋子 in V. ix. 2. Why this 'violation of rule,' as Too calls it, is committed here, we cannot tell. The failure of the enterprise is also kept back.

Par. 2. Kung-yang has 繆 for 穆. The interment took place a month behind the proper time. The delay was probably occasioned by the expedition against Ch'ing.

Par. 4. By 新宮, 'the new temple,' we are to understand the temple or shrine-house of duke Seuen. So Kung-yang says expressly—宣公之宮, and Kuh-lëang has, to the same effect,—禰宮. The three years of mourning for him had been completed, and his Spirit-tablet had been solemnly and regularly inducted into the shrine-house proper to it [See on IV. ii. 2], when thus, shortly after, it took fire. It was according to rule for duke Ch'ing and his ministers to wail 3 days on such an occurrence.

Par. 5. The extravagant interment given to duke Wăn is described on p. 5 of last year. Perhaps it was in the same spirit that the funeral was delayed, as if he had been emperor, till the 7th month after his death.

Par. 6. Tso-she says that the duke now went to Tsin to make his acknowledgments for the lands of Wăn-yang, which Tsin had compelled Ts'e to restore to Loo.

Par. 7. K'en-tsih was the name of Tsze-lëang (子良), a son of duke Muh of Ch'ing, who appears, very creditably to himself, in the Chuen on VII. iv. 3. Tso says that he now invaded Heu, because that State, relying on the protection of Ts'oo, would not serve Ch'ing. It will be remembered how the earl of Ch'ing extinguished, or nearly so, the State of Heu in the 11th year of duke Yin. The young prince of Heu recovered his patrimony in the 15th year of duke Hwan; after which the text records sundry invasions of Heu by Ch'ing, till the 6th year of duke He, when Ts'oo laid siege to its capital, and Ch'ing was obliged to cease from troubling Heu in deference to that stronger power. For some reason or other, Ch'ing now thought fit to revive its ancient claims.

Par. 8. [The Chuen introduces here the following narrative, a sequel partly to the first introduced after par. 5 of last year:—'The people of Tsin restored the Kung-tsze Kuh-shin and the body of the Lëeu-yin, Sëang Laou, asking that Che Ying might be sent to Tsin in exchange for them. At this time Seun Show, [Che Ying's father], was assistant-commander of [Tsin's] army of the centre, and on that account Ts'oo agreed to the exchange. When the king was sending Che Ying away, he said to him, "Do you feel resentment against me?" Ying replied, "Our two States were trying the appeal to battle, when I, through my want of ability, proved unequal to the duties of my position, became a prisoner, and, lost my left ear. That your servants did not take my blood to smear their drums with [See Mencius, I. Pt. I. vii. 4], and that you now send me back to Tsin to be punished there, is your kindness. I have to blame only my own want of ability;—against whom should I feel resentment?" "Then," continued the king, "do you feel grateful to me?" "Our two States," was the reply, "consulting for the [security of] their altars, and seeking to relieve the toils of their people, are curbing their anger, and exercising a mutual forgiveness. Each is giving up its prisoner, to establish the good understanding between them. The good of the two States is what is contemplated; there is no special reference to my [good]:—to whom should I presume to be grateful?" The king went on to ask, "When you return to Tsin, how will you repay me?" Ying replied, "I have nothing for which to feel resentment, and your lordship has nothing for which to demand gratitude. Where there is no resentment and no gratitude, I do not know what is to be repaid." "Yes," urged the king, "but you must give me an answer." Ying then said, "If, through your lordship, I, your prisoner, get back with my bones, to Tsin, should my ruler there order me to execution, in death I will remember your kindness. If by your kindness I escape that fate, and am delivered to [my father] Show, who is not a minister of Ts'oo, then should he request permission from our ruler, and execute me in our ancestral temple, I will still in death remember your kindness. If he should not obtain permission to inflict such a doom, but I be appointed to the office hereditary in my family; and should troubles then arise, and I be leading a troop to look after the borders of Tsin, and meet with your officers, I will not presume to avoid them. I will do my utmost, even to death, and with an undivided heart discharge my duty as a

servant [of Tsin]:—it is thus I will repay you." The king said, "Tsin is not to be contended with." He then treated Ying with exceeding courtesy, and sent him back to Tsin.']

Par. 9. Tso observes that when Loo took or received from Ts'e the lands of Wăn-yang, the city of Keih refused its submission, and in consequence Shuh-sun K'eaou-joo now laid siege to it, and, we must suppose, took it. According to this, Keih was in the territory of Wăn-yang. It is referred to the pres. dis. of Fei-shing, dep. T'ae-gan.

Par. 10. See on II. v. 7.

Par. 11. The tribe of Tsëang-kaou-joo is mentioned in the last Chuen on V. xxiii., where we also learn that the surname of the chief was 隗. Kung-yang gives the name with a 將 instead of 廧, and Kuh-lëang with a 牆. Tso-she says that the reason for the expedition was that the Tsëang-kaou-joo were a remnant of the Red Teih. He adds, 'When it is said, "The Tsëang Kaou-joo dispersed," we are to understand that the chief had lost his hold on the people.'

Parr. 12, 13. The Chuen says:—'In winter, in the 11th month, the marquis of Tsin sent Seun Kăng to Loo on a friendly mission, and to renew the covenant [between Loo and Tsin] [That made at Ch'ih-keih, in Ch'ing's 1st year]. The marquis of Wei [also] sent Sun Lëang-foo on a similar mission, and to renew the covenant between Loo and Wei [That in the 7th year of duke Seuen]. The duke consulted Tsang Seuen-shuh saying, "The station of Chung-hang Pih (Sëun Kăng) in Tsin is that of a minister of the 3d degree, while Sun-tsze is in Wei its minister of the 1st degree. With which shall I covenant first?" Seuen-shuh replied, "A minister of the 1st degree in a second-rate State corresponds to one of the 2d degree in a great State; its 2d degree corresponds to the great State's 3d; and its 3d degree to the great State's great officers of the highest class. In a small State, the minister of the 1st degree corresponds to a great State's of the lowest; the 2d degree to the great State's highest class of great officers, and the 3d degree to the second class. These are the relations of high and low [as concerns ministers and great officers], fixed by ancient rule. Now Wei, as compared with Tsin, cannot be regarded as a State of the 2d degree; and Tsin is lord of covenants:—give the precedence to it." [Accordingly], on Ping-woo a covenant was made with Tsin, and on Ting-we, with Wei;—which was right.'

Par. 14. [We have here three narratives appended in the Chuen:—1st. 'In the 12th month, on Këah-seuh, Tsin constituted six armies [See the Chuen at the end of V. xxviii.]. Han Keueh, Chaou Kwoh, Kung Soh, Han Ch'uen, Seun Chuy, and Chaou Chen, were all made high ministers,—in reward for their services at Gan.'

2d. 'The marquis of Ts'e paid a court-visit to Tsin. When he was about to deliver his symbol of jade, Këoh K'ih ran forward and said, "This visit is on account of the laughter of your lordship's women, and the disgrace thereby inflicted [on me] [See the Chuen on VII. xvii. 5]; our ruler dare not accept this ceremony." When the marquis of Tsin was feasting him of Ts'e, the latter looked [stedfastly] at Han Keueh, who said, "Does your lordship know me?" "Your clothes are different," was the reply [See the account of the battle of Gan, p. 3 of last year]. Han Keueh ascended the steps with a cup of spirits, and said, 'I did not presume not to risk my life, in order that your lordships might meet in this hall."'

3d. 'When Seun Ying was [a prisoner] in Ts'oo, a merchant of Ch'ing formed a plan to convey him out of it in a bag of clothes. The plan was not carried out; but when Ts'oo had restored Ying, the merchant went to Tsin, where Ying treated him as well as if he had really delivered him. The merchant said, "I did not do the service, and dare I receive this treatment as if I had done it? I am but a small man, and must not for my own advantage impose on a superior man." He then went to Ts'e.']

Fourth year.

一章 四年、春、宋公使華元來聘。

二章 三月、壬申、鄭伯堅卒。

三章 杞伯來朝。

四章 夏、四月、甲寅、臧孫許卒。

五章 公如晉。

六章 葬鄭襄公。

七章 秋、公至自晉。

八章 冬、城鄆。

九章 鄭伯伐許。

左傳曰、四年、春、宋華元來聘。通嗣君也。杞伯來朝。歸叔姬故也。夏、公如晉。晉侯見公、不敬。季文子曰、晉侯必不免。詩曰、敬之敬之、天維顯思、命不易哉、夫晉侯之命、在諸侯矣、可不敬乎。秋、公至自晉。欲求成於楚、而叛晉。季文子曰、不可、晉雖無道、未可叛也、國大、臣睦、而邇於我、諸侯聽焉、未可以貳、史佚之志有之曰、非我族類、其心必異、楚雖大、非吾族也、其肯字我乎。公乃止。冬、十一月、鄭公孫申帥師疆許田、許人敗諸展陂。鄭伯伐許、取鉏任、冷敦之田。晉欒書將中軍、荀首佐之、士燮佐上軍、以救許、伐鄭、取氾祭。楚子反救鄭、鄭伯與許男訟焉、皇戌攝鄭伯之辭。子反不能決也、曰、君若辱在寡君、寡君與其二三臣、共聽兩君之所欲、成其可知也、不然、側不足以知二國之成。

(十)晉趙嬰通于趙莊姬。

IV. 1 In the [duke's] fourth year, in spring, the duke of Sung sent Hwa Yuen to Loo on a friendly mission.

2 In the third month, on Jin-shin, Këen, earl of Ch'ing, died.

3 The earl of Ke paid a court-visit to Loo.

4 In summer, in the fourth month, on Këah-yin, Tsang-sun Heu died.

5 The duke went to Tsin.

6 There was the burial of duke Sëang of Ch'ing.

7 In autumn, the duke arrived from Tsin.

8 In winter, we walled Yun.

9 The earl of Ch'ing invaded Heu.

Par. 1. Before this time, in all the period of the Ch'un Ts'ëw, Sung had sent no friendly mission of inquiry to Loo. It had sent no response even to the mission of the Kung-tsze Suy in Wăn's 11th year. There was probably some reason for Hwa Yuen's visit more than what Tso-she assigns,—that it was to open communication with Loo on the part of the new duke of Sung (通嗣君).

Par. 2. On Too Yu's scheme of the calendar, Jin-shin was the 28th day of the 2d month.

Par. 3. This earl of Ke was married to a daughter of Loo, of whose return to her native State, divorced, we read in the 1st par. of next year. Tso says the visit he now paid to the court of Loo was in preparation for that event; —to explain, that is, the reasons which made it advisable. On the 伯, see on VI. xii. 2.

Par. 4. Heu had been an important officer of Loo. He was succeeded by his son, Heih (紇), known as Tsang-sun Woo-chung (武仲).

Parr. 5,7. The Chuen says;—'When the marquis of Tsin saw the duke, he did not behave to him with respect. Ke Wăn-tsze [Kesun Hăng-foo] said, "The marquis of Tsin is sure not to escape [a violent death]. The ode (She, IV. i. [iii.] III.) says,

'Let me be reverent, let me be reverent.
Heaven's method is clear;—
Its appointment is not easily preserved.'

The appointment of the marquis of Tsin depends on the States; ought he not to treat them with respect?" In autumn, when the duke came [back] from Tsin, he wished to seek for a friendly understanding with Ts'oo, and to revolt from Tsin; but Ke Wăn-tsze said to him, 'You should not do so. Though Tsin has behaved unreasonably, we should not revolt from

it. The State is large; its ministers are harmonious; and it is near to us. The [other] States receive its orders. We may not yet cherish disaffection to it. The work of the historiographer Yih says, 'If he be not of our kin, he is sure to have a different mind.' Although Ts'oo be great, its ruler is not akin to us;—will he be willing to love us?" On this, the duke desisted from his purpose.'

Par. 6. There were troubles, probably, in Ch'ing, which occasioned this hasty interment of duke Sëang.

Par. 8. 鄆,—Kung-yang has 運. Too thinks that the duke walled Yun, as a precautionary measure against Tsin, having it in mind to revolt from it. If this be a correct guess, then the Yun here must have been on the west of Loo, and a different place from the Yun in VI. xii. 8, which was fortified against any attempts of Keu from the east. But acc. to Too, on XI. x. 4 there was a Yun in the district of Wăn-yang; and I agree with the K'ang-he editors in approving the view of Tae K'e (戴溪; Sung dyn., towards the end of the 12th cent.) that this was the city in the text, and that Loo now fortified it, simply to strengthen itself, without reference to Tsin. The Chuen on p. 7 says that the duke had desisted from his purpose to brave that power.

Par. 9. The Chuen says:—'In winter, in the 4th month, Kung-sun Shin of Ch'ing led a force, and endeavoured to lay out the boundaries of the fields of Heu, [which Ch'ing had taken in its recent inroads]. The people of Heu defeated him at Chen-p'e, when the earl of Ch'ing invaded that State [himself], and took the lands of Tseu-jin and Ling-tun. Lwan-shoo of Tsin, in command of the army of the centre, with Seun Show, as assistant-commander, and Sze Sëeh, assistant-commander of the 1st army, in order to relieve Heu, made an invasion of Ch'ing, and took Fan-chae. Tsze-fan of Ts'oo then came to the relief of Ch'ing; and the earl of Ch'ing and the baron of Heu sued each other [before him]. Hwang Seuh pleading the case of the earl. Tsze-fan could not determine the matter in dispute, and said, "If you two princes will go before my ruler, then he and some of his ministers will hear together what you want to prove, and the merits of your case can be known. If you will not do so, then I (Tsze-fan's name was 側) do not feel myself able to ascertain the merits of it."'

The critics dwell on the incongruousness of the earl of Ch'ing's being so styled, and of his engaging himself in the invasion of Heu, before the year in which his father died was expired.

[The Chuen adds here:—'In winter, Chaou Ying [A younger, or the youngest, brother of Chaou Tun, the great minister of Tsin in duke Wăn's time] had an intrigue with Chaou Chwang-ke (Chwang-ke was the wife of Chaou Soh, or Chaou Chwang-tsze, the son of Chaou Tun).']

Fifth year.

一章 五年、春、王正月、杞叔姬來歸。

二章 仲孫蔑如宋。

三章 夏、叔孫僑如會晉荀首于穀。

四章 梁山崩。

五章 秋、大水。

六章 冬、十有一月、己酉、天王崩。

七章 十有二月、己丑、公會晉侯、齊侯、宋公、衞侯、鄭伯、曹伯、邾子、杞伯、同盟于蟲牢。

⨸左傳曰、五年、春、原、屏、放諸齊。嬰曰、我在、故欒氏不作、我亡、吾二昆其憂哉、且人各有能有不能、舍我何害。弗聽。嬰夢天使謂己、祭余、余福女。其使問諸士貞伯、貞伯曰、不識也。既而告其人曰、神福仁而禍淫、淫而無罰、福也、祭、其得亡乎。祭之之明日而亡。

孟獻子如宋、報華元也。

夏、晉荀首如齊逆女、故宣伯餫諸穀。

梁山崩。晉侯以傳召伯宗。伯宗辟重、曰、辟傳。重人曰、待我、不如捷之速也。問其所。曰、絳人也。問絳事焉。曰、梁山崩、將召伯宗謀之。問將若之何。曰、山有朽壤而崩、可若何、國主山川、故山崩川竭、君爲之不舉、降服、乘縵、徹樂、出次、祝幣、史辭、以禮焉、其如此而已、雖伯宗若之何。伯宗請見之。不可。遂以告而從之。

⨸許靈公愬鄭伯于楚。六月、鄭悼公如楚訟、不勝、楚人執皇戌、及子國、故鄭伯歸、使公子偃請成於晉。秋、八月、鄭伯及晉趙同、盟于垂棘。

⨸宋公子圍龜爲質于楚而歸、華元享之、請鼓譟以出、鼓譟以復入、曰、習攻華氏。宋公殺之。

十一月、己酉、定王崩。

冬、同盟于蟲牢。鄭服也。諸侯謀復會、宋公使向爲人辭以子靈之難。

V. 1 In the [duke's] fifth year, in spring, in the king's first month, the third daughter [of duke Wăn, who had been married to the earl] of Ke, came back to Loo.

2 Chung-sun Mëeh went to Sung.

3 In summer, Shuh-sun K'ëaou-joo had a meeting with Seun Show of Tsin in Kuh.

4 [A part of] mount Lëang fell down.

5 In autumn, there were great floods.

6 In winter, in the eleventh month, on Ke-yëw, the king [by] Heaven's [grace] died.

7 In the twelfth month, on Ke-ch'ow, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Tsin, the marquis of Ts'e, the duke of Sung, the marquis of Wei, the earl of Ch'ing, the earl of Ts'aou, the viscount of Choo, and the earl of Ke, when they made a covenant together in Ch'ung-laou.

Par. 1. See on the 3d par. of last year. Comp. also VII. xvi. 3. where we have a similar record concerning another daughter of Loo. The 叔姬 in the text could not be a daughter of duke Ch'ing who was now only about 21 years old. Nor is it likely she was a daughter of duke Seuen, for his eldest daughter's marriage appears 4 years after this The remarks of Hoo Gankwoh on this passage are, perhaps, worth translating:—'The Ch'un Ts'ëw is careful in recording the marriages and divorces of the daughters of Loo, because the relation of husband and wife is the greatest bond of society. When a son is born, the parents wish to get him a wife, and for a daughter they wish to get a husband. This is characteristic of all parents; and if they cannot select a proper wife and a proper husband, then the lot of husband and wife is bitter, and occasion is given to lewdness and evil. The royal laws attach great importance to this matter; it lies at the root of the human relations; and the Classic is careful in recording it, as a warning to future ages.'

[The Chuen continues the brief narrative at the end of last year:—'This spring, [Ying's brothers], he of Yuen (Chaou T'ung), and he of Ping (Chaou Kwoh), banished him to Ts'e. He said to them, "While I am here, I can prevent the House of Lwan from rising [against us]; if I be gone, you, my brothers, will have to be sorry [for your step]. Every body has what he can do, and what he cannot do. What harm will your letting me alone do?" His brothers would not listen to him.

'Ying dreamt that Heaven sent [a Spirit] to say to him, "Sacrifice to me, and I will bless you." He sent and asked Sze Ching-pih [Sze Uh-chuh] about the dream, who said he did not know its meaning. Afterwards, however, he [Probably Ching-pih] told it to one of his followers, who said, "Spirits bless the virtuous, and send calamity on the lewd. When one guilty of lewdness escapes without punishment, he is blessed. Is his banishment to be a consequence of the sacrifice?" The day after he sacrificed [to that Spirit], he went into exile.']

Par. 3. 'This visit to Sung,' says Tso-she, 'was the return for Hwa Yuen's visit to Loo,' in the spring of last year. It will be remembered that Chung-sun Meëh is often mentioned as Măng Hëen-tsze.

Par. 4. Kuh,—see III. vii. 4. It was in Ts'e. Tso-she says that Sëun Show (Kung has 秀 instead of 首) had gone to Ts'e to meet the bride [Probably for his ruler], and therefore Seuen-pih (K'ëaou-joo) [met him at Kuh] with a supply of provisions for his journey.'

Par. 5. Mount Lëang was in Tsin,—90 *le* to the north-east of the pres. dis. city of Han-shing, dep. Se-gan, Shen-se;—see on the Shoo, III. i. Pt. i 4. The Chuen says:—'When a part of mount Lëang fell, the marquis of Tsin sent couriers to call Pih-tsung to him. Pih-tsung met a waggon, which he told to get out of the way to make room for his fast carriage. The waggoner said, "You will make more speed by taking a short road than by waiting for me." Pih-tsung asked him what place he was of, and he replied, "Of Këang." He then asked what was taking place there. "Mount Lëang has fallen," said the man, "and [the marquis] is calling Pih-tsung to consult about what is to be done." "And what do you think should be done?" pursued the officer. "When a mountain becomes disintegrated, it falls down; what can be done?" was the reply. "However, [each] State presides over [the sacrifices to] the hills and rivers in it; therefore when a mountain falls or a river becomes dry, the ruler in consequence does not have his table fully spread, does not appear in full dress, rides in a carriage without any ornament, hushes all his music, lodges outside the city, makes the priest prepare offerings, and the historiographer write a confession of his faults, and then does sacrifice [to the hills and rivers]. This is what the ruler has to do; what else can he do, even with the advice of Pih-tsung?" Pih-tsung wished to introduce the man at court, but he refused. However, he told what he had heard from him, and gave counsel accordingly.'

[The Chuen gives here two narratives:—1st. 'Duke Ling of Heu accused the earl of Ch'ing in Ts'oo [See the Chuen on p. 9 of last year]; and in the 6th month, duke Taou of Ch'ing went to Ts'oo to reply. He did not succeed, however, and the people of Ts'oo seized and held Hwang Seuh, and [duke Muh's son], Tsze-kwoh. On this account, when the earl of Ch'ing returned, he sent the Kung-tsze Yen to ask for peace with Tsin. In autumn, in the 8th month, the earl of Ch'ing and Chaou Kwoh of Tsin made a covenant at Ch'uy-keih.' 2d, 'Wei-kwei, duke [Wăn's] son, of Sung, returned from being a hostage in Ts'oo. Hwa Yuen made a feast for him, when he asked [duke Kung] that he might leave his palace amid drums and clamour, and return to it in the same style, saying, "I will practise how to attack the Hwa family." On this the duke of Sung put him to death.']

Par. 6. This was king Ting (定王). Somehow this par. has got transposed in the Chuen, and follows the next. No remark is made on it which is contrary to Tso-she's practice, and has set Too Yu conjecturing that the par. is an interpolation.

Par. 7. Ch'ung-laou was in Ch'ing,—3 *le* north from the present dis. city of Fung-k'ëw (封丘), dep. K'ae-fung. The Chuen says:—'In winter, the States [mentioned] made a covenant together at Ch'ung-laou;—on occasion of the submission [to Tsin] of Ch'ing. They were consulting about another meeting, when the duke of Sung made Hëang Wei-jin decline on his part, on account of the difficulties about Tsze-ling [The Wei-kwei in the 2d narrative after par. 5].'

On 同 see III. xvi. 4. It here much perplexes the critics. The famous Ch'ing E interprets it of the parties thus meeting with one accord, neglectful of the duties incumbent on them upon the king's death!

Sixth year.

一章 六年、春、王正月、公至自會。
二章 二月、辛巳、立武宮。
三章 取鄟。 四章 衛孫良夫帥師侵宋。
五章 夏六月、邾子來朝。
六章 公孫嬰齊如晉。
七章 壬申、鄭伯費卒。
八章 秋、仲孫蔑、叔孫僑如、帥師侵宋。
九章 楚公子嬰齊帥師伐鄭。
十章 冬、季孫行父如晉。
十一章 晉欒書帥師救鄭。

(一)左傳曰、六年、春、鄭伯如晉、拜成、子游相、授玉于東楹之東。士貞伯曰、鄭伯其死乎、自棄也已、視流而行速、不安其位、宜不能久。
二月、季文子以鞌之功立武宮。非禮也。聽于人以救其難、不可以立武、立武由己、非由人也。
取鄟、言易也。
三月、晉伯宗夏陽說衛孫良夫甯相鄭人伊雒之戎、陸渾蠻氏侵宋、以其辭會也。師于鍼、衛人不保、說欲襲衛、曰、雖不可入、多俘而歸、有罪不及死。伯宗曰、不可、衛唯信晉、故師在其郊、而不設備、若襲之、是棄信也、雖多衛俘、而晉無信、何以求諸侯、乃止。師還、衛人登陴。
(二)晉人謀去故絳、諸大夫皆曰、必居郇瑕氏之地、沃饒而近盬、國利君樂、不可失也。韓獻子將新中軍、且爲僕大夫、公揖而入、獻子從公立于寢庭、謂獻子曰、何如。對曰、不可、郇瑕氏土薄水淺、其惡易覯、易覯則民愁、民愁則墊隘、於是乎有沈溺重膇之疾、不如新田、土厚水深、居之不

疾、有汾澮以流其惡、且民從教、十世之利也、夫山澤林鹽、國之寶也、國饒、則民驕佚、近寶、公室乃貧、不可謂樂。公說、從之、

夏、四月、丁丑、晉遷於新田。

子叔聲伯如晉。命伐宋。

六月、鄭悼公卒。

秋、孟獻子、叔孫宣伯、侵宋。晉命也。

楚子重伐鄭。鄭從晉故也。

冬、季文子如晉。賀遷也。

晉欒書救鄭、與楚師遇於繞角。楚師還、晉師遂侵蔡。楚公子申、公子成、以申、息之師救蔡、禦諸桑隧。趙同、趙括、欲戰、請于武子、武子將許之。知莊子、范文子、韓獻子諫曰、不可、吾來救鄭、楚師去我、吾遂至于此、是遷戮也、戮而不已、又怒楚師、戰必不克、雖克不令、成師以出、而敗楚之二縣、何榮之有焉、若不能敗、爲辱已甚、不如還也。乃遂還。於是軍帥之欲戰者衆、或謂欒武子曰、聖人與衆同欲、是以濟事、子盍從衆、子爲大政、將酌於民者也、子之佐十一人、其不欲戰者、三人而已、欲戰者可謂衆矣、商書曰、三人占、從二人、衆故也、武子曰、善鈞從衆、夫善、衆之主也、三卿爲主、可謂衆矣、從之、不亦可乎

VI. 1 In his sixth year, in spring, in the king's first month, the duke arrived from the meeting [at Ch'ung-laou].

2 In the second month, on Sin-sze, we set up a temple to [duke] Woo.

3 We took Chuen.

4 Sun Lëang-foo of Wei led a force, and made an incursion into Sung.

5 In summer, in the sixth month, the viscount of Choo came to Loo on a court-visit.

6 Kung-sun Ying-ts'e went to Tsin.

7 On Jin-shin, Pe, earl of Ch'ing, died.

8 In autumn, Chung-sun Mëeh and Shuh-sun K'ëaou-joo led a force, and made an incursion into Sung.

9 The Kung-tsze Ying-ts'e of Ts'oo led a force, and invaded Ch'ing.

10 In winter, Ke-sun Hăng-foo went to Tsin.

11 Lwan Shoo of Tsin led a force and relieved Ch'ing.

Par. 1. [The Chuen introduces here:—'This spring, the earl of Ch'ing went to Tsin to pay his acknowledgments for the peace [to which Tsin had admitted him], Tsze-yëw [The Kung-tsze Yen in the 1st Chuen after p. 5 of last year] attending him. He delivered his mace of jade on the east of the eastern pillar [of the hall], on which Sze Ching-peh (Sze Uh-chuh) said, "The death of the earl of Ch'ing cannot be far off." He quite forgets himself. His eyes roll about,

he walks rapidly, and does not rest in his place. We may well conclude that he will not live long.']

Par. 2. Tso-she appears to take 武宮 as meaning 'a palace of victory,' or 'a temple of war.' The Chuen is:—'In the 2d month, Ke Wăn-tsze, on account of the victory at Gan, set up a temple of War;—which was contrary to rule. [A State] dependent on others to save it in its distress cannot establish a character for prowess. The establishment of that must proceed from itself, and not from others.' Too compares this with the proposal, which the viscount of Ts'oo rejected, after the battle of Peih, that he should rear a monument of his triumph. It is better, with most of the critics, to take 武 in the sense of 武公, 'duke Woo,' an earlier marquis of Loo, from 825 to 815, B. C., who had been distinguished for his military successes. They were flushed, no doubt, at this time, in Loo with the victory at Gan, and in the spirit of military enterprise, they resolved to add to the ancestral temple a shrine to this duke Woo, replacing in it his Spirit-tablet that had long been removed, thereafter to continue undisturbed. This temple or shrine-house became Loo's 武世室.

Par. 3. Chuen was a small State, attached to Loo, referred by some to the north-east of the pres. dis. of T'an-shing (郯城), dep. E-chow (沂州). Loo now extinguished its sacrifices, and incorporated it with itself. Tso-she thinks the brief record in the text intimates the ease with which the thing was accomplished.

Par. 4. The Chuen says:—'In the 3d month, Pih-tsung and Hëa-yang Yueh of Tsin, Sun Lëang-foo and Ning Sëang of Wei, an officer of Ch'ing, the Jung of E and Loh [See the Chuen after V.xi.2], those of Loh-hwăn [See the Chuen after V.xxii.2] and the Man-she, made an incursion into Sung,—because [the duke] had declined to attend the meeting [proposed at Ch'ung-laou]. When their army was at K'ëen, the people of Wei were not maintaining any guard, and Yueh wished to make a dash upon its capital], saying, "Although we may not be able to enter it, yet we shall bring back many prisoners, and our offence will not be deemed a mortal one." Pih-tsung, however, said, "No. Wei is trusting Tsin; and therefore, though our army is in the outskirts of the city, it has made no preparations against an attack. If we make a dash upon it, we abandon our good faith. Though we should take many prisoners, yet having lost our faith, how could Tsin seek the leading of the States?" Yueh then gave up his purpose. When the army returned, the people of Wei manned their parapets.'

Since the nature of the attack on Sung was as here described in the Chuen, it is not easy to understand why the text should simply attribute it to Wei. Nor can we account for the sudden purpose of Yueh of Tsin to attack Wei.

[The Chuen gives here the following narrative about Tsin:—'The people of Tsin were consulting about leaving [their capital at] old Këang; and the great officers all said, "We must occupy the site of the [former] Sëun-hea. The soil is rich and fruitful, and it is near the salt marsh. There is profit in it for the people, and enjoyment for the ruler. Such a site is not to be lost." [At this time] Han Hëen-tsze [Han Këueh] commanded the new army of the centre, and was also high chamberlain. The marquis bowed to him to follow him, which he did to the court before the State chamber; and as they stood there, the marquis asked his opinion on the subject. Hëen-tsze replied, "At Seun-hëa the soil is thin and the water shallow. The evil airs about it are easily developed. This will make the people miserable. In their misery they will become feeble and distressed; and then we shall have swollen legs, and all the diseases generated by damp. The site there is not like that of Sin-t'ëen, where the soil is good and the water deep. It may be occupied without fear of disease. There are the Fun and the Kwei to carry away the evil airs; and the people, moreover, are docile. It offers advantages for ten generations. Mountains, marshes, forests, and salt-grounds are indeed most precious to a State; but when the country is rich and fruitful, the people grow proud and lazy. Where a capital is near such precious places, the ruling House becomes poor;—such a site cannot be called enjoyable." The marquis was pleased, and followed the suggestion. In summer, in the 4th month, on Ting-ch'ow, Tsin removed its capital to Sin-t'ëen.']

Parr. 6, 8. Kung-sun Ying-ts'e was the son of Shuh-heih, whose death is mentioned in VII. xvii. 8. He was the grandson (公孫) of duke Wăn. He is known as Tsze-shuh Shing-pih (子叔聲伯). The Chuen says:—'Tsze-shuh Shing-pih went to Tsin, and got orders [for Loo] to invade Sung. In autumn, Măng Hëen-tsze and Shuh-sun Seuen-pih made an incursion into Sung, according to the orders of Tsin.'

Par. 7. Too observes that in this death of the earl of Ch'ing—duke Taou—we have the fulfilment of Sze Ching-pih's words in the Chuen after par. 1.

Par. 9. Tso-she says, 'Tsze-ch'ung of Ts'oo invaded Ch'ing, because Ch'ing was [now] following the party of Tsin.'

Par. 10. Tso says the object of this visit was to congratulate Tsin on the transference of its capital. Chaou P'ăng-fei, however, thinks it was to tell Tsin of the submission of Sung, as in p. 5 of next year we find that State again confederate with Tsin against Ts'oo.

Par. 11. Kung-yang has 侵 instead of 救;—evidently an error. The Chuen says:—'Lwan Shoo of Tsin [marched] to relieve Ch'ing, and at Jaou-koh, met with the army of Ts'oo which retired from the State. The army of Tsin then proceeded to make an incursion into Ts'ae, to the relief of which came the Kung-tszes. Shin and Shing, with the forces of Shin and Seih, which took up their position at Sang-suy. Chaou T'ung and Chaou Kwoh wished to risk a battle, and begged Woo-tsze [Lwan Shoo] to do so. He was about to accede to their request, when Che Chwang-tsze [Sëun Show], Fan Wăn-tsze [Sze Sëeh], and Han Hëen-tsze [Han Keueh] remonstrated, saying, "Do not. We came to relieve Ch'ing, and when the army of Ts'oo moved away from us, we came on here. Thus we have transferred the scene of our attack; and if we

go on to attack the army of Ts'oo, shall enrage it, and be sure to lose any battle. Even should we conquer, it will not be well. We came out with all our hosts; and should we defeat the forces of two districts of Ts'oo, what glory will there be in the achievement? But should we not be able to do so, the disgrace will be extreme. Our best plan is to return." Upon this, the army returned to Tsin. At this time nearly all the leaders of the army wished to fight, and some one said to Lwan Woo-tsze, "The sages found the way to success in the agreement of their wishes and those of the multitude. Why not [now] follow the multitude? You are commander-in-chief, and should decide according to the views of the people. Of your eleven assistant commanders there are only three who do not wish to fight;—those who wish to fight may be pronounced a great majority. One of the Books of the Shang-shoo (Shoo, V. iv. 24) says, 'When three men obtain and interpret the indications and symbols, two [consenting] are to be followed;'—the two being the majority." Woo-tsze said, "[To follow] the best is as good as to follow the multitude. The best are the lords of the multitude. Such are the three high ministers [who advise against fighting];—they may be called a majority. Am I not doing also what is proper in following them?"

Seventh year.

一章 七年、春、王正月、鼷鼠食郊牛角、改卜牛、鼷鼠又食其角、乃免牛。

二章 吳伐郯。

三章 夏、五月、曹伯來朝。

四章 不郊、猶三望。

五章 秋、楚公子嬰齊帥師伐鄭、公會晉侯、齊侯、宋公、衞侯、曹伯、莒子、邾子、杞伯、救鄭、八月、戊辰、同盟于馬陵。

六章 公至自會。

七章 吳入州來。

八章 冬、大雩。

九章 衞孫林父出奔晉。

左傳曰、七年、春、吳伐郯、郯成、季文子曰、中國不振旅、蠻夷入伐、而莫之或恤、無弔者也夫、詩曰、不弔昊天、亂靡有定、其此之謂乎、有上不弔、其誰不受亂、吾亡無日矣。君子曰、知懼如是、斯不亡矣。

㈢鄭子良相成公以如晉、見、且拜師。

夏、曹宣公來朝。

秋、楚子重伐鄭、師于氾、諸侯救鄭、鄭共仲、侯羽、軍楚師、囚鄖公鍾儀、獻諸晉。八月、同盟于馬陵、尋蟲牢之盟、且莒服故也。晉人以鍾儀歸、囚諸軍府。

楚圍宋之役、師還、子重請取於申、呂、以爲賞田、王許之、申公巫臣曰、不可、此申呂所以邑也、是以爲賦、以御北方、若取之、是無申、呂也、晉、鄭、必至于漢。王乃止、子重是以怨巫臣。子反欲取夏姬、巫臣止之、遂取以行、子反亦怨之。及共王卽位、子重、子反、殺巫臣之族、子閻、子蕩、及清尹弗忌、及襄老之子黑要、而分其室。子重取子閻之室、使沈尹與王子罷分子蕩之室、子反取黑要與清尹之室。巫臣自晉遺二子書、曰、爾以讒慝貪惏事君、而多殺不辜、余必使爾罷於奔命以死。巫臣請使於吳、晉侯許之、吳子壽夢說之、乃通吳於晉、以兩之一卒適吳、舍偏兩之一焉、與其射御、教吳乘車、教之戰陳、教之叛楚、寘其子狐庸焉、使爲行人于吳。吳始伐楚、伐巢、伐徐、子重奔命。馬陵之會、吳入州來、子重自鄭奔命。子重、子反、於是乎一歲七奔命、蠻夷屬于楚者、吳盡取之、是以始大、通吳於上國。

衞定公惡孫林父。冬、孫林父出奔晉、衞侯如晉、晉反戚焉。

VII. 1 In the [duke's] seventh year, in spring, in the king's first month, some field mice ate the horns of the bull for the border sacrifice. It was changed, and another divined for; but the mice again ate its horns, on which the bull was let go.

2 Woo invaded T'an.

3 In summer, in the fifth month, the earl of Ts'aou came to Loo on a court-visit.

4 There was no border sacrifice, but still we offered the sacrifices to the three objects of Survey.

5 In autumn, the Kung-tsze Ying-ts'e of Ts'oo led a force and invaded Ch'ing. The duke joined the marquis of Tsin, the marquis of Ts'e, the duke of Sung, the mar-

quis of Wei, the earl of Ts'aou, the viscount of Keu, the viscount of Choo, and the earl of Ke, in relieving Ch'ing; and in the 8th month, on Maou-shin [these princes] made a covenant together in Ma-ling.

6 The duke arrived from the [above] meeting.

7 Woo entered Chow-lae.

8 In winter, there was a great sacrifice for rain.

9 Sun Lin-foo of Wei fled from that State to Tsin.

Parr. 1, 4. Coupling these two paragraphs together, as it would seem we ought to do, we must conclude that the border sacrifice referred to was not that at the winter solstice, but that in the spring, as in V. xxxi. 3, and that the bulls whose horns were injured were those which were being fed for that somewhat distant ceremony. Many critics contend that the sacrifice was that of the solstice;—see the 春秋大事表, 卷十五. But par. 4 is fatal to that view.

The *he* is described as the smallest of all mice. The wound of its bite is said to be poisonous, and I have heard the same affirmed in Scotland of the bite of the harvest mouse. At the same time, the pain may not be felt immediately, and hence it is called 'the mouse of the pleasant mouth (甘口鼠).' Lëw Hëang and a host of critics dwell upon the event as a mysterious figuring of the state of things in Loo, where the ruling family was coming more and more into contempt, and mean men were usurping the power of the State. Chaou P'ăng-fei speaks the views of others, saying that the thing was from Heaven thus intimating its dissatisfaction with Loo's usurpation of the border sacrifice. Some more sensibly see in the narrative only the record of a remarkable fact,—though we must believe that it was superstition which prompted the undue regard which was paid to such occurrences.

On 猶三望, see on V. xxxi. 5. The offering of these sacrifices in the 5th month was an irregularity, which might be recorded and so animadverted on.

Par. 2. This is the first mention of Woo in the text, and in the Chuen it is only once before mentioned,—on VII. viii. 7. Its lords were viscounts, descended from T'ae-pih, the celebrated, self-denying, son of king T'ae, of whose virtue Confucius speaks in the Analects, VIII. i. The 1st capital of the State was called Mei-le (梅里), in the pres. dis. of Woo-seih (無錫), dep. Chang-chow (常州), Këang-soo. Afterwards, at a time subsequent to the present, the capital was removed to a place in the pres. dep. of Soo-chow. It will be seen immediately that at this time the States of the north still regarded Woo as wild and uncivilized. The simple 吳 of the text is supposed to be expressive of contempt; but there is no real ground for such a view. T'an,—see VII. iv. 1.

The Chuen says:—'Woo invaded T'an, and T'an submitted to the terms of peace [which it imposed]. Ke Wăn-tsze said, "The Middle States do not array their multitudes, and the wild tribes of the south and east enter and attack them, while there is none to pity the sufferers. [T'an] has no comforter.' It is of such a case that the ode (She, II. iv. ode VII. 6) speaks,

> 'O unpitying great Heaven,
> There is no end to the disorders.'

When the highest State offers no condolence, what one is not liable to similar injury? We shall perish, and that soon." The superior man will say, "That he knew to be thus apprehensive was a proof that he would not perish."'

[The Chuen here adds:—'Tsze-lëang of Ch'ing attended duke Ch'ing of Ch'ing on a visit to Tsin, that he might, [on his accession to the State], be introduced [to the marquis], and to give thanks for the army [of relief, of the past year.']

Par. 3. Tso-she observes that this was duke Seuen.

Par. 5. Ma-ling was in Wei,—50 *le* to the south-east of the pres. dept. city of Ta-ming. The Chuen says:—'This autumn, Tsze-ch'ung of Ts'oo invaded Ch'ing, and encamped with his army at Fan, when the States came to relieve it. Kung Chung, and How Yu of Ch'ing assaulted the army of Ts'oo, and took prisoner Chung-e, duke of Yun, whom they presented to Tsin. In the 8th month, the [assembled] States made a covenant together at Ma-ling, renewing the covenant at Ch'ung-laou [In the 5th year], and recognizing the submission of Keu [to Tsin]. The people of Tsin took Chung-e back with them, and kept him a prisoner in the arsenal.'

Par. 7. Chow-lae was a city belonging to Ts'oo,—30 *le* north of the pres. city of Show Chow (壽州), dep. Fung-yang, Gan-hwuy. Immediately on its appearance on the scene of the Ch'un Ts'ëw, Woo becomes the antagonist of Ts'oo, and the balance of power among the States is sensibly affected. The Chuen says:—'After the siege of [the capital of] Sung by Ts'oo [in the 14th year of duke Seuen], when the army returned, Tsze-ch'ung requested that he might receive certain lands of Shin and Leu as his reward, to which the king consented. Woo-shin, duke of Shin, however, represented the impropriety of the grant, saying, "It is these lands which make Shin and Leu the States they are. From them they derive the levies with which they withstand the States of the North. Take them away, and there will be no Shin and Leu. Tsin and Ch'ing are sure to come as far as the Han." On this the king gave up all thought of the partition, but the resentment of Tsze-ch'ung against Woo-shin was excited.

'When Tsze-fan wished to take Hëa Ke to his harem, Woo-shin interfered to prevent him, through he afterwards married her himself, and left Ts'oo [See the Chuen after p. 6 of the 2d year]. In consequence of this, Tsze-fan also resented Woo-shin's conduct; and when king Kung succeeded to his father, these two ministers put to death Tsze-yen, Tsze-tang, and Fuh-ke, commandant of Ts'ing, the kinsfolk of Woo-shin, destroying also their families. They put to death in the same way Hih-yaou, the son of Sëang-laou, and then divided the property of their victims among themselves [and their friends]. Tsze-ch'ung took the property of Tsze-yen, and made the commandant of Shin and the king's son P'e divide that of Tsze-tang, while Tsze-fan took all that had belonged to Hih-yaou and the commandant of Ts'ing. Woo-shin then sent them a letter from Tsin, saying, "You have served your ruler with slanderous malice and covetous greed, and have put to death many innocent persons. I will cause you to be weary with running about on service till you die."

'After this, Woo-shin obtained leave from the marquis of Tsin to go on a mission to Woo, the viscount of which, Show-mung, was pleased with him. In this way he opened a communication between Woo and Tsin. He went to Woo with a hundred choice chariotmen, and he left a fourth of them [This passage is obscure] with some archers and charioteers, who taught the men of Woo how to ride in chariots, and how to form the order of battle, leading them on to revolt from Ts'oo. He [also] left his son, Hoo-yung, to be minister of Woo in its communications with other States. Woo then began to attack Ts'oo, invading Ch'aou and Seu, to the relief of which Tsze-ch'ung was obliged to hurry. After the meeting at Ma-ling, when Woo entered Chow-lae, Tsze-ch'ung hurried there from Ch'ing. Thus it was that he and Tsze-fan in one year flew about on seven different commissions. The tribes of the south and east which belonged to Ts'oo were all taken by Woo, which now began to have much communication with the superior States [of the north].'

Par. 8. See on II. v. 7, *et al.*

Par. 9. This Sun Lin-foo was the son of Sun Lëang-foo, the chief minister of Wei. The city held by the family was Ts'eih, which Lin-foo would appear to have surrendered to Tsin. The Chuen says:—'Duke Ting of Wei hated Sun Lin-foo, who left the State this winter, and fled to Tsin. The marquis went to Tsin, which restored Ts'eih to Wei.' We shall find hereafter this Lin-foo a great trouble to Wei.

Eighth year.

一章 八年、春、晉侯使韓穿來言汶陽之田、歸之于齊。

二章 晉欒書帥師侵蔡。

三章 公孫嬰齊如莒。

四章 宋公使華元來聘。

五章 夏、宋公使公孫壽來納幣。

六章 晉殺其大夫趙同、趙括。

七章 秋、七月、天子使召伯來賜公命。

八章 冬、十月、癸卯、杞叔姬卒。

九章 晉侯使士燮來聘。

十章 叔孫僑如會晉士燮、齊人、邾人、伐郯。

十一章 衞人來媵。

左傳曰、八年、春、晉侯使韓穿來言汶陽之田、歸之于齊。季文子餞之、私焉、曰、大國制義、以爲盟主、是以諸侯懷德畏討、無有貳心、謂汶陽之田敝邑之舊也、而用師于齊、使歸諸敝邑、今有二命、曰、歸諸齊、信以行義、義以成命、小國所望而懷也、信不可知、義無所立、四方諸侯、其誰不解體、詩曰、女也不爽、士貳其行、士也罔極、二三其德、七年之中、一與一奪、二三孰甚焉、士之二三、猶喪妃耦、而況霸主、霸主將德是以、而二三之、其何以長有諸侯乎、詩曰、猶之未遠、是用大簡、行父懼晉之不遠猶而失諸侯也、是以敢私言之。

晉欒書侵蔡、遂侵楚、獲申驪。楚師之還也、晉侵沈、獲沈子揖、初從知范韓也。君子曰、從善如流、宜哉、詩曰、愷悌君子、遐不作人、求善也夫、作人斯有功績矣。是行也、鄭伯將會晉師、門于許東門、大獲焉。

聲伯如莒、逆也。

宋華元來聘、聘共姬也。

夏、宋公使公孫壽來納幣、禮也。

晉趙莊姬爲趙嬰之亡故、譖之于晉侯曰、原、屛、將爲亂、欒、郤、爲徵。六月、晉討趙同、趙括、武從姬氏、畜于公宮、以其田與祁奚、韓厥言于晉侯曰、成季之勳、宣孟之忠、而無後、爲善者其懼矣、三代之令王、皆數百年保天之祿、夫豈無辟王、賴前哲以免也、周書曰、不敢侮鰥寡、所以明德也、乃立武而反其田焉。

秋、召桓公來賜公命。

○晉侯使申公巫臣如吳、假道于莒、與渠丘公立于池上、曰、城已惡。莒子曰、辟陋在夷、其孰以我

爲虞。對曰、夫狡焉思啟封疆、以利社稷者、何國蔑有、唯然、故多大國矣、唯或思或縱也、勇夫重閉、況國乎。

冬、杞叔姬卒。來歸自杞、故書。

晉士燮來聘。言伐郯也。以其事吳故。公賂之、請緩師。文子不可、曰、君命無貳、失信不立、禮無加貨、事無二成、君後諸侯、是寡君不得事君也、燮將復之。季孫懼、使宣伯帥師會伐郯。

衞人來媵共姬。禮也。凡諸侯嫁女、同姓媵之、異姓則否。

VIII. 1 In the [duke's] eighth year, in spring, the marquis of Tsin sent Han Ch'uen to Loo, to speak about the lands of Wăn-yang, which were [in consequence] restored to Ts'e.

2 Lwan Shoo of Tsin led a force, and made an incursion into Ts'ae.

3 Kung-sun Ying-ts'e went to Keu.

4 The duke of Sung sent Hwa Yuen to Loo on a friendly mission.

5 In summer, the duke of Sung sent Kung-sun Show to Loo, to present his marriage-offerings.

6 Tsin put to death its great officers, Chaou T'ung and Chaou Kwoh.

7 In autumn, in the seventh month, the son of Heaven sent the earl of Shaou to confer on the duke the symbol [of investiture].

8 In winter, in the tenth month, on Kwei-maou, [duke Wăn's] third daughter, [who had been married to the earl] of Ke, died.

9 The marquis of Tsin sent Sze Sëeh to Loo on a friendly mission.

10 Shuh-sun K'ëaou-joo joined Sze Sëeh of Tsin, an officer of Ts'e, and an officer of Choo, in invading T'an.

11 An officer came from Wei, with ladies of that State to accompany to her harem [the bride of the duke of Sung.]

Par. 1. After the battle of Gan, Tsin had required Ts'e to restore to Loo the lands of Wăn-yang, and Loo had taken possession of them, as related in p. 7 of 2d year; but now, to gratify Ts'e, Tsin exerts its authority and obliges Loo to restore the territory to it. The Chuen says:—'On this occasion, Ke Wăn-tsze made a feast to Han Ch'uen on the way, as he was leaving, and then privately said to him, "Your great State, by its righteous decisions, maintains its claim to preside over covenants; and on this account the [other] States cherish its favours and dread its punishments, without any thought of disaffection. As to the lands of Wăn-yang, they were an old possession of our poor State, and after the expedition against Ts'e you caused it to restore them to us. Now you give a different command, requiring us to restore them to Ts'e. Good faith in the doing what is right, and righteousness in the carrying out its orders:—these are what the small States hope [from Tsin], and for these they cherish it. But if your good faith is not to be seen, and your righteousness is not to be found, which of all the States will not separate from you? The ode (She, I. vi. ode IV. 4) says,

'I am not different,
But you are double in your ways.
It is you, Sir, who observe not the perfect rule,
Thus changeable in your conduct.'

Here in the space of 7 years, you give us [Wăn-yang] and you take it away;—what greater changeableness could there be? The gentleman [in the ode], by his changeableness, lost [the affections of] his wife; what must not the prince who assumes to be the leader of the States lose? He is to employ the influence of virtue; but when he changes about, how can he long retain [the attachment of] the States? The ode (She, III. ii. ode X. 1) says,

'Your plans do not reach far,
And therefore I strongly admonish you.'

Apprehensive lest Tsin, by the want of a far-reaching foresight, should lose the States, I have ventured privately thus to speak to you."'

Par. 2. In the Chuen on p. 11 of the 6th year we have the troops of Tsin making an incursion into Ts'ae, which was relieved by Ts'oo, when Tsin withdrew from the field. Tsin now again attacks Ts'ae, and goes on to enter Ts'oo. The Chuen says:—'Lwan Shoo of Tsin made an incursion into Ts'ae, and went on to an inroad into Ts'oo, when he captured [the great officer], Shin Le. After the army of Ts'oo withdrew [from Jaou-koh, in the 6th year], the troops of Tsin made an incursion into Shin, and captured its viscount, Tseih. This was through [Lwan Shoo's] continuing to take the advice of Che, Fan, and Han. The superior man will say, "He followed the wise and good, as on the course of a stream, and right it was [he should be so successful]." The ode (She, III. i. ode V. 3) says,

'Our amiable, courteous prince
Extensively used the [good] men.'

[So did king Wăn], seeking for the wise and good; and he who uses such is sure to accomplish much."

'During this expedition, the earl of Ch'ing was going to join the army of Tsin, when he attacked the eastern gate of [the capital of] Heu, and got great spoil.'

Par. 3. Tso-she says:—'Shing-pih went to Keu, to meet his bride.' The case is analogous to that of the Kung-sun Tsze in V. v. 3. See the Chuen there.

Par. 4. Tso-she would assign to 聘 here a more definite meaning than usual. He says the object of Hwa Yuen's visit to Loo was to arrange about a marriage between the eldest daughter of duke Seuen and the duke of Sung (聘共姬). This may have been—probably was—the object of the minister's visit, but the 聘 alone gives no intimation of it.

Par. 5. Tso-she says this proceeding was according to rule. Princes of States observed only two ceremonies preliminary to their marriage;—the contract and the offerings or presents of silk. They did not themselves appear in the negotiations, being subject to the general rule that marriages should be made by the parents. Of course when a prince was not married till after his accession, there could be no father living to get his wife for him; and, as the duke of Sung appears here sending Kung-sun Show with the offerings, Maou observes that his mother also must have been dead.

Par. 6. The Chuen says:—'Chaou Chwang-ke of Tsin, because of the banishment of Chaou Ying [See the Chuen at the end of the 4th year, and after p. 1 of the 5th] slandered [his brothers] to the marquis of Tsin, saying, "[The lords of] Yuen and Ping are intending to raise rebellion, and [the chiefs of] the Lwan and Këoh [clans] can attest the fact." In the sixth month, [therefore], Tsin put to death Chaou T'ung and Chaou Kwoh. Woo [the son of Chaou Soh] was brought up by [his mother Chwang], the lady Ke, in the ducal palace [and so escaped]; but the marquis gave the lands [of the Chaou family] to K'e He. Han Keueh represented to him, saying, "Thus, notwithstanding the services of Ch'ing-ke [Chaou Ts'uy] and the loyalty of Sëuen-măng [Chaou Tun], they are left without any posterity;—this is enough to make good servants of the State afraid. The good kings of the three dynasties preserved for several hundred years the dignity conferred by Heaven;—there were bad kings among them, but through the wisdom and virtue of their predecessors, they escaped [the extinction of their sacrifices]. In one of the Books of Chow (Shoo, V. ix. 4) it is said, "He did not dare to show any contempt to the widower and widows;—it was thus that [king Wăn] displayed his virtue." On this [the marquis] appointed, Woo [the representative of the Chaou family], and restored to him its lands.

A different account of the disasters of the Chaou family and its narrow escape from extinction is given by Sze-ma Ts'ëen;—see the Historical Records, Book XXXIII. The 'History of the various States,' Book LVII., embellishes the story, and makes a tale of romantic interest out of it.

Par. 7. For 賜 Kung and Kuh have 錫; but it seems impossible to establish any distinction between the meaning of those terms. They are both applied to a gift from a superior to an inferior (皆上予下之辭). Perhaps, as the K'ang-he editors think, 賜 is more appropriate where the gift is one of favour, and 錫, where it is according to established conventions. The reader will observe the use of 天子 for the king, instead of 天王 which we have hitherto found. Tso-she tells us that the earl of Shaou in the text was duke Hwan. As to the symbol sent to duke Ch'ing, see on VI. i. 5. In duke Wăn's case, however, it was sent at the proper time, immediately after he succeeded to his father. Here it comes 'late,' as Too Yu says (來緩也).

[The Chuen adds here:—'The marquis of Tsin sent Woo-shin, duke of Shin, on a mission to Woo. Having asked leave to pass through Keu, he was standing with duke K'eu-këw above the city-moat, and said to him, "The wall is in a bad condition." The viscount of Keu replied, "Keu is a poor State, lying among the wild tribes of the east; who will think of taking any measures against me?" Woo-shin said, "Crafty men there are who think of enlarging its boundaries for the advantage of the altars of their State;—what State is there which has not such men? It is thus that there are so many large States. Some think [there may be such dangers]: some let things take their course.

But a brave man keeps the leaves of his door shut;—how much more should a State do so!']

Par. 8. See v. 1. Tso-she says the record of her death was made, because she had come back from Ke.

Parr. 9, 10. The Chuen says:—'On this occasion, Sze Sëeh spoke about [Loo's] invading T'an, because it was rendering service to Woo. The duke offered him bribes, and begged that the expedition might be delayed. Wăn-tsze [Sze Sëeh], however, refused, saying, "My ruler's command admits of no alteration. If I fail in my faith, I cannot stand [in Tsin]. Gifts cannot be admitted among the ceremonies due to me. The business cannot be done to please both my ruler and you. If your lordship come after the other princes, my ruler will not be able to serve you [any more]." Sëeh was about to return with the duke's request to Tsin, when Ke-sun became afraid, and sent Seuen-pih with a force to join in the invasion of T'an.'

Par. 11. See on I. vii. 1. The bride of the duke of Sung—known as Kung Ke—was famous, it is said, for her worth; and the States contended for the privilege of sending their daughters to accompany her to the harem. The canon which Tso-she lays down, that such attendant ladies must be of the same surname as the bride, and not of a different surname, was broken down, we shall see, in her case.

Ninth year.

一章 九年、春、王正月、杞伯來逆叔姬之喪以歸。

二章 公會晉侯、齊侯、宋公、衛侯、鄭伯、曹伯、莒子、杞伯、同盟于蒲。

三章 公至自會。

四章 二月、伯姬歸于宋。

五章 夏、季孫行父如宋致女。

六章 晉人來媵。

七章 秋、七月、丙子、齊侯無野卒。

八章 晉人執鄭伯、晉欒書帥師伐鄭。

九章 冬、十有一月、葬齊頃公。

十章 楚公子嬰齊帥師伐莒、庚申、莒潰、楚人入鄆。

十一章 秦人白狄伐晉。

十二章 鄭人圍許。

十三章 城中城。

左傳曰、九年春、杞桓公來逆叔姬之喪。請之也。杞叔姬卒、爲杞故也。逆叔姬、爲我也。
爲歸汶陽之田故、諸侯貳于晉。晉人懼、會于蒲、以尋馬陵之盟。季文子謂范文子曰、德則不競、尋盟何爲。范文
子曰、勤以撫之、寬以待之、堅彊以御之、明神以要之、柔服而伐貳、德之次也。是行也、將始會吳、吳人不至。
二月、伯姬歸于宋。
㊁楚人以重賂求鄭、鄭伯會楚公子成於鄧。
夏、季文子如宋致女、復命、公享之、賦韓奕之五章。穆姜出于房、再拜曰、大夫勤辱、不忘先君、以及嗣君、施及未
亡人、先君猶有望也。敢拜大夫之重勤。又賦綠衣之卒章而入。
晉人來媵、禮也。
秋、鄭伯如晉、晉人討其貳于楚也、執諸銅鞮。欒書伐鄭、鄭人使伯蠲行成、晉人殺之、非禮也。兵交、使在其間、可
也。楚子重侵陳、以救鄭。
㊂晉侯觀于軍府、見鍾儀、問之曰、南冠而縶者誰也。有司對曰、鄭人所獻楚囚也。使稅之、召而弔之。再拜稽首。
問其族、對曰、泠人也。公曰、能樂乎。對曰、先父之職官也、敢有二事。使與之琴、操南音。公曰、君王何如。對曰、非小
人之所得知也。固問之、對曰、其爲大子也、師保奉之、以朝于嬰齊、而夕于側也。不知其他。公語范文子。文子曰、楚囚、
君子也。言稱先職、不背本也。樂操土風、不忘舊也。稱大子、抑無私也。名其二卿、尊君也。不背本、仁也。不忘舊、信
也。無私、忠也。尊君、敏也。仁以接事、信以守之、忠以成之、敏以行之。事雖大、必濟。君盍歸之、使合晉楚之成。公從
之、重爲之禮、使歸求成。
冬、十一月、楚子重自陳伐莒、圍渠丘。渠丘城惡、衆潰、奔莒。戊申、楚入渠丘。莒人囚楚公子平。楚人曰、勿殺、吾歸
而俘。莒人殺之。楚師圍莒。莒城亦惡。庚申、莒潰。楚遂入鄆。莒無備故也。君子曰、恃陋而不備、罪之大者也。備豫
不虞、善之大者也。莒恃其陋、而不脩城郭、浹辰之間、而楚克其三都、無備也夫。詩曰、雖有絲麻、無棄菅蒯。雖有

姬姜、無棄蕉萃、凡百君子、莫不代匱、言備之不可以已也。秦人白狄伐晉。諸侯貳故也。鄭人圍許、示晉不急君也、是則公孫申謀之、曰、我出師以圍許、爲將改立君者、而紓晉使、晉必歸君。城中城。書時也。⨸十二月、楚子使公子辰如晉、報鍾儀之使、請脩好結成。

IX. 1 In the [duke's] ninth year, in spring, in the king's first month, the earl of Ke came to Loo, to meet the coffin of duke Wăn's third daughter, and took it back with him to Ke.

2 The duke had a meeting with the marquis of Tsin, the marquis of Ts'e, the duke of Sung, the marquis of Wei, the earl of Ch'ing, the earl of Ts'aou, the viscount of Keu, and the earl of Ke, when they made a covenant together in P'oo.

3 The duke arrived from the meeting.

4 In the second month, duke [Seuen's] eldest daughter went to her home in Sung.

5 In summer, Ke-sun Hăng-foo went to Sung, to celebrate the completion of the above lady's union with the duke of Sung.

6 An officer came from Tsin with ladies of that State to go to the harem [of Sung].

7 In autumn, in the seventh month, on Ping-tsze, Woo-yay, marquis of Ts'e, died.

8 The people of Tsin seized and held the earl of Ch'ing, and Lwan Shoo of Tsin led a force and invaded Ch'ing.

9 In winter, in the eleventh month, there was the burial of duke K'ing of Ts'e.

10 The Kung-tsze Ying-ts'e of Ts'oo led a force and invaded Keu. On Kăng-shin the people of Keu dispersed, and the troops of Ts'oo entered Yun.

11 A body of men from Ts'in and the white Teih invaded Tsin.

12 A body of men from Ch'ing laid siege to [the capital of] Heu.

13 We walled Chung-shing.

Par. 1. The Chuen says:—'The earl of Ke came thus to meet the coffin, because we had asked him to do so. The record [In p. 8 of last year] that "Shuh Ke of Ke died" is because of [the relation the lady had sustained in] Ke; this record of the earl's meeting her [coffin], is because of [the relation she had sustained to] us.' Kung-yang says that Ke was compelled by Loo to take the divorced wife's coffin back to Ke and bury it there. The K'ang-he editors observe that this account and Tso-she's are quite reconcileable.

Par. 2. P'oo,—see II. iii. 2. The Chuen says:—'Because of the restoration of the lands of Wăn-yang [See p. 1 of last year], all the States became disaffected to Tsin. The people of Tsin were afraid, and called a meeting at P'oo to renew the covenant of Ma-ling [See VII. 5]. Ke Wăn-tsze said to Fan Wăn-tsze, "Since your virtue is not strong, of what use is the renewal of covenants?" The other replied, "By diligence in encouraging [the States], by generosity in our treatment of them, by firm strength in withstanding [our enemies], by appealing to the intelligent Spirits to bind [our agreements], by

gently dealing with those who submit, and by punishing the disaffected, we exhibit an influence only second to that of virtue." At this meeting it was intended that Woo should for the first time meet [with the other States]; but no officer from Woo came to it.'

Par. 4. The duke of Sung ought now to have sent a high minister to meet his bride. It is supposed that he sent an officer of inferior rank, and therefore we have the bare record of the bride's going to Sung.

[The Chuen adds here:—'The people of Ts'oo sought by bribes to recover the adherence of Ch'ing, and the earl of Ch'ing had a meeting with the Kung-tsze Ch'ing of Ts'oo in Tăng.]

Par. 5. The phrase 致女 here is difficult to translate. See on II. iii. 9, where the Chuen has 致夫人,—the phrase equivalent to that in the text, when the lady spoken of is a bride or young wife *in* Loo. After being married three months, the young wife was introduced into the ancestral temple, and appeared before the parents of her husband, or their shrines; and the marriage was then considered complete. This was the solemn proclamation that she was *the wife*, and she could not after this be sent back to her parents, excepting there were proper grounds for divorcing her. A message from her parents at this time was called 致. It was the finishing and crowning act of her nuptials.

The Chuen says:—'When Ke Wăn-tsze returned to Loo and reported the execution of his commission, the duke entertained him, and the minister sang the 5th stanza of the Han-yih (She, III. iii. ode VII.). Muh Këang [The bride's mother, the widow of duke Seuen] then came out from her chamber, and bowed twice to him, saying, "This laborious journey you undertook mindful of our late marquis, and of his son and heir, and of me, his relict:—this was what he even still would expect from you. Let me thank you for your very toilsome service." She then sang the last stanza of the Luh-e (She, I. iii. II.), and went in.'

Par. 6. Tso-she says this was according to rule. See on p. 11 of last year.

Par, 8. The Chuen says:—'In autumn, the earl of Ch'ing went to Tsin, the people of which, to punish him for his disaffection, and inclining to Ts'oo [See the Chuen after p. 4], seized him in T'ung-te. Lwan Shoo then invaded Ch'ing, which sent Pih-keuen to go and obtain peace. The people of Tsin, however, put him to death, which was contrary to rule;—during hostilities messengers may go and come between the parties. Tsze-ch'ung of Ts'oo made an incursion into Ch'in, in order to relieve Ch'ing.'

[The Chuen introduces here:—'The marquis of Tsin was surveying the arsenal, when he observed Chung-e [See the Chuen on VII. 5], and asked about him saying, 'Who is that bound there, and wearing a southern cap?" The officer in charge said, "It is the Ts'oo prisoner, whom the people of Ch'ing delivered to us." The marquis made them loose his bonds, called him, and spoke comfortingly to him. The man bowed twice before him, with his head to the ground, and the marquis asked him about his family. "We are musicians," said he, "Can you play?" "Music," said he, "was the profession of my father. Dared I learn any other?" The marquis made a lute be given to him, which he began to touch to an air of the south. He was then asked about the character of the king of Ts'oo, but he answered that that was beyond the knowledge of a small man like himself. The marquis urging him, he replied, "When he was prince, his tutor and his guardian trained him; and in the morning he was to be seen with Ying-ts'e, and in the evening with Tsih. I do not know anything else about him."

'The duke repeated this conversation to Fan Wăn-tsze, who said, "That prisoner of Ts'oo is a superior man. He told you of the office of his father, showing that he is not ashamed of his origin. He played an air of his country, showing that he has not forgotten his old associations. He spoke of his king when he was prince, showing his own freedom from mercenariness. He mentioned the two ministers by name, doing honour to your lordship. His not being ashamed of his origin shows the man's virtue; his not forgetting his old associations, his good faith; his freedom from mercenariness, his loyalty; and his honouring your lordship, his intelligence. With virtue to undertake the management of affairs, good faith to keep it, and loyalty to complete it, he is sure to be competent to the successful conduct of a great business. Why should not your lordship send him back to Ts'oo, and make him unite Tsin and Ts'oo in bonds of peace?" The marquis followed this counsel, treated Chung-e with great ceremony, and sent him back to Ts'oo to ask that there might be peace between it and Tsin.']

Par. 10. The Yun (Kung-yang has 運) mentioned here is difft. from that in IV. 8; but it is probably the same as that which appears in VI. xii 8, as being walled by duke Wăn. This was in the possession,—now of Keu, and now of Loo. The Chuen says:—'In winter, in the 11th month. Tsze-ch'ung of Ts'oo went on from Ch'in, and invaded Keu. He laid siege to K'eu-k'ëw, the walls of which were so badly built, that the people all dispersed, and fled to Keu, the troops of Ts'oo entering K'eu-k'ëw on Maou-shin. The people of Keu made the Kung-tsze P'ing of Ts'oo a prisoner, and put him to death, notwithstanding that the enemy begged them not to do so, and promised, if they would spare him, to restore their captives. The army of Ts'oo then laid siege to the city of Keu, whose walls were in the same condition as those of K'eu-k'ëw; and on Kăng-shin the people dispersed. Ts'oo went on to enter Yun, for Keu had made no preparations against an enemy. A superior man will say, "To trust to one's insignificance and make no preparations against danger is the greatest of offences; while to prepare beforehand against what may not be foreseen is the greatest of excellences. Keu trusted to its insignificance, and did not repair its walls, so that in the course of twelve days, Ts'oo subdued its three chief cities. This result was all from the want of preparation.' The ode [It is now lost] says,

'Though you have silk and hemp,
Do not throw away your grass and rushes.
Though your wife be a Ke or a Këang,
Do not slight your sons of toil.
All men
Have their vicissitudes of want.'

This shows that preparation ought never to be intermitted."

Par. 11. In VII. viii. 6, we found the White Teih confederate with Tsin against Ts'in; here they are leagued with Ts'in against Tsin;—'because,' says Tso-she, 'of the general disaffection of the States to Tsin.'

Par. 12. The Chuen says:—'The people of Ch'ing laid siege to Heu, to show Tsin that they were not urgent about their earl, [whom it was keeping a prisoner]. The plan proceeded from Kung-sun Shin, who said, "If we send out a force to besiege Heu, and make as if we would appoint another ruler, taking our time to send a messenger to Tsin, that State is sure to send back our ruler."

Par. 12. Too Yu, Maou, and others, think Chung-shing was the name of a city of Loo, which is the most natural interpretation of the phrase. Others think the meaning is that the duke now repaired the wall of the capital, or the walls of the cities generally. See on XI. vi. 6. All that Tso-she says is that the thing was done at the proper season.

[The Chuen adds here:—'In the 12th month, the viscount of Ts'oo sent the Kung-tsze Shin to Tsin, in return for the mission of Chung-e, asking that the two States should cultivate friendship and knit the bonds of peace.']

Tenth year.

一章 十年、春、衛侯之弟、黑背、帥師侵鄭。

二章 夏、四月、五卜郊、不從、乃不郊。

三章 五月、公會晉侯、齊侯、宋公、衛侯、曹伯、伐鄭。

四章 齊人來媵。

五章 丙午、晉侯獳卒。

六章 秋、七月、公如晉。

七章 冬、十月。

㈠左傳曰、十年、春、晉侯使糴茷如楚、報大宰子商之使也。衛子叔黑背侵鄭。晉命也。鄭公子班聞叔申之謀、三月、子如立公子繻。夏、四月、鄭人殺繻、立髡頑、子如奔許。欒武子曰、鄭人立君、我執一人焉、何益、不如伐鄭而歸其君、以求成焉。晉侯有疾、五月、晉立大子州蒲以爲君、而會諸侯伐鄭。鄭子罕賂以襄鐘、子然盟于修澤、子駟爲質。辛巳、鄭伯歸。晉侯夢大厲、被髮及地、搏膺而踊、曰、殺余孫不義、余得請于帝矣。壞大門、及寢門而入、公懼、入于室、又壞戶、公覺、召桑田巫、巫言如夢。公曰、何如。曰、不食新矣。公疾病、求醫于秦、秦伯使醫緩爲之、未至、公夢疾爲二豎子、曰、彼良醫也、懼傷我、

焉逃之。其一曰、居肓之上、膏之下、若我何。醫至曰、疾不可爲也、在肓之上、膏之下、攻之不可、達之不及、藥不至焉、不可爲也。公曰、良醫也。厚爲之禮而歸之。六月丙午、晉侯欲麥、使甸人獻麥、饋人爲之召桑田巫、示而殺之。將食、張、如厠、陷而卒、小臣有晨夢負公以登天、及日中、負晉侯出諸厠、遂以爲殉。

㊂鄭伯討立君者、戊申、殺叔申、叔禽。君子曰、忠爲令德、非其人猶不可、況不令乎。

秋、公如晉、晉人止公、使送葬。于是糴茷未反。冬、葬晉景公、公送葬、諸侯莫在、魯人辱之、故不書、諱之也。

X. 1 In the [duke's] tenth year, in spring, Hih-pei, younger brother of the marquis of Wei, led a force and made an incursion into Ch'ing.

2 In summer, in the fourth month, we divined a fifth time about the border sacrifice. The result was unfavourable, and we did not offer the sacrifice.

3 In the fifth month, the duke joined the marquis of Tsin, the marquis of Ts'e, the duke of Sung, the marquis of Wei, and the earl of Ts'aou, in invading Ch'ing.

4 An officer came from Ts'e with ladies of that State to go to the harem [of Sung].

5 On Ping-woo, Now, marquis of Tsin, died.

6 In autumn, in the seventh month, the duke went to Tsin.

7 It was winter, the tenth month.

[The Chuen introduces here:—'In the 10th year, in spring, the marquis of Tsin sent T'aou Fei to Ts'oo, in return for its mission of the grand-administrator, Tsze-shang (See the Chuen at the end of last year)']

Par. 1. Tso-she says that this expedition of Tsze-shuh Hih-pei was undertaken by command of Tsin.

Par. 2. See on V. xxxi. 3. There, however, and in other passages, the idea of the sacrifice is abandoned after a 4th unfavourable divination, while here a 5th was attempted. Maou thinks that during the 3d month, which was the proper season for this sacrifice, the shell had then been consulted on the 3 *sin* days in it; and that it was still possible to divine twice in the 4th month, before the equinox. Woo Ch'ing says that the shell had been consulted once in the last decade of the 2d month, thrice in the 3d month, and once again in the 1st decade of the 4th month;—a pertinacity which was very disrespectful to the Spirits. These differing views of really great scholars show how vague is the knowledge which can now be gleaned of this and other ancient practices.

Par. 3. The Chuen says:—'When the Kung-tsze Pan of Ch'ing heard of the scheme of Shuh Shin [See the Chuen on par. 12 of last year], he set up the Kung-tsze Seu. In summer, in the 4th month, the people of Ch'ing killed Seu, and set up K'wăn-wan, Tsze-joo [The Kung-tsze Pan] fleeing to Heu. Lwan Woo-tsze then said, "Since the people of Ch'ing have set up [another] earl, he whom we hold is but a common man. Of what use is it [to keep him]? We had better invade Ch'ing, restore its ruler, and thereon seek for peace." [At that time] the marquis of Tsin was ill, and the State raised his eldest son, Chow-p'oo, to his place, and assembled the other States to invade Ch'ing. Tsze-han [A son of duke Muh] bribed [Tsin] with the bell [from the temple] of [duke] Sëang. Tsze-jen [Another son of duke Muh] made a covenant with the States at Sëw-tsih; Tsze-sze [A 3d son of Muh] became a hostage [in Tsin]; and the earl returned to Ch'ing.'

According to this Chuen, the marquis of Tsin in the text was not the real marquis, but his son, whom, when upon his death-bed, he had caused to be declared marquis in his room. Many critics have been much stumbled by this account, and call Tso-she's statement in question. The K'ang-he editors reject it and say, 'Not long after this expedition, the marquis of Tsin died. Because the text does not say that "he died when with the army (卒於師)," to meet the exigency of the text, Tso-she introduced the account of his son's being raised to the marquisate, while he was still alive. But the lessons of the Ch'un Ts'ëw were intended

for 10,000 ages;—could it have recognized the succession of a son while the father was yet alive, giving him his title? The former critics have all disputed this matter.' Maou, it may be observed, accepts Tso-she's statement without question.

Par. 4. Tso-she makes no remark on this paragraph. It is in contradiction of his canon at the end of the 8th year, that the ladies, the attendants of a bride to her harem, must not be of a different surname from herself. The ladies of Wei (VIII. 11), and those of Tsin (IX. 6), were all Kes like the daughter of Loo, but here are Këangs claiming to join her company as well. Then the prince of a State was understood to be provided at once with nine partners,—the wife proper, and eight attendants; but in this case the duke of Sung was provided with twelve. There has been no end of speculation and discussion on the text, without any satisfactory conclusion. The thing may have been 'contrary to rule,' but the fact remains. There is nothing in the text to indicate that the action of Ts'e was not as proper as that of Wei and Tsin.

Par. 5. The Chuen says:—'The marquis of Tsin saw in a dream a great demon with dishevelled hair reaching to the ground, which beat its breast, and leaped up, saying, "You have slain my descendants unrighteously, and I have presented my request to God in consequence [This would be the Spirit of the founder of the Chaou clan]." It then broke the great gate [of the palace], advanced to the gate of the State chamber, and entered. The duke was afraid and went into a side-chamber, the door of which it also broke. The duke then awoke, and called for the witch of Sang-t'ëen, who told him everything which he had dreamt. "What will be the issue?" asked the duke. "You will not taste the new wheat," she replied.

'After this, the duke became very ill, and asked the services of a physician from Ts'in, the earl of which sent the physician Hwan to do what he could for him. Before he came, the duke dreamt that his disease turned into two boys, who said, "That is a skilful physician; it is to be feared he will hurt us; how shall we get out of his way?" Then one of them said. "If we take our place above the heart and below the throat, what can he do to us?" When the physician arrived, he said, "Nothing can be done for this disease. Its seat is above the heart and below the throat. If I assail it [with medicine], it will be of no use; if I attempt to puncture it, it cannot be reached. Nothing can be done for it." The duke said, "He is a skilful physician," gave him large gifts, and sent him back to Ts'in.

'In the sixth month, on Ping-woo, the marquis wished to taste the new wheat, and made the superintendent of his fields present some. While the baker was getting it ready, they called the witch of Sang-t'ëen, showed her the wheat, and put her to death. As the marquis was about to taste the wheat, he felt it necessary to go to the privy, into which he fell, and so died. One of the servants that waited on him had dreamt in the morning that he carried the marquis on his back up to heaven. The same at mid-day carried him on his back out from the privy, and was afterwards buried alive with him!'

[The Chuen adds here:—'The earl of Ch'ing, punishing those who had set up other earls [in his place], on Maou-shin, put to death Shuh Shin and [his brother] Shuh K'in [See the Chuen on par. 12 of last year]. The superior man will say, "Loyalty, as a praiseworthy virtue, is still to be shown only to a proper object;—how much less should it be shown where it may not be deemed praiseworthy!"']

Par. 6. The Chuen says, 'When the duke this autumn went to Tsin, they detained him there, and made him attend the burial of the marquis. At this time T'aou Fei had not returned from Ts'oo [See the Chuen at the beginning of the year]. In winter there was the burial of duke King which was followed by the duke. No other prince of a State was present, and the historiographers of Loo, because of the disgrace connected with the thing, did not record, but concealed it.'

Par. 7. Kung-yang has not this par., and it may be doubted whether the editions of Kuh-lëang and Tso-she before the T'ang dynasty had it. See the note *in loc.*, in Twan Yuh-ts'ae's 'Old Text of the Ch'un Ts'ëw.'

Eleventh year.

一章 十有一年、春、王三月、公至自晉。

二章 晉侯使郤犨來聘、己丑、及郤犨盟。

三章 夏、季孫行父如晉。

四章 秋、叔孫僑如如齊。

五章 冬、十月。

左傳曰、十一年、春、王三月、公至自晉。晉人以公爲貳于楚、故止公、公請受盟、而後使歸。郤犨來聘、且涖盟。聲伯之母不聘、穆姜曰、吾不以妾爲姒。生聲伯而出之、嫁於齊管于奚、生二子而寡、以歸聲伯。聲伯以其外弟爲大夫、而嫁其外妹於施孝叔。郤犨來聘、求婦於聲伯。聲伯奪施氏婦、以與之。婦人曰、鳥獸猶不失儷、子將若何。曰、吾不能死亡。婦人遂行、生二子於郤氏。郤氏亡、晉人歸之施氏。施氏逆諸河、沈其二子。婦人怒曰、己不能庇其伉儷而亡之、又不能字人之孤而殺之、將何以終。遂誓施氏。

夏、季文子如晉。報聘、且涖盟也。

㊂周公楚惡惠襄之偪也、且與伯與爭政、不勝、怒而出、及陽樊、王使劉子復之、盟于鄄而入、三日、復出奔晉。

秋、宣伯聘於齊、以修前好。

㊃晉郤至與周爭鄇田、王命劉康公、單襄公、訟諸晉。郤至曰、溫、吾故也、故不敢失。劉子、單子曰、昔周克商、使諸侯撫封、蘇忿生以溫爲司寇、與檀伯達封于河。蘇氏卽狄、又不能於狄、而奔衛。襄王勞文公而賜之溫、狐氏、陽氏、先處之、而後及子。若治其故、則王官之邑也、子安得之。晉侯使郤至勿敢爭。

㊄宋華元善於令尹子重、又善于欒武子、聞楚人既許晉糴茷成、而使歸復命矣。冬、華元如楚、遂如晉、合晉楚之成。

㊅秦晉爲成、將會于令狐、晉侯先至焉、秦伯不肯涉河、次于王城、使史顆盟晉侯于河東、晉郤犨盟秦伯于河西。范文子曰、是盟也何益。齊盟、所以質信也、會、所信之始也、始之不從、其可質乎。秦伯歸而背晉成。

XI. 1 In his eleventh year, in spring, in the king's third month, the duke arrived from Tsin.

2 The marquis of Tsin sent Këoh Ch'ow to Loo on a friendly mission; and on Ke-ch'ow the duke made a covenant with him.

3 In summer, Ke-sun Hăng-foo went to Tsin.
4 In autumn, Shuh-sun K'ëaou-joo went to Ts'e.
5 It was winter, the tenth month.

Par. 1. The duke had thus been fully 8 months in Tsin,—more than half a year away from his own State. The Chuen says:—'The people of Tsin, thinking that the duke had been inclining to the side of Ts'oo, detained him, till he requested that he might be permitted to make a covenant with Tsin, and then they sent him home.' The duke had gone to Tsin, to offer his condolences on the death of duke King. They had charged him, we may suppose, with disaffection, and when he denied it, they wished to keep him a sort of prisoner, till they could learn from T'aou Fei, on his return from Ts'oo, whether their suspicions were well grounded or not. He seems, however, to have got away before that officer returned.

Par. 2. For 犫, or without the 言, Kung-yang has 州. Këoh Ch'ow was a first cousin of Këoh K'ih. 'He came to Loo,' says the Chuen, 'on a friendly mission, and to make [on the part of Tsin] the covenant [which the duke had requested.' It then proceeds to the following strange and melancholy narrative:—'The mother of Shing-pih [The Kung-sun Ying-ts'e; see on VI. 6] had been without [the regular ceremony of] betrothal; and Muh Këang [Duke Seuen's wife; sister-in-law, therefore, to this lady] said, "I will not acknowledge a concubine as my sister-in-law." After the birth of Shing-pih, his father [Shuh-heih of VII. xvii. 8] sent away the mother, who was afterwards married to Kwan Yu-he of Ts'e. She bore him two children, and was then left a widow. when she came back with the children to Shing-pih. He got his half-brother made a great officer [of Loo], and married his half-sister to She Hëaou-shuh [A descendant of duke Hwuy of Loo]. When Këoh Ch'ow came on his friendly mission, he applied for a wife to Shing-pih, who took this half-sister from She Hëaou-shuh, and gave her to him. She said [to her husband], "Even birds and beasts do not consent to lose their mates; what do you propose to do?" He said, "I am not able to die for you." On this she went [to Tsin], where she bore two children to Këoh. After his death, they sent her back from Tsin to [her former husband] She, who met her at the Ho, and drowned in it her two children. She was angry, and said to him, "You could not protect me when I was your wife, and let me go away from you, and now you are not able to cherish another man's orphans and have killed them;—what death do you expect to die?" She then swore that she would not live again with him.'

Par. 3. Tso-she says:—'Ke Wăn-tsze went to Tsin on a friendly mission in return for that of Keoh Ch'ow; and to make a covenant [on the part of Loo].' This second object of his mission is not mentioned in the text. Perhaps a covenant was not made after all; or the marquis of Tsin did not make it in person, so that the historiographers of Loo purposely omitted to record it.

[The Chuen introduces here:—'Ts'oo, duke of Chow, disliked the pressure of [the clans descended from the kings] Hwuy and Sëang, and he had a contention, moreover, about the chief place in the government with Pih-yu. Being worsted in this, he was angry and left the court, proceeding to Yang-fan. The king sent the viscount of Lëw to bring him back from there, with whom [also] he made a covenant in Keuen, before he would enter [the capital]. Three days afterwards, however, he again fled to Tsin.']

Par. 4. Tso-she says of this visit that 'Sëuen-pih went on a friendly mission to Ts'e, to renew the former friendship between it and Loo.'

Par. 5. [Here we have three narratives in the Chuen:—1st, 'Këoh Che [A grand-nephew of Këoh K'ih] had a contention with [the court of] Chow about the lands of How. The king commissioned duke K'ang of Lëw and duke Sëang of Shen, to dispute the question with him in Tsin. He urged that Wăn was an old grant made to his family, and he dared not allow [any part of] it to be lost. The viscounts of Lëw and Shen said, 'Formerly, when Chow subdued Shang, it gave the various princes the territories which they should gently rule. Soo Fun-săng received Wăn, and was minister of Crime, and his territory and that of the earl of T'an extended to the Ho. One of his descendants afterwards went among the Teih, and when he could do nothing among them, he fled to Wei [See V. x. 2]. '[By and by], King Sëang rewarded duke Wăn with the gift of Wăn [See the Chuen after V. xxv. 4.]. The families of Hoo and Yang were the first to occupy it, and then it came to Këoh. If you examine its history, it was a city held by an officer of the king;—how can Këoh Che be allowed to have it? The marquis of Tsin then insisted that Këoh Che should not presume to contend about the place [any longer].'

2d, 'Hwa Yuen of Sung was on good terms with Tsze-chung, the chief minister [of Ts'oo], and also with Lwan Woo-tsze [of Tsin]. When he heard that the people of Ts'oo had granted the peace proposed by Tsin through T'aou Fei, and had sent that officer back to give such a report of his mission, he went this winter, first to Ts'oo and then to Tsin, to cement the good understanding of the two States.'

3d, 'Ts'in and Tsin, having made peace, proposed to have a meeting at Ling-hoo. The marquis of Tsin came first to the place, but the earl of Ts'in was then unwilling to cross the Ho. He halted in Wang-shing, and made the historiographer Ko go and make a covenant with the marquis of Tsin on the east of the river. Këoh Ch'ow of Tsin [then went and] made a covenant with the earl on the west of it. Fan Wăn-tsze said, "Of what use is this covenant? Two parties make a covenant to establish their good faith. But a meeting together is the first demonstration of that good faith; and if the first step be not taken to it, is it likely to be evidenced afterwards?" When the earl returned to Ts'in, he broke the [treaty of] peace with Tsin.']

Twelfth year.

一章 十有二年、春、周公出奔晉。

二章 夏、公會晉侯、衛侯、于瑣澤。

三章 秋、晉人敗狄于交剛。

四章 冬、十月。

左傳曰、十二年、春、王使以周公之難來告。書曰周公出奔晉。凡自周無出、周公自出故也。

宋華元克合晉楚之成。夏、五月、晉士燮會楚公子罷、許偃。癸亥、盟于宋西門之外、曰、凡晉楚無相加戎、好惡同之、同恤菑危、備救凶患、若有害楚、則晉伐之、在晉、楚亦如之、交贄往來、道路無壅、謀其不協、而討不庭、有渝此盟、明神殛之、俾隊其師、無克胙國。鄭伯如晉聽成、會于瑣澤、成故也。

狄人閒宋之盟以侵晉、而不設備。秋、晉人敗狄于交剛。

㈡晉郤至如楚聘、且涖盟。楚子享之、子反相、爲地室而縣焉。郤至將登、金奏作於下、驚而走出。子反曰、日云莫矣、寡君須矣、吾子其入也。賓曰、君不忘先君之好、施及下臣、貺之以大禮、重之以備樂、如天之福、兩君相見、何以代此、下臣不敢。子反曰、如天之福、兩君相見、無亦唯是一矢以相加遺、焉用樂、寡君須矣、吾子其入也。賓曰、若讓之以一矢、禍之大者、其何福之爲、世之治也、諸侯閒于天子之事、則相朝也、於是乎有享宴之禮、享以訓共儉、宴以示慈惠、共儉以行禮、而慈惠以布政、政以禮成、民是以息、百官承事、朝而不夕、此公侯之所以扞城其民也、故詩曰、赳赳武夫、公侯干城、及其亂也、諸侯貪冒、侵欲不忌、爭尋常以盡其民、畧其武夫、以爲己腹心股肱爪牙、故詩曰、赳赳武夫、公侯腹心、天下有道、則公侯能爲民干城、而制其腹心、亂則反之、今吾子之言、亂之道也、不可以爲法、然吾子主也、至敢不從、遂入、卒事。歸以語范文子。文子曰、無禮、必食言、吾死無日矣夫、冬、楚公子罷如晉聘、且涖盟、十二月、晉侯及楚公子罷盟于赤棘。

XII. 1 In the [duke's], twelfth year, in spring, the duke of Chow left and fled to Tsin.

2 In summer, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Tsin and the marquis of Wei in So-tsih.

3 In autumn, a body of men from Tsin defeated the Teih at Këaou-kang.

4 It was winter, the tenth month.

Par. 1. See the Chuen after par. 3 of last year. The duke of Chow fled to Tsin, according to that, in the last year. Tso-she supposes his flight is entered now, because it was not till this spring that it was communicated to Loo. He says:—'This spring, the king sent the news to Loo of the troubles connected with the duke of Chow. The text says that "he went out and fled to Tsin." Now the words "went out" are not applied in the case of parties leaving Chow, but they are used here because the duke of Chow out-cast himself.'

Tso-she's meaning is this:—A fugitive might go out from one State to another; but the whole kingdom belonged to Chow. The States were all Chow. An officer might flee from one part of Chow to another, but he could not go out from Chow. It was proper in such a case to say simply—"he fled to such and such a State;" —see X. xxvi. 1. In the text the proper style is departed from, because the duke of Chow repeated his flight, after the king had recalled him, 'out-casting himself.'—After all, the canon may be called in question.

Par. 2. Kung-yang has 沙澤 for 瑣澤. The place so denominated has not been ascertained. The Chuen says:—'Hwa Yuen of Sung having succeeded in cementing the peace between Tsin and Ts'oo [See the 2d Chuen at the end of last year], this summer, in the 5th month, Sze Sëeh of Tsin had a meeting with the Kung-tsze P'e of Ts'oo, and Heu Yen. They made a covenant on Kwei-hae outside the west gate of [the capital of] Sung, to the following effect:—"Ts'oo and Tsin shall not go to war with each other. They shall have common likings and dislikings. They shall together compassionate States that are in calamity and peril, and be ready to relieve such as are unfortunate. Tsin shall attack any that would injure Ts'oo, and Ts'oo any that would injure Tsin. Their roads shall be open to messengers that wish to pass with their offerings from the one to the other. They shall take measures against the disaffected, and punish those who do not appear in the royal court. Whoever shall violate this covenant, may the intelligent Spirits destroy him, causing defeat to his armies, and a speedy end to his possession of his State!" [After this], the earl of Ch'ing went to Tsin, to receive [the conditions of] the peace, in consequence of its being [thus] established at the meeting in So-tsih.'

This Chuen has occasioned a good deal of speculation among the commentators. The text says nothing of the covenant between Tsin and Ts'oo, and the Chuen says nothing of the presence of Loo and Wei in the meeting at So-tsih. The K'ang-he editors say that Chaou K'wang denies that there was such a covenant, while the frequent meetings between Këoh Che and the Kung-tsze P'e of Ts'oo show that it must have taken place. They suppose, therefore, that the sage, condemning and disliking the treaty between those Powers, here used his pruning knife, and cut away the record of it. They say further that Lëw Ch'ang denies the truth of the Chuen's account of the meeting at So-tsih, but they preserve that account themselves out of deference to the general authority of Tso-she.

Par. 3. The situation of Këaou-kang is, like that of So-tsih, undetermined. The Chuen says:—'A body of the Teih took the opportunity of [Tsin's being occupied with the] covenant in Sung to make an inroad into it; but not having made preparations [against a surprise], they were defeated in the autumn at Këaou-kang.'

[The Chuen gives here the following narrative:—'Këoh Che of Tsin went to Ts'oo on a friendly mission, and on the part of Tsin to make a covenant. The viscount of Ts'oo invited him to an enterainment, when Tsze-fan, who directed the ceremonies, had caused an apartment to be made under ground, in which the instruments of music were suspended. When Këoh Che was ascending the hall, the bells struck up [the signal for performance] underneath, which frightened him so that he ran out. Tsze-fan said to him, "The day is wearing late; my ruler is waiting; be pleased, Sir, to enter." The guest replied, "Your ruler, mindful of the friendship between our former princes, extends his favour to my poor self, treating me with great ceremony, even to a complete band of music. If by the blessing of Heaven our two rulers have an interview, what can take the place of this? I dare not receive [such an honour]." Tsze-fan said, "If by the blessing of Heaven our two rulers have an interview, they will have nothing but an arrow to give to each other; they will not be using music. My ruler is waiting; be pleased, Sir, to enter." The other said, "If it be an arrow that they mutually offer and decline, that will be the greatest of evils;—there will be no blessing in that. When good order prevails, the princes, in their intervals of leisure from the king's business, visit at one another's courts. Then there are the ceremonies of entertainment and feasting; those of entertainment being a lesson of reverence and economy, those of feasting a display of indulgent kindness [Comp. the Chuen after VII. xvi. 3]. Reverence and economy are seen in the practice of ceremonies; indulgent kindness is seen in the arrangements of the government. When the business of government is perfected by ceremonies, then the people enjoy rest, and the officers receive orders about the business they have to perform in the morning [only], and not in the evening [as well]. It is in this way that the princes prove themselves the protectors of their people. Therefore the ode (She, I. i. ode VII. 1) says,

'That bold and martial man
Is shield and wall to his prince.'

But in a time of disorder, the princes are full of covetous greed, indulge their ambitious desires without shrinking, and for a few feet of territory will destroy their people, taking their martial officers and using them to carry out their hearts' purposes as arms and legs, as claws and teeth. Therefore the ode says (*ibid.*, stanza 3),

'That bold and martial man
Is the mind and heart of his prince.'

When throughout the kingdom right ways prevail, the princes are shields and walls to the people, and repress [the selfishness of] their own hearts; but in a time of disorder, it is the reverse. Now your words, Sir, speak the ways of disorder, which cannot be taken as a pattern. But you are host here, and I will not presume to disobey you." He entered accordingly.

'When his business was over, and he returned, he told what had occurred to Fan Wăn-tsze, who said, "With such want of propriety, they are sure to eat their words. Our death will be at no distant day." In winter, the Kung-tsze P'e of Ts'oo went to Tsin on a friendly mission, and to make a covenant on the part of Ts'oo. In the twelfth month, the marquis of Tsin covenanted with him in Ch'ih-keih.']

Thirteenth year.

一章 十有三年、春、晉侯使郤錡來乞師。

二章 三月、公如京師。

三章 夏、五月、公自京師、遂會晉侯、齊侯、宋公、衛侯、鄭伯、曹伯、邾人、滕人伐秦。

四章 曹伯盧卒于師。

五章 秋、七月、公至自伐秦。

六章 冬、葬曹宣公。

左傳曰、十三年、春、晉侯使郤錡來乞師。將事不敬。孟獻子曰、郤氏其亡乎、禮、身之幹也、敬、身之基也、郤子無基、且先君之嗣卿也、受命以求師、將社稷是衛、而惰、棄君命也、不亡何爲。

三月、公如京師、宣伯欲賜、請先使、王以行人之禮禮焉。孟獻子從、王以爲介、而重賄之。公及諸侯朝王、遂從劉康公、成肅公、會晉侯伐秦。成子受脤於社、不敬。劉子曰、吾聞之、民受天地之中以生、所謂命也、是以有動作、禮義、威儀之則、以定命也、能者養之以福、不能者、敗以取禍、是故君子勤禮、小人盡力、勤禮莫如致敬、盡力莫如敦篤、敬在養神、篤在守業、國之大事、在祀與戎、祀有執膰、戎有受脤、神之大節也、今成子惰、棄其命矣、其不反乎。

夏、四月、戊午、晉侯使呂相絕秦、曰、昔逮

我獻公及穆公相好、戮力同心、申之以盟誓、重之以昏姻、天禍晉國、文公如齊、惠公如秦、無祿、獻公即世、穆公不忘舊德、俾我惠公用能奉祀於晉、又不能成大勳、而爲韓之師、亦悔於厥心、用集我文公、是穆之成也、文公躬擐甲冑、跋履山川、踰越險阻、征東之諸侯、虞夏商周之胤、而朝諸秦、則亦既報舊德矣、鄭人怒君之疆埸、我文公帥諸侯及秦、圍鄭、秦大夫不詢于我寡君、擅及鄭盟、諸侯疾之、將致命于秦、文公恐懼、綏靜諸侯、秦師克還無害、則是我有大造于西也、無祿、文公即世、穆爲不弔、蔑死我君、寡我襄公、迭我殽地、奸絕我好、伐我保城、殄滅我費滑、散離我兄弟、撓亂我同盟、傾覆我國家、我襄公未忘君之舊勳、而懼社稷之隕、是以有殽之師、猶願赦罪于穆公、穆公弗聽、而即楚謀我、天誘其衷、成王隕命、穆公是以不克逞志於我、穆襄即世、康靈即位、康公我之自出、又欲闕翦我公室、傾覆我社稷、帥我蟊賊、以來蕩搖我邊疆、我是以有令狐之役、康猶不悛、入我河曲、伐我涑川、俘我王官、翦我羈馬、我是以有河曲之戰、東道之不通、則是康公絕我好也、及君之嗣也、我君景公引領西望曰、庶撫我乎、君亦不惠稱盟、利吾有狄難、入我河縣、焚我箕郜、芟夷我農功、虔劉我邊陲、我是以有輔氏之聚、君亦悔禍之延、而欲徼福于先君獻穆、使伯車來命我景公曰、吾與女同好棄惡、復修舊德、以追念前勳、言誓未就、景公即世、我寡君是以有令狐之會、君又不祥、背棄盟誓、白狄及君同州、君之仇讎、而我之昏姻也、君來賜命曰、吾與女伐狄、寡君不敢顧昏姻、畏君之威、而受命于吏、君有二心於狄、曰晉將伐女、狄應且憎、是用告我、楚人惡君之二三其德也、亦來告我曰、秦背令狐之盟、而來求盟于我、昭告昊天上帝、秦三公楚三王、曰余雖與晉出入、余唯利是視、不穀惡其無成德、是用宣之、以懲不壹、諸侯備聞此言、斯是用痛心疾首、暱就寡人、寡人帥以聽命、唯好是求、君若惠顧諸侯、矜哀寡人、而賜之盟、則寡人之願也、其承寧諸侯以退、豈敢徼亂、君若不施大惠、寡人不佞、其不能以諸侯退矣、敢盡布之執事、俾執事實圖利之。秦桓公既與晉厲公爲令狐之盟、而又召狄與楚、欲道以伐晉、諸侯是以睦於晉、晉欒書將中軍、荀庚佐之、士燮將上軍、郤錡

佐之、韓厥將下軍、荀罃佐之、趙旃將新軍、郤至佐之、郤毅御戎、欒鍼爲右。孟獻子曰、晉帥乘和、師必有大功。五月、丁亥、晉師以諸侯之師、及秦師戰于麻隧、秦師敗績、獲秦成差、及不更女父。曹宣公卒于師、師遂濟涇、及侯麗而還、迓晉侯于新楚、成肅公卒于瑕。

○六月、丁卯、夜、鄭公子班自訾求入於大宮、不能、殺子印、子羽、反軍于市。己巳、子駟帥國人盟于大宮、遂從而盡焚之、殺子如、子駹、孫叔、孫知。曹人使公子負芻守、使公子欣時逆曹伯之喪。秋、負芻殺其大子而自立也、諸侯乃請討之、晉人以其役之勞請俟他年。冬、葬曹宣公、既葬、子臧將亡、國人皆將從之、成公乃懼、告罪、且請焉、乃反而致其邑。

XIII. 1 In the [duke's] thirteenth year, in spring, the marquis of Tsin sent Këoh E to Loo, to beg the assistance of an army.

2 In the third month, the duke went to the capital.

3 In summer, in the fifth month, the duke, going on from the capital, joined the marquis of Tsin, the marquis of Ts'e, the duke of Sung, the marquis of Wei, the earl of Ts'aou, an officer of Choo, and an officer of T'ăng, in invading Ts'in.

4 Loo, earl of Ts'aou, died in the army.

5 In autumn, in the seventh month, the duke arrived from the invasion of Ts'in.

6 In winter, there was the burial of duke Seuen of Ts'aou.

Par. 1. Tsin was now calling out the troops of the States which adhered to it for the invasion of Ts'in, mentioned in the 3d par. It was right therefore that it should use the phrase 乞師, and 'beg the assistance of an army,' as it had not the authority of the king in the first place, for the expedition. The Chuen says:—'When Këoh E (The son of Këoh K'ih) came to Loo, he was not respectful in the execution of his mission. Măng Hëen-tsze said, "This Këoh will [soon] perish! Propriety is the stem of character, and respectfulness is its foundation. Këoh-tsze has not that foundation, and his ministry has come to him by inheritance. Having received a charge to ask for [the assistance of] an army, it must be for the defence of the altars [of Tsin], and he carries himself rudely,—throwing away the charge of his ruler. What can happen to him but to perish [soon]?"'

Par. 2. Though the duke now went to the capital, he only did so because it lay in his way, as he proceeded to join the army of Tsin. It would appear, indeed, that the other princes did the same, it being, probably, part of Tsin's policy in this way to get the king's sanction and the help of his troops to its enterprise against Ts'in. The Chuen says:—'When the duke was going to the capital, Seuen-pih [Shuh-sun K'ëaou-joo], wishing to obtain gifts [from the king], begged to be sent on beforehand. The king, however, received him [only] with the ceremonies due to an envoy. Măng Hëen-tsze [Chung-sun Mëeh] came on in attendance [on the duke], and the king considered him to be the duke's director for the visit, and gave him large presents. The duke and the other princes had an audience of the king, and then followed duke K'ang of Lëw and duke Suh of Ch'ing, to join the marquis of Tsin in the invasion of Ts'in. When the viscount of Ch'ing received the flesh of the sacrifice at the altar of the land, his manner was not respectful. The viscount of Lëw said, "I have heard that men receive at birth the exact and correct principles of Heaven and Earth, and these are what is called their appointed [nature]. There are the rules of action, propriety, righteousness, and demeanour, to establish this nature. Men of ability nourish those rules so as to secure blessing, while those devoid of ability violate them so as to bring on themselves calamity. Therefore superior men diligently attend to the rules of propriety, and men

in an inferior position do their best. In regard to the rules of propriety, there is nothing like using the greatest respectfulness. In doing one's best, there is nothing like being earnestly sincere. That respectfulness consists in nourishing one's spirit; that earnestness, in keeping one's duties in life. The great affairs of a State are sacrifice and war. At sacrifices [in the ancestral temple], [the officers] receive the roasted flesh; in war they receive that offered at the altar of the land:—these are the great ceremonies in worshipping the Spirits. Now the viscount of Ch'ing by his lazy rudeness has cast from him his proper nature;—may we suppose that he will not return from this expedition?"'

See an account of this visit of duke Ch'ing to the king's court in the 國語, 周語二, Art. 9.

Par. 3. Kuh-lëang, after 五月, has 公至自京師,—evidently an error. The Chuen says:—'In summer, the marquis of Tsin sent Sëang of Leu [Known as Leu Seuen-tsze (呂宣子), a son of Wei E (魏錡), who appears in the Chuen on the battle of Peih] to declare the end of his friendly relations with Ts'in in the following terms:—"In former times, our duke Hëen and your duke Muh were on terms of friendship, which they cultivated with all their might and with one mind, adding to it covenants and oaths, and cementing it by the affinities of marriage. When Heaven was afflicting Tsin, our duke Wăn went to Ts'e, and duke Hwuy went to Tsin. When, through our evil fate, duke Hëen left the world, duke Muh was not unmindful of their old friendship, and assisted our duke Hwuy, so that he presided over the sacrifices of Tsin [See the 2d Chuen at the end of V. ix]. But he could not complete his great service to Tsin, and there ensued the battle of Han [See V. xv. 13]. Afterwards, however, he repented of this, and secured the accession of our duke Wăn;—this was accomplished for us by Muh.

"Duke Wăn then donned buff-coat and helmet, traversed the plains and crossed the streams, taking his way through the most dangerous defiles, and operated against the States of the east, held by descendants of Yu, Hëa, Shang and Chow, till he brought them all with him to the court of Ts'in:—this surely was enough to repay the old kindness [of duke Muh]. And when the people of Ch'ing had been angrily troubling your borders, our duke Wăn led the other States and Tsin, and laid siege to the capital of Ch'ing. Then the great officers of Ts'in, without consulting with our ruler, presumed to make a covenant with Ch'ing. The States were indignant at such conduct, and wished to risk the lives of their men against Ts'in. Duke Wăn, however, afraid of the consequences, soothed and pacified them, so that the army of Ts'in effected its return, without suffering any injury. And thus we rendered the greatest service to your western State.

"Through our evil fate, duke Wăn [also] left the world, and your Muh sent no message of condolence. Contemning duke Wăn as dead, and slighting the youth of our duke Sëang, he assailed our territory of Hëaou, violated and broke off all friendship with us, attacked our city of Paou-shing, cruelly extinguished our Pe, [the capital of] Hwah [See V.xxxiii. 1], scattered and dispersed our brethren, broke the covenants that were between us, and would have overthrown our State. Then our duke Sëang was not unmindful of the former service which Muh had rendered [to his father]; but he was afraid lest our altars should be cast down, and there ensued the battle of Hëaou [See V. xxxiii. 3].

"[Our Sëang], even after this, wished to seek the forgiveness of duke Muh, but the duke would not listen to him. On the contrary he applied to Ts'oo [See the 2d Chuen after VI. xiv. 7], planning against us. But through the influence which Heaven exerts on men's minds, king Ch'ing lost his life [See VI. i. 10], and duke Muh did not succeed in carrying out his hostile intentions.

"When Muh and Sëang left this world, K'ang and Ling succeeded to them. [Your] duke K'ang was the son of a daughter of Tsin, but he still wished to uproot and cut down our House, and to overturn our altars. He gave an army to a vile insect [The Kung-tsze Yung of Tsin] to disturb our borders, in consequence of which we had the engagement at Ling-hoo [See VI. vii. 5].

"Still persisting in his hostility, K'ang entered our Ho-k'euh, invaded our Suh-ch'uen, captured our Wang-kwan, dismembered our Ke-ma, in consequence of which we had the battle of Ho-k'euh [See VI. xii. 7].

"That the way eastward was thus rendered impracticable to Ts'in was through duke K'ang's own rejection of our friendship. When your lordship succeeded to him, our ruler, duke King, looked to the west with outstretched neck, saying, 'Now, perhaps, Ts'in will have compassion on us!' But, unkindly, you would not respond to us with a covenant, and took advantage of our difficulties with the Teih. You entered our Ho-heuen, burned our Ke and Kaou, cut down and destroyed the labours of our husbandmen, and killed the people of our borders, so that we had the gathering at Foo-she [See on VII. xv. 4]. Then you also were sorry for the long continuance of our miserable hostilities; and wishing to obtain the blessing of the former rulers, Hëen and Muh, you sent Pih-keu with your commands to our duke King, saying that you and we should be friendly together, put away all evil feelings, and again cultivate the old kindliness, thinking of the services that had formerly passed between our rulers. Before an oath in accordance with these words could be taken, duke King left the world, and I [寡君, here, and elsewhere in the speech, should be 寡人] went to have a meeting with you at Ling-hoo, when with an unhappy purpose you turned back, and rejected the covenant and oath [See the last Chuen after XI. 5].

"The White Teih and you are in the same province [Yung Chow]. They are your enemies, while between us and them there have been intermarriages. You sent your commands, saying that you and we should invade the Teih. I then dared not consider our affinities with them, but, in awe of your majesty, I received the command from your messenger. You, however, with a double heart, represented

to the Teih that Tsin was going to attack them; and though they responded to you, they came with indignation, and told us of your conduct. The people of Ts'oo, hating your double-dealing, also came and told me saying, "Ts'in is violating the covenant of Ling-hoo, and came to ask a covenant with us, plainly appealing to God in the great heavens, to the three dukes of Ts'in and the three kings of Ts'oo, that notwithstanding all its communications with Tsin, its only view had been to its own advantage. I, [the king of Ts'oo], hating such want of virtue, declare it to you, that such insincerity may be punished." The princes of the States, having heard these things, are pained by them in heart and head, and are come to me. I will lead them to hear your commands, seeking only your friendship. If you will show a kind consideration for them, and, in compassion for me, grant me a covenant, this is what I desire. I will then receive your wishes, quiet all the princes, and retire;—how should I dare to seek the confusion [of strife]? If you will not bestow on us your great kindness, I am a man of plain speech;—I cannot withdraw with the princes. I have presumed to declare all my mind to your servants, that they may consider what it will be best to do."

'Because duke Hwan of Ts'in, after making the covenant of Ling-hoo with duke Le of Tsin, proceeded to call on the Teih and Ts'oo, wishing to persuade them to invade Tsin, therefore the States rendered their friendly aid to the latter. Lwan Shoo commanded Tsin's army of the centre, with Seun Kăng under him; Sze Sëeh the 1st army, with Këoh E under him; Han Keueh the 3d army, with Seun Ying under him; Chaou Chen the new army, with Këoh Che under him. Këoh E [Different from the Këoh E above] drove the chariot of the commander-in-chief, and Lwan K'ëen was spearman on the right. Măng Hëen-tsze said, "The generals of Tsin and its chariot-men are harmonious;—this army will accomplish a great success."

'In the 5th month, on Ting-hae, the army of Tsin, with the armies of the States, fought with the army of Ts'in at Ma-suy. The army of Ts'in received a great defeat. Ch'ing Ch'ae of Ts'in was taken, and the Puh-kăng, Joo-foo. Duke Seuen of Ts'aou died in the army, which then crossed the King, proceeded to How-le, and returned, meeting the marquis of Tsin at Sin-ts'oo. Duke Suh of Ch'ing [See the last Chuen] died in Hëa.'

The speech of Leu Sëang in this narrative is considered one of the master-pieces of Tso K'ëw-ming. And so it is, as regards the composition; but it is sadly disfigured by its misrepresentations and falsehoods. As between Tsin and Ts'in, each State had its injuries from the other of which to complain; but the balance of right would have inclined rather on the side of Ts'in. The battle of Ma-suy, however, was very important, and kept Ts'in shut up in the west for a long time afterwards.

[The Chuen adds here:—"In the 6th month, on Ting-maou, the Kung-tsze Pan [See on X.3.] of Ch'ing, [coming] from Tsze, sought by night to enter the grand temple, and when he was not able to do so, killed Tsze-yin and Tsze-yu [sons of duke Muh]. He then returned, and took up a position with his followers in the market place. On Ke-sze, Tsze-sze [another son of duke Muh] led the people to the temple and made a covenant with them, and afterwards burned the market place, killing Tsze-joo [Pan], [his brother] Tsze-mang, [his son] Sun-shuh, and [Tsze-mang's son], Sun-che.]

Par. 4. For 廬 Tso-she has 盧. The Chuen says:—'The people of Ts'aou appointed the earl's son, Foo-ts'oo, to take charge [of the capital], and another son, Hin-she, to meet the coffin of the earl. In autumn, Foo-ts'oo put to death the earl's eldest son, and made himself earl. The princes begged to go and punish him, but Tsin, in consequence of the fatigues of the service [in which they had been engaged], asked them to wait till next year.'

Par. 6. The Chuen says:—'In winter, after the burial of duke Seuen, Tsze-tsang [the above Hin-she] was going to leave the State, and the people all wished to follow him. Duke Ch'ing (Foo-ts'oo) became afraid, acknowledged his offence, and begged [Tsze-tsang to remain]. The latter returned accordingly [to the capital], and surrendered his city [to the duke].'

Fourteenth year.

一章 十有四年、春、王正月、莒子朱卒。

二章 夏、衞孫林父自晉歸于衞。

三章 秋、叔孫僑如如齊逆女。

四章 鄭公子喜帥師伐許。

五章 九月、僑如以夫人婦姜氏至自齊。

六章 冬、十月、庚寅、衞侯臧卒。

七章 秦伯卒。

左傳曰、十四年、春、衞侯如晉、晉侯強見孫林父焉、定公不可。夏、衞侯既歸、晉侯使郤犨送孫林父而見之。衞侯欲辭、定姜曰、不可、是先君宗卿之嗣也、大國又以爲請、不許、將亡、雖惡之、不猶愈於亡乎、君其忍之、安民而宥宗卿、不亦可乎。衞侯見而復之。衞侯饗苦成叔、甯惠子相、苦成叔傲、甯子曰、苦成家其亡乎、古之爲享食也、以觀威儀、省禍福也、故詩曰、兕觥其觩、旨酒思柔、彼交匪傲、萬福來求、今夫子傲、取禍之道也。

秋、宣伯如齊逆女。稱族、尊君命也。

八月、鄭子罕伐許、敗焉。戊戌、鄭伯復伐許、庚子、入其郛。許人平以叔申之封。

九月、僑如以夫人婦姜氏至自齊。舍族、尊夫人也、故君子曰、春秋之稱、微而顯、志而晦、婉而成章、盡而不汙、懲惡而勸善、非聖人、誰能脩之。

衞侯有疾、使孔成子、甯惠子、立敬姒之子衎、以爲大子。冬、十月、衞定公卒、夫人姜氏既哭而息、見大子之不哀也、不內酌飲、歎曰、是夫也、將不唯衞國之敗、其必始于未亡人、嗚呼、天禍衞國也夫、吾不獲鱄也使主社稷。大夫聞之、無不聳懼。孫文子自是不敢舍其重器于衞、盡寘諸戚、而甚善晉大夫。

XIV. 1 In the [duke's] fourteenth year, in spring, in the king's first month, Choo, viscount of Keu, died.

2 In summer, Sun Lin-foo of Wei returned from Tsin to Wei.

3 In autumn, Shuh-sun K'ëaou-joo went to Ts'e, to meet the [duke's] bride.

4 The Kung-tsze He of Ch'ing led a force, and invaded Heu.

5 In the ninth month, K'ëaou-joo arrived from Ts'e with the [duke's] wife, the lady Këang.

6 In winter, in the tenth month, on Kăng-yin, Tsang, marquis of Wei, died.

7 The earl of Ts'in died.

Par. 1. We have the death of the viscount of Keu here recorded, but there is no subsequent record of his burial; for which the following reason is assigned.—The honorary title, with the style of 'duke,' is always given in mentioning the burials of princes. But the lords of Keu had no honorary titles assigned them after death, the State not being sufficiently advanced in civilization to have adopted that custom. Hence their burials are not recorded.—It may be added here that burials of the lords of Ts'oo and Woo are not given in the Ch'un Ts'ëw, because they had usurped the style of king.

Par. 2. See the flight of Sun Lin-foo to Tsin in VII. 9.

The Chuen says:—'In spring, the marquis of Wei went to Tsin, where the marquis of Tsin insisted on introducing Sun Lin-foo to him; but he would not see him. In summer, when he returned to Wei, the marquis of Tsin sent Këoh Ch'ow with Lin-foo, to procure him an interview there. The marquis wanted [still] to refuse, but [his wife], Ting Këang, said, "Do not. He is the heir of the ministers of your predecessors, scions of your own House. The great State, moreover, makes intercession for him. If you do not grant its request, you will perish. Although you hate him, is it not better [to see him] than to perish? Be pleased to endure the mortification. Is it not proper to give repose to the people, and deal leniently with a minister so related to yourself?" [On this] the marquis granted Lin-foo an interview, and restored [his office] to him.

'The marquis [also] feasted Ch'ing-shuh of K'oo [Këoh Ch'ow], Ning Hwuy-tsze directing the ceremonies. Ch'ing-shuh behaved insolently, and Ning-tsze said, "He and his family are likely to perish [soon]! Among the ancients entertainments and feasts were used to see the demeanour [of the guests], and to judge of their prosperity or calamity [in the future]. Hence it is said in the ode (She, II. vii. ode I. 4),

'There is the curved cup of rhinoceros horn,
With the spirits in it, rich and soft.
While it passes from one to another, they show no pride.
All blessings must come to seek them.'

Now he conducts himself with pride;—it is the way to bring on himself calamity."'

Par. 3. The duke was now marrying a daughter of Ts'e. The preliminary steps have not been mentioned. Tso-she says that Seuenpih now went to meet the lady, and that his clan-name is mentioned, to do honour to the duke's commission.

Par. 4. See on IV. 9. The Chuen says:—'In the 8th month, Tsze-han of Ch'ing invaded Heu, and was defeated. On Mow-shin the earl himself again invaded it, and penetrated to the outer suburbs of its capital, when Heu made peace by [surrendering] the territory with which [Ch'ing] had endowed Shuh Shin.'

Par. 5. See on VII. i. 3. The K'ang-he editors argue against Kuh-lëang and other critics, who insist here that the duke ought to have met his bride in person. Tso-she thinks that the minister is mentioned here without his clanname, in deference to the lady, adding, 'The superior man will say, "The Ch'un Ts'ëw, in the appellations which it uses, is clear with an exquisite minuteness, distinct through obscurity, elegant by its gentle turns, and full without descending to be low, condemning what is evil, and encouraging what is good;—who but the sage could have compiled it as it is?"'

Par. 6. The Chuen says:—'When the marquis of Wei was ill, he made K'ung Ch'ing-tsze and Ning Hwuy-tsze appoint K'an, his son by King Sze, to be his successor. On his death in winter, in the 10th month, his wife, the lady Këang, after she had done her weeping and lamentation, saw that K'an wore no appearance of sadness. She would not so much as drink, but sighed and said, "This fellow will not only prove the ruin of the State of Wei, but he will begin with me, his father's relict. Alas! Heaven is afflicting the State of Wei, and I could not bring it about that Chuen [A brother of K'an] should preside over its altars!" When the great officers heard that she thus expressed herself, they were all filled with dread. After this Sun Wän-tsze would not venture to leave his articles of value in the capital, but deposited them all in Ts'eih, and cultivated assiduously the friendship of the great officers of Tsin.'

Fifteenth year.

一章 十有五年、春、王二月、葬衛定公。

二章 三月、乙巳、仲嬰齊卒。

三章 癸丑、公會晉侯、衛侯、鄭伯、曹伯、宋世子成、齊國佐、邾人、同盟于戚。

四章 晉侯執曹伯、歸于京師。 五章 公至自會。

六章 夏六月、宋公固卒。

七章 楚子伐鄭。

八章 秋、八月、庚辰、葬宋共公。

九章 宋華元出奔晉、宋華元自晉歸于宋、

十章 宋殺其大夫山、宋魚石出奔楚。

冬十有一月、叔孫僑如會晉士燮、齊高無咎、宋華元、衞孫林父、鄭公子鰌、

十一章 邾人會吳于鍾離。

十二章 許遷于葉。

左傳曰、十五年、春、會于戚。討曹成公也。執而歸諸京師、書曰晉侯執曹伯。不及其民也。凡君不道于其民、諸侯討而執之、則曰某人執某侯、不然則否。諸侯將見子臧於王而立之。子臧辭曰、前志有之曰、聖達節、次守節、下失節、爲君、非吾節也、雖不能聖、敢失守乎。遂逃奔宋。

夏、六月、宋共公卒。

楚將北師。子囊曰、新與晉盟而背之、無乃不可乎。子反曰、敵利則進、何盟之有。申叔時老矣、在申、聞之曰、子反必不免、信以守禮、禮以庇身、信禮之亡、欲免得乎。楚子侵鄭、及暴隧、遂侵衞、及首止。鄭子罕侵楚、取新石。欒武子欲報楚、韓獻子曰、無庸、使重其罪、民將叛之、無民孰戰。

秋、八月、葬宋共公。於是華元爲右師、魚石爲左師、蕩澤爲司馬、華喜爲司徒、公孫師爲司城、向爲人爲大司寇、鱗朱爲少司寇、

向帶爲大宰、魚府爲少宰。蕩澤弱公室、殺公子肥。華元曰、我爲右師、君臣之訓、師所司也、今公室卑、而不能正、吾罪大矣、不能治官、敢賴寵乎。乃出奔晉。二華、戴族也、司城、莊族也、六官者、皆桓族也。魚石將止華元、魚府曰、右師反、必討、是無桓氏也。魚石曰、右師苟獲反、雖許之討、必不敢、且多大功、國人與之、不反、懼桓氏之無祀于宋也、右師討、猶有戌在、桓氏雖亡、必偏。魚石自止華元於河上、請討、許之、乃反、使華喜、公孫師、帥國人攻蕩氏、殺子山。書曰、宋殺其大夫山、言背其族也。魚石、向爲人、鱗朱、向帶、魚府、出舍於睢上、華元使止之、不可。冬、十月、華元自止之、不可、乃反。魚府曰、今不從、不得入矣、右師視速而言疾、有異志焉、若不我納、今將馳矣。登丘而望之、則馳、騁而從之、則決睢澨、閉門登陴矣。左師、二司寇、二宰、遂出奔楚。華元使向戌爲左師、老佐爲司馬、樂裔爲司寇、以靖國人。

⊜晉三郤害伯宗、譖而殺之、及欒弗忌、伯州犂奔楚。韓獻子曰、郤氏其不免乎、善人、天地之紀也、而驟絶之、不亡何待。初、伯宗每朝、其妻必戒之曰、盜憎主人、民惡其上、子好直言、必及於難。

十一月、會吳于鍾離、始通吳也。

許靈公畏偪于鄭、請遷于楚。辛丑、楚公子申遷許于葉。

XV. 1 In the [duke's] fifteenth year, in spring, in the king's second month, there was the burial of duke Ting of Wei.

2 In the third month, on Yih-sze, Chung Ying-ts'e died.

3 On Kwei-ch'ow, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Tsin, the marquis of Wei, the earl of Ch'ing, the earl of Ts'aou, Ch'ing the heir-son of Sung, Kwoh Tso of Ts'e, and an officer of Choo, when they made a covenant together in Ts'eih.

4 The marquis of Tsin seized the earl of Ts'aou, and delivered him at the capital.

5 The duke arrived from the meeting [at Ts'eih.]

6 In summer, in the sixth month, Koo, duke of Sung, died.

7 The viscount of Ts'oo invaded Ch'ing.

8 In autumn, in the eighth month, there was the burial of duke Kung of Sung.

9 Hwa Yuen of Sung left the State and fled to Tsin. From Tsin he returned to Sung. Sung put to death its great officer Shan. Yu Shih of Sung fled to Ts'oo.

10 In winter, in the eleventh month, Shuh-sun K'ëaou-joo joined Sze Sëeh of Tsin, Kaou Woo-k'ëw of Ts'e, Hwa Yuen of Sung, Sun Lin-foo of Wei, the Kung-tsze Ts'ëw of Ch'ing, and an officer of Choo, in having a meeting with Woo at Chung-le.

11 Heu removed its capital to Sheh.

Par. 2. This Chung Ying-ts'e was a difft. person from the Kung-sun Ying-ts'e of VIII. 3, and other places. They were both duke's grandsons; but the latter was a grandson of duke Wăn, the former of duke Chwang. The 仲 in the text has occasioned the commentators endless and needless difficulty. The death of duke Chwang's son, Suy, appears in VII. viii. 3 as the death of Chung Suy, from which it seemed a plain inference that duke Seuen had given him, on the news of his death, the surname or clan-name of 仲; and here accordingly his son Ying-tsze is so surnamed. Kung-yang, however, thought that Ying-ts'e was the first to get the surname of Chung. He was not the oldest son of Suy;—the oldest son was Kung-sun Kwei-foo of VII. xviii. 6, *et al.* From the Chuen on VII. xviii. 8, we learned that the other great families of Loo combined, on the death of duke Seuen, against the Chung or Tung-mun family, and Kwei-foo, the Head of it, fled to Ts'e. Kung-yang says that the people of Loo, grieved that Kwei-foo should be left without a representative in the State, obtained from duke Ch'ing the recognition of his brother Ying-ts'e as such. He then became his brother's successor, and virtually his son. and their father became his (Ying-tse's) grand-father; and so by a rule of surnames, 仲, which was Suy's designation, became his surname! This view is followed by Too Yu and many others, while Maou rejects it with great scorn, ridiculing the idea of Ying-ts'e's being at once the son and the grandson of the Kung-tsze Suy.

Parr. 3,4. In par. 4, for the single 歸 Kung-yang has 歸之. Ts'eih,—see VI. i. 9. As the death of the duke of Sung appears in the 6th par., we may presume that he was ill at the time of this meeting, and that therefore his son attended it in his room. Tso-she says that the object of the meeting was 'to punish duke Ch'ing of Ts'aou [See his crime in the Chuen on XIII. 4].' Tsin, which would call the meeting, must have concealed this from Ch'ing. Tso then gives a very doubtful canon to explain its being said that the marquis of Tsin (晉侯), and not the people of Tsin (晉人), seized the culprit, saying that when a ruler has dealt with his people without any regard to what was right, and the States punish and seize him, then we read that 'the people of such and such a State seized him,' but if his wickedness has not extended to his people, it is said, 'the ruler of such and such a State seizes him.' Lëw Ch'ang has sufficiently exploded this clumsy rule. Tso adds from his tablets:—'The princes wished to introduce Tsze-tsang [the earl's brother; see on XIII. 6] to the king, and have him appointed earl, but he refused, saying, "It is contained in books of an earlier time, that a sage is equal to the duties of all positions; that a man of the second class maintains the duty of his position; and that one of the lowest class fails in the duty of his. It is not my position to be ruler. Although I cannot attain to the sage, dare I fail to maintain [what is my duty]?" He then withdrew secretly, and fled to Sung.'

Par. 6. Tso says:—'In summer, in the 6th month, duke Kung of Sung died.

Par. 7. The Chuen says:—'Ts'oo being about to send an expedition to the north, Tsze-nang [the Kung-tsze Ch'ing, son of king Chwang] said, "Is it not improper thus to violate the covenant, which we made so recently with Tsin?" Tsze-fan replied, "When we can gain an advantage over our enemies, we must advance, without any consideration of covenants." Shuh-she of Shin was then old and living in Shin. When he heard of Tsze-fan's speech, he said, "Tsze-fan will certainly not escape an evil end. Good faith is seen in the maintenance of propriety, and propriety is a protection to the person. If a man put away both good faith and propriety, though he wish to avoid an evil end, can he do so?"

'The viscount made an inroad into Ch'ing as far as Paou-suy, and then went on to overrun Wei, as far as Show-che, [while, in the meantime], Tsze-han of Ch'ing made an inroad into Ts'oo, and took Sin-shih. Lwan Woo-tsze wished to repay Ts'oo [for this expedition], but Han Hëen-tsze said, "You need not do so. Let the king go on, aggravating his offences, till the people revolt from him. Without the people, who will fight for him?"'

Parr. 8, 9. The Chuen says:—'In autumn, in the 8th month, there was the burial of duke Kung of Sung. At this time Hwa Yuen was master of the Right, and Yu Shih master of the Left; Tang Tsih was minister of War; Hwa He, minister of Instruction; Kung-sun Sze, minister of Works; Hëang Wei-jin, grand minister of Crime, and Lin Choo, the assistant minister; Hëang Tae, the grand administrator, and Yu Foo, the assistant. Tang Tsih, seeing the weakness of the ducal House, killed duke [Wăn's] son, Fei, on which Hwa Yuen said, "I am master of the Right. It belongs to me as such to inculcate the duties between ruler and ministers. When the ducal House is now thus humbled, if I cannot deal with the wrong, my crime will be great. I am unable to discharge the duties of my office, and dare I rely on the favour [of the duke]?" With this, he left the State, and fled to Tsin.

'The two Hwa were descended from duke Tae; the minister of Works from duke Chwang; and the other six ministers were all sprung from duke Hwan. Yu Shih was going to stop Hwa

Yuen, when Yu Foo said, "If the master of the Right return, he is sure to set about punishing, and the clan of Hwan will perish." Yu Shih said, "If the master of the Right get to return, although we should allow him to punish, he will certainly not dare to do so. His services, moreover, have been many and great, so that the people of the State are all with him. If he do not return, I am afraid that the Hwans will not be allowed to maintain their sacrifices in Sung. Should he set about punishing, there is [Hëang] Seuh. It is only a small portion of the Hwans that will perish." [On this] Yu Shih went himself and stopped Hwa Yuen at the Ho. Yuen said that he must be allowed to punish, and when this was granted, he returned, and made Hwa He and Kung-sun Sze lead the people to attack the Tang family, when they put to death Tsze-shan [Tang Tsih]. When it is said in the text that "Sung put to death its great officer Shan," the style intimates that he was rebelling against the ducal House of which he was a scion.

'[After this], Yu Shih, Hëang Wei-jin, Lin Choo, Hëang Tae, and Yu Foo, went out [from the capital] and halted near the Suy. Hwa Yuen sent to stop them, but they refused to stop. In winter, in the 10th month, he went to them himself, but returned with the like result. Yu Foo said, "If we do not now [immediately] follow him, we shall not be able to enter [the capital] again. His glances were rapid and his words also;—his purposes towards us were hostile, as if he would not receive us again. He will now be driving off rapidly." They ascended a mound and saw [that Yuen was doing so], on which they took to their chariots, and hurried after him. The waters of the Suy, however, had been let out on the country, the gates of the city were shut, and the parapets were manned. The master of the Left, the two ministers of Crime, and the two administrators, were obliged to flee to Ts'oo. Yuen then appointed Hëang Seuh master of the Left, Laou Tso minister of War, and Yoh E minister of Crime, thus quieting the people.'

Kung and Kuh give 宋殺其大夫山 and 宋魚石出奔楚 as distinct paragraphs. The integrity of the whole of the paragraph, indeed, has been called in question. The text says that Hwa Yuen had fled to Tsin and that he returned to Sung from Tsin, whereas, acc. to the Chuen, he was brought back to Sung before he reached Tsin. The double occurrence of 宋華元, and the use of 宋 five times in so short a space, certainly look suspicious. See Maou *in loc.*

[The Chuen adds here about Tsin:—'The three Këoh [Ch'ow, Che, and E] of Tsin injured Pih-tsung slandering him and procuring his death, and also that of Lwan Fuh-ke, on which [Tsung's] son Pih Chow-le fled to Ts'oo. Han Hëen-tsze said, "Those Këoh will not escape an evil end! Good men are appointed for government by Heaven and Earth. If destroying in this way one and another of them be not sufficient to ruin those who do so, what [greater offence] is to be waited for?" Whenever Pih-tsung went to court, his wife had been accustomed to say to him, "Thieves are angry with the master [they want to rob], and the people hate their superiors. You are fond of straightforward speaking, but it will bring you into difficulties."']

Par. 10. Chung-le belonged to Ts'oo,—in the pres. dis. of Fung-yang, dep. Fung-yang, Gan-hwuy. 'This,' says Tso, 'was the first instance of communication between the States of the north and Woo.'

Par. 11. Sheh,—see Analects, VII. xviii. The Chuen says:—'Duke Ling of Heu, dreading the [constant] pressure of Ch'ing, asked leave of Ts'oo to remove its capital [into its territory]. Accordingly, on Sin-ch'ow, the Kung-tsze Shin of Ts'oo removed Heu's chief city to Sheh.'

Sixteenth year.

一章 十有六年、春、王正月、雨、木冰。

二章 夏四月、辛未、滕子卒。

三章 鄭公子喜帥師侵宋。

四章 六月、丙寅、朔、日有食之。

五章 晉侯使欒黶來乞師。

六章 甲午、晦、晉侯及楚子、鄭伯、戰于鄢陵、楚子、鄭師敗績。

七章 楚殺其大夫公子側。

八章 秋、公會晉侯、齊侯、衞侯、宋華元、邾人、于沙隨、不見公。

九章 公至自會。

十章 公會尹子、晉侯、齊國佐、邾人、伐鄭。

十一章 曹伯歸自京師。

十二章 九月、晉人執季孫行父、舍之于苕丘。

十三章 冬十月、乙亥、叔孫僑如出奔齊。

十四章 十有二月、乙丑、季孫行父及晉郤犨、盟于扈。

十五章 公至自會。

十六章 乙酉、刺公子偃。

㊀左傳曰、十六年春、楚子自武城、使公子成以汝陰之田求成于鄭、鄭叛晉、子駟從楚子盟于武城。

夏四月、滕文公卒。

鄭子罕伐宋、宋將鉏、樂懼、敗諸汋陂、退舍於夫渠、不儆、鄭人覆之、敗諸汋陵、獲將鉏、樂懼。宋恃勝也。

㊁衞侯伐鄭、至于鳴鴈、爲晉故也。

晉侯將伐鄭、范文子曰、若逞吾願、諸侯皆叛、晉可以逞、若唯鄭叛、晉國之憂、可立俟也。欒武子曰、不可以當吾世而失諸侯、必伐鄭。乃興師、欒書將中軍、士燮佐之、郤錡將上軍、荀偃佐之、韓厥將下軍、郤至佐新軍、荀罃居守。郤犨如衞、遂如齊、皆乞師焉。欒黶來乞師、孟獻子曰、有勝矣。

戊寅、晉師起、鄭人聞有晉師、使告於楚、姚句耳與往。楚子救鄭、司馬將中軍、令尹將左、右尹子辛將右。過申、子反入見申叔時

曰、師其何如。對曰、德、刑、詳、義、禮、信、戰之器也、德以施惠、刑以正邪、詳以事神、義以建利、禮以順時、信以守物、民
生厚而德正、用利而事節、時順而物成、上下和睦、周旋不逆、求無不具、各知其極、故詩曰立我烝民、莫匪爾極、
是以神降之福、時無災害、民生敦厖、和同以聽、莫不盡力、以從上命、致死以補其闕、此戰之所由克也、今楚內
棄其民、而外絕其好、瀆齊盟、而食話言、奸時以動、而疲民以逞、民不知信、進退罪也、人恤所底、其誰致死、子其
勉之、吾不復見子矣。姚句耳先歸、子駟問焉、對曰、其行速、過險而不整、速則失志、不整喪列、志失列喪、將何以
戰、楚懼不可用也。五月、晉師濟河、聞楚師將至、范文子欲反、曰、我僞逃楚、可以紓憂、夫合諸侯、非吾所能也、以
遺能者、我若羣臣輯睦、以事君多矣。武子曰、不可。六月、晉楚遇於鄢陵、范文子不欲戰。郤至曰、韓之戰、惠公不
振旅、箕之役、先軫不反命、邲之師、荀伯不復從、皆晉之恥也、子亦見先君之事矣、今我辟楚、又益恥也、文子曰、
吾先君之亟戰也、有故、秦狄齊楚皆彊、不盡力、子孫將弱、今三彊服矣、敵楚而已、唯聖人能外內無患、自非聖
人、外寧必有內憂、盍釋楚以爲外懼乎。甲午、晦、楚晨壓晉軍而陳、軍吏患之、范匄趨進、曰、塞井夷竈、陳於軍中、
而疏行首、晉楚唯天所授、何患焉。文子執戈逐之、曰、國之存亡、天也、童子何知焉。欒書曰、楚師輕窕、固壘而待
之、三日必退、退而擊之、必獲勝焉。郤至曰、楚有六間、不可失也、其二卿相惡、王卒以舊、鄭陳而不整、蠻軍而不
陳、陳不違晦、在陳而囂、合而加囂、各顧其後、莫有鬭心、舊不必良、以犯天忌、我必克之。楚子登巢車、以望晉軍、
子重使大宰伯州犂侍于王後、王曰、騁而左右何也、曰、召軍吏也、皆聚於中軍矣、曰、合謀也、張幕矣、曰、虔卜於
先君也、徹幕矣、曰、將發命也、甚囂、且塵上矣、曰、將塞井夷竈而爲行也、皆乘矣、左右執兵而下矣、曰、聽誓也、戰
乎、曰、未可知也、乘而左右皆下矣、曰、戰禱也、伯州犂以公卒告王、苗賁皇在晉侯之側、亦以王卒告、皆曰、國士
在、且厚、不可當也、苗賁皇言於晉侯曰、楚之良在其中軍王族而已、請分良以擊其左右、而三軍萃於王卒、必
大敗之。公筮之、史曰、吉、其卦遇復、曰、南國蹙、射其元王、中厥目、國蹙王傷、不敗何待、公從之、有淖於前、乃皆左

右相違於淖。步毅御晉厲公、欒鍼爲右、彭名御楚共王、潘黨爲右、石首御鄭成公、唐苟爲右、欒范以其族夾公行、陷於淖、欒書將載晉侯、鍼曰、書退、國有大任、焉得專之、且侵官、冒也、失官、慢也、離局、姦也、有三罪焉、不可犯也。乃掀公以出於淖。癸巳、潘尫之黨、與養由基蹲甲而射之、徹七札焉。以示王、曰、君有二臣如此、何憂於戰。王怒曰、大辱國、詰朝、爾射死藝。呂錡夢射月、中之、退入於泥。占之曰、姬姓、日也、異姓、月也、必楚王也、射而中之、退入於泥、亦必死矣。及戰、射共王中目、王召養由基、與之兩矢、使射呂錡、中項伏弢、以一矢復命。郤至三遇楚子之卒、見楚子必下、免冑而趨風、楚子使工尹襄問之以弓、曰、方事之殷也、有韎韋之跗注、君子也、識見不穀而趨、無乃傷乎。郤至見客、免冑承命、曰、君之外臣至、從寡君之戎事、以君之靈、閒蒙甲冑、不敢拜命、敢告不寧、君命之辱、爲事之故、敢肅使者。三肅使者而退。晉韓厥從鄭伯、其御杜溷羅曰、速從之、其御屢顧、不在馬、可及也。韓厥曰、不可以再辱國君。乃止。郤至從鄭伯、其右茀翰胡曰、諜輅之、余從之乘、而俘以下。郤至曰、傷國君有刑。亦止。石首曰、衞懿公唯不去其旗、是以敗于熒。乃內旌於弢中。唐苟謂石首曰、子在君側、敗者壹大、我不如子、子以君免、我請止。乃死。楚師薄於險、叔山冉謂養由基曰、雖君有命、爲國故、子必射。乃射、再發、盡殪。叔山冉搏人以投、中車折軾、晉師乃止。囚楚公子茷、欒鍼見子重之旌、請曰、楚人謂夫旌、子重之麾也、彼其子重也、日臣之使於楚也、子重問晉國之勇、臣對曰、好以衆整、曰、又何如。臣對曰、好以暇、今兩國治戎、行人不使、不可謂整、臨事而食言、不可謂暇、請攝飲焉。公許之、使行人執榼承飲、造於子重曰、寡君乏使、使鍼御持矛、是以不得犒從者、使某攝飲。子重曰、夫子嘗與吾言於楚、必是故也、不亦識乎。受而飲之、免使者而復鼓。旦而戰、見星未已。子反命軍吏察夷傷、補卒乘、繕甲兵、展車馬、雞鳴而食、唯命是聽。晉人患之、苗賁皇徇曰、蒐乘補卒、秣馬利兵、修陳固列、蓐食申禱、明日復戰。乃逸楚囚。王聞之、召子反謀、穀陽豎獻飲於子反、子反醉而不能見。王曰、天敗楚也夫、余不可以待。乃宵遁。晉入楚軍、三日穀。范文子立於戎馬之前、曰、君幼、諸臣不佞、何以及此、君其戒之、

周書曰、惟命不于常、有德之謂。

楚師還、及瑕、王使謂子反曰、先大夫之覆師徒者、君不在、子無以爲過、不穀之罪也、子反再拜稽首曰、君賜臣死、死且不朽、臣之卒實奔、臣之罪也、子重使謂子反曰、初隕師徒者、而亦聞之矣、盍圖之、對曰、雖微先大夫有之、大夫命側、側敢不義、側亡君師、敢忘其死、王使止之、弗及而卒。

戰之日、齊國佐高無咎至於師、衛侯出於衛、公出於壞隤、宣伯通於穆姜、欲去季孟、而取其室、將行、穆姜送公、而使逐二子、公以晉難告、曰、請反而聽命、姜怒、公子偃公子鉏趨過、指之曰、女不可、是皆君也、公待於壞隤、申宮儆備、設守而後行、是以後、使孟獻子守於公宮、秋、會于沙隨、謀伐鄭也、宣伯使告郤犫曰、魯侯待於壞隤以待勝者、郤犫將新軍、且爲公族大夫、以主東諸侯、取貨於宣伯、而訴公於晉侯、晉侯不見公。

㊅曹人請於晉曰、自我先君宣公卽世、國人曰、若之何、憂猶未弭、而又討我寡君、以亡曹國社稷之鎭公子、是大泯曹也、先君無乃有罪乎、若有罪、則君列諸會矣、君唯不遺德刑、以伯諸侯、豈獨遺諸敝邑、敢私布之。

七月、公會尹武公及諸侯伐鄭、將行、姜又命公如初、公又申守而行、諸侯之師、次於鄭西、我師次於督揚、不敢過鄭、子叔聲伯使叔孫豹請逆於晉師、爲食於鄭郊、師逆以至、聲伯四日不食以待之、食使者而後食、諸侯遷於制田、知武子佐下軍、以諸侯之師侵陳、至於鳴鹿、遂侵蔡、未反、諸侯遷於潁上、戊午、鄭子罕宵軍之、宋齊衛皆失軍。

曹人復請於晉、晉侯謂子臧、反、吾歸而君、子臧反、曹伯歸、子臧盡致其邑與卿、而不出。

宣伯使告郤犫曰、魯之有季孟、猶晉之有欒范也、政令於是乎成、今其謀曰、晉政多門、不可從也、寧事齊楚、有亡而已、蔑從晉矣、若欲得志於魯、請止行父而殺之、我斃蔑也、而事晉、蔑有貳矣、魯不貳、小國必睦、不然、歸必叛矣、九月、晉人執季文子于苕丘、公還、待於鄆、使子叔聲伯請季孫於晉、郤犫曰、苟去仲孫蔑而止季孫行父、

吾與子國、親於公室。對曰、僑如之情、子必聞之矣、若去蔑與行父、是大棄魯國而罪寡君也、若猶不棄、而惠徼周公之福、使寡君得事晉君、則夫二人者、魯國社稷之臣也、若朝亡之、魯必夕亡、以魯之密邇仇讎、亡而爲讎、治之何及。郤犨曰、吾爲子請邑。對曰、嬰齊、魯之常隸也、敢介大國、以求厚焉、承寡君之命、以請、若得所請、吾子之賜多矣、又何求。范文子謂欒武子曰、季孫於魯、相二君矣、妾不衣帛、馬不食粟、可不謂忠乎、信讒慝而棄忠良、若諸侯何、子叔嬰齊、奉君命無私、謀國家不貳、圖其身、不忘其君、若虛其請、是棄善人也、子其圖之。乃許魯平、赦季孫。

冬、十月、出叔孫僑如而盟之、僑如奔齊。

十二月、季孫及郤犨盟于扈、歸、刺公子偃、召叔孫豹於齊、而立之。

⊝齊聲孟子通僑如、使立於高國之間、僑如曰、不可以再罪。奔衞、亦間於卿。

⊝晉侯使郤至獻楚捷於周、與單襄公語、驟稱其伐。單子語諸大夫曰、温季其亡乎、位於七人之下、而求掩其上、怨之所聚、亂之本也、多怨而階亂、何以在位、夏書曰、怨豈在明、不見是圖、將愼其細也、今而明之、其可乎。

XVI. 1 In the [duke's] sixteenth year, in spring, in the king's first month, it rained, and the trees became encrusted with ice.

2 In summer, in the fourth month, on Sin-we, the viscount of T'ăng died.

3 Duke [Muh's] son, He, of Ch'ing led a force, and made an inroad into Sung.

4 In the sixth month, on Ping-yin, the first day of the moon, the sun was eclipsed.

5 The marquis of Tsin sent Lwan Yin to Loo, to ask the assistance of an army.

6 On Këah-woo, the last day of the moon, the marquis of Tsin fought with the viscount of Ts'oo and the earl of Ch'ing at Yen-ling, when the viscount of Ts'oo and the army of Ch'ing received a great defeat.

7 Ts'oo put to death its great officer, the Kung-tsze Tsih.

8 In autumn, the duke [went to have] a meeting with the marquis of Tsin, the marquis of Ts'e, the marquis of Wei, Hwa Yuen of Sung, and an officer of Choo, in Sha-suy; [but the marquis of Tsin] would not see him.

9 The duke arrived from the meeting.
10 The duke went to join the viscount of Yin, the marquis of Tsin, Kwoh Tso of Ts'e, and an officer of Choo, in invading Ch'ing.
11 The earl of Ts'aou returned from the capital.
12 In the ninth month, the people of Tsin seized Ke-sun Hăng-foo, and lodged him in T'ëaou-k'ëw.
13 In winter, in the tenth month, on Yih-hae, Shuh-sun K'ëaou-joo fled to Ts'e.
14 In the twelfth month, on Yih-ch'ow, Ke-sun Hăng-foo and Këoh Ch'ow of Tsin made a covenant in Hoo.
15 The duke arrived from the meeting.
16 On Yih-yëw we put to death the duke's half-brother, Yen.

Par. 1. The critics bring all their powers of interpretation into the field to find the moral and political significance of this phænomenon in the State of Loo and of the kingdom generally;—very needlessly. We have simply the record of a striking fact;—it had rained heavily, and immediately after came a severe frost, so that the ice lay on and hung from the trees. Kung and Kuh both explain the text by saying, 雨而木冰, 'There was rain, and the trees became all over ice.'

[The Chuen adds here:—'In spring, the viscount of Ts'oo sent the Kung-tsze Ch'ing from Woo-shing to seek for peace with Ch'ing by the offer of the lands of Joo-yin. [On this], Ch'ing revolted from Tsin, and Tsze-sze went to the viscount, and made a covenant in Woo-shing.']

Par. 2. Tso tells us this was duke Wăn (文公). He had held T'ăng 10 years, and was succeeded by his son Yuen (原),—duke Ch'ing (成公).

Par. 3. The Chuen says:—'Tsze-han of Ch'ing invaded Sung, and was defeated at Choh-pe by Tsëang Ts'oo and Yoh Keu. [The conquerors then] retired and halted at Foo-keu, where they were not on their guard. The men of Ch'ing [consequently] overthrew and defeated them at Choh-ling, taking both the leaders;—as Sung had been relying on its previous victory.'

The above attack by Ch'ing on Sung was probably at the instigation of Ts'oo. The return for it was not long in coming, for the Chuen adds:—'The marquis of Wei invaded Ch'ing, and advanced as far as Ming-yen;—in behalf of Tsin.'

Par. 4. This eclipse, visible at noon, took place on the 1st May, B. C. 574.

Par. 5. The Chuen says:—'The marquis of Tsin was going to invade Ch'ing. Fan Wăn-tsze said, "To satisfy my desires, all the States would revolt from Tsin, and then Tsin might be satisfied [Wăn-tsze saw great evils in Tsin itself, which he thought could only be kept in check by apprehensions from without, and their removal was necessary in his view to the prosperity of the State]. If only Ch'ing revolt from it, the sorrow of Tsin will not have to be waited for long." Lwan Woo-tsze said, "We must not in my time lose the States. We must invade Ch'ing." On this the armies were called out. Lwan Shoo commanded that of the centre, with Sze Sëeh as assistant; Këoh E the 1st army, with Seun Yen as assistant; Han Keueh, the 3d; Këoh Che acted as assistant-commander of the new army, Seun Ying remaining and keeping guard in Tsin. Këoh Ch'ow went to Wei, and then on to Ts'e, to ask the assistance of their armies. Lwan Yin came to Loo to ask the aid of an army from it. Măng Hëen-tsze said, "He will be victorious."'

Par. 6. Yen-ling was in Ch'ing. The name remains in the dis. so called, in the dep. of K'ae-fung. There had been a State of Yen, which was extinguished and incorporated with Ch'ing by duke Woo.

The Chuen says:—'On Mow-yin, the armies of Tsin commenced their march; and Ch'ing, hearing of their approach, sent word to Ts'oo, Yaou Kow-urh going with the messenger. The viscount of Ts'oo marched to the relief of Ch'ing. The minister of War [Tsze-fan] commanded the army of the centre; the chief minister [Tsze-ch'ung] commanded on the left, and Tsze-sin, minister of the Right, on the right. As they passed by Shin, Tsze-fan entered the city, to see Shin Shuh-she [see on XV. 7], and asked him what he thought of the expedition. The other replied, "Virtuous goodness, punishments, religion, righteousness, propriety, and good faith, all are the appliances of war. Virtuous goodness appears in the exercise of kindness; punishment in the correction of what is wrong, religion in the service of the Spirits; righteousness in the establishment of what is beneficial; propriety in doing things at the proper times; and good faith in the watchful keeping of everything. [When these things obtain], the people live well off, and their virtue is correct; all movements are with advantage, and affairs are rightly ordered; the seasons are all accorded with, and everything is prosperous; harmony prevails between superiors and inferiors; all movements are made without insubordinate opposition; whatever the superiors require is responded to; everyone knows his duty. Hence it is said in the ode (She. IV. i. [i.] X.),

'Thou didst establish [and nourish] the multitudes of our people,—
The immense gift of thy goodness.'

In consequence of this, [in that ancient time], the Spirits sent down their blessing, and the seasons all passed without calamity or injury. The wants of the people were abundantly supplied, and with consenting harmony they received the orders of their superiors. They all did their utmost to obey those orders, and would devote themselves to death to supply the places of any that were lacking. This was the way to secure victory in battle. But now [the government of] Ts'oo abandons the people in the State itself, and it breaks off its friendships with other States; it irreligiously violates its covenants, and eats its words; it moves in the season when it ought not to do so, and wearies its people to gratify [its ambition]. The people have lost their confidence in its good faith; let them advance or retire, they will be held guilty. When men are thus anxious about what will come to them, who will be prepared to go to the death? Do you, Sir, do your utmost, but I shall not see you again." Yaou Kow-urh returned [to Ch'ing] before the messenger, and Tsze-sze asked him [about the army of Ts'oo]. He replied, "Its march is rapid, and it passes through dangerous passes without order. The rapidity of its march leads to the want of proper thought, and its neglect of order disorganizes its ranks. Without thought and with its ranks disordered, how can it fight? I am afraid that Ts'oo will be of no use to us."

'In the 5th month, the army of Tsin crossed the Ho, and heard of the approach of that of Ts'oo. Fan Wăn-tsze wished that they should return, and said, "If we make as if we were avoiding Ts'oo, it may lighten [our own] sorrow. *We* cannot unite the States in allegiance to Tsin. Let us leave that to some one who can unite and hold them all. If we, the ministers of Tsin, can harmoniously serve our ruler, we may be well content." Woo-tsze refused to take this counsel; and in the 6th month, Tsin and Ts'oo met at Yen-ling. [Then] Fan Wăn-tsze did not want to fight, but Këoh Che said to him, "At the battle of Han [See V. xv. 13], duke Hwuy could not marshal his troops; at the battle of Ke [See V. xxxiii. 8], Sëen Chin [died, and] could not return with an account of his commission; at the battle of Peih [See VII. xii. 3], Seun Pih could not return by the way he had advanced. These battles were all to the disgrace of Tsin;—you, Sir, are yourself acquainted with the history of our former rulers. If we now avoid Ts'oo, it will be an additional disgrace." Wăn-tsze replied, "There was reason for the frequent battles of our former rulers. [In their times], Ts'in, the Teih, Ts'e, and Ts'oo were all powerful enemies; and if they had not exerted their strength, their descendants would have been reduced to weakness. But now three of those strong ones have submitted, and we have only to cope with Ts'oo. It is only a sage ruler who can safely be without trouble either from abroad or within his State. Excepting under a sage ruler, when there is quietness abroad, sorrow is sure to spring up at home; why should we not leave Ts'oo to be an occasion of apprehension to us from abroad?"

'On Këah-woo, the last day of the month, the army of Ts'oo came close up to that of Tsin, and drew up in order of battle. The officers of Tsin were perplexed by this movement, when Fan K'ae [A lad, son of Wăn-tsze] ran forward, and said, "Stop up the wells, and level the cooking places, marshal the army within the encampment, and make room for the heads of the columns to issue. Between Tsin and Ts'oo victory must be the gift of Heaven;—what necessity is there for being perplexed?" Wăn-tsze took a lance and chased [his son], saying, "The preservation or ruin of the State depends on Heaven; what does a boy like you know?" Lwan Shoo said, "The army of Ts'oo is full of levity. Let us keep firm within our entrenchments, and in 3 days it will be sure to withdraw. If we then attack it, we shall get the victory." Këoh Che said, "Ts'oo affords us six advantages, which should not be lost:—the two ministers [commanding it] hate each other; the king's soldiers are old; the army of Ch'ing is marshalled, but not in good order; the wild tribes of the south are there, but their forces are not marshalled; the army of Ts'oo has been marshalled without regard to its being the last day of the month; there was a clamour during the marshalling, and there is still more now that it is effected, each man looking behind him, without any heart for fighting. The old soldiers cannot be good; and with them to violate the day which Heaven requires men to stand in awe on,—we shall surely conquer."

'The viscount of Ts'oo got up on a carriage with a look-out on it to survey the army of Tsin; and Tsze-ch'ung sent the grand-administrator, Pih Chow-le [See the Chuen after p. 9 of last year] to wait behind him. The king said, "There are men running to the left and to the right. What does that mean?" "They are calling the officers," replied Chow-le. "They are all collected in the army of the centre." "They are met to take counsel." "They are pitching a tent." "It is reverently to divine before the Spirit-tablets of Tsin's former rulers," "They are removing the tent." "The commands of the marquis are about to be given forth." "There is a great clamour, and there are clouds of dust." "They are shutting up the wells and levelling the cooking places in order to form their ranks." "They had mounted their carriages, and now the men on the left and right descend, with their weapons in their hands." "It is to hear the speech of the general." "Will they fight?" "I cannot yet tell." "They had [again] mounted their carriages, and [again] those on the left and right descend." "It is to pray in reference to the battle." Chow-le [also] told the king about the marquis's own men.

'[At the same time], Mëaou Fun-hwang [A fugitive from Ts'oo, a son of Tow Tsëaou; see the Chuen after VII. iv. 6], was by the side of the marquis of Tsin, and told him about the king's own men. On both sides [the armies] said, "There is an officer of our State [with the enemy], and their number is great, not to be resisted." Mëaou Fun-hwang said to the marquis, "The best soldiers of Ts'oo are in the army of the centre, which is made up of clans descended from the kings of Ts'oo. Divide your best soldiers and attack the left and right armies of Ts'oo, and then bring all your three armies together against the king's men; in this way you will inflict on Ts'oo a great defeat." The mar-

quis consulted the milfoil about it when the diviner said, "The result is fortunate. The diagram found is *fuh* (☷☳), which indicates that the southern State is reduced to extremity; its great king is shot, and hit in his eye. If this,—the State reduced to extremity and its king wounded—does not intimate defeat, what would you wait for?"

'The marquis accordingly [determined to fight]. In front of his entrenchments there was a slough, and to avoid it the chariots separated, some going to the left, and some to the right. E of Poo (Kĕoh E) was charioteer to the marquis, and Lwan K'ëen was spearman on the right. P'ăng Ming drove king Kung of Ts'oo, with P'wan Tang on the right. Shih Show drove duke Ch'ing of Ch'ing, with T'ang Kow on the right. Lwan [Woo-tsze] and Fan [Wăn-tsze], with their clansmen, advanced on either side of the marquis, whose carriage sank in the slough. Lwan Shoo came to take him into his, but K'ëen said, "Retire, Shoo. You have the great charge from the State, and how can you take it on you [to abandon it for another]? Moreover, to encroach on the office of another is presumption; to abandon your own office is an act of disrespect; to leave your own game is treachery. Here are three offences, which you must not incur." [With these words] he dragged [the carriage of] the marquis out of the slough.

'On Kwei-sze, Tang, [the son] of P'wan Wang and Yang Yĕw-ke had set buff-coats and shot at them, their arrows going through seven at once. [The spectators] took [the proof of their skill and strength] to show it to the king, saying, "Since you have two officers like these, you need not be anxious about the battle." The king, however, was angry, and said [to the archers], "You are a great disgrace to the State. To-morrow morning, your archery will be found the art that will cause your death."

'E of Leu [Wei E] dreamt that he discharged an arrow at the moon, and hit it, but that, on retiring, he got into the mire. An interpreter told him, "[Princes of] the surname Ke are represented by the sun; those of other surnames, by the moon. Your dream must respect the king of Ts'oo,—you shall shoot and hit him; but the getting into the mire, as you retired, shows that you will also die." In the battle, accordingly, E shot king Kung in the eye. The king called for Yang Yĕw-ke, and gave him two arrows, that he might shoot Leu E. [The first] hit him in the neck, so that he fell dead on his quiver, and Yĕw-ke returned the other arrow, and reported the execution of his commission.

'Kĕoh Che three times met the viscount's soldiers; and whenever he saw the viscount, he dismounted from his chariot, took off his helmet, and ran like the wind. The viscount sent Sëang, minister of Works, to salute him, and present him with a bow, saying, "In a time of so much business and excitement as the present, that man with the gaiters of red leather shows himself a superior man. [Say that] I am afraid lest, running as he does when he recognizes me, he should hurt himself." When Kĕoh Che saw the stranger, he took off his helmet, received his message, and then said, "I, Che, the minister of another State, following my ruler to the wars, by the powerful influence of your ruler find myself among the buffcoats and helmets. I do not dare to kneel in acknowledgment of your message, but I venture to say how the condescension of it from your ruler makes me feel not at ease. In consequence of present circumstances, I will venture with my hands to the ground to salute his messenger." And thus he saluted the messenger three times, and then withdrew.

'Han Kĕueh of Tsin was pursuing the earl of Ch'ing, when his charioteer, Too Hwăn-lo, said to him, "Let us make haste after him. His driver often looks round, and has not his mind upon his horses. He can be overtaken." Han Keueh, however, said, "I ought not a second time to disgrace the ruler of a State [See the account of the battle of Gan in the 2d year];" and desisted from the pursuit.

'Kĕoh Che [then] pursued the earl, and the spearman on his right, Fuh Han-hoo, said to him, "Let some runners get before and intercept him, and I will get into his chariot from behind, capture him, and descend." Kĕoh Che said, "He who injures the ruler of a State gets punished;" and also gave up the pursuit. Shih Show [The earl's charioteer; see above] then said, "it was only because duke E of Wei would not take down his flag, that he was defeated at Yung [See on IV. ii. 7. The present passage Shows that we should there read 去其旗]" and he put the earl's flag into the quiver. T'an Kow [the spearman] said to Shih Show, "You are by our ruler's side. Our defeat is great. I am not so important as you. Do you make your escape with the earl, and let me remain here." And there he died.

'The army of Ts'oo drew near to a dangerous pass, and Shuh-shan Jen said to Yang Yĕw-ke, "Notwithstanding the king's command, it being for the State, you must shoot." Yĕw-ke shot two arrows, each of which killed its man. Shuh-shan Jen seized a man, and hurled him against the cross bar in front of his chariot which was broken by the force; and the army of Tsin, [seeing such archery and such strength], stopped its pursuit, having made a prisoner of Fei, a son of the viscount of Ts'oo.

'Lwan K'ëen, seeing the flag of Tsze-ch'ung, made a request to the marquis, saying, "The people of Ts'oo say that flag is the signal flag of Tsze-ch'ung. That then is Tsze-ch'ung. Formerly, when I was sent on a mission to Ts'oo, he asked me in what the valour of Tsin was seen. I told him it was seen in our love of orderly arrangement, and when he asked in what besides, I said, in our love of being leisurely. Now his State and ours have engaged in battle, without any messenger having gone from us;—that is not what can be called orderly arrangement. And if in the time of action I eat my words, that cannot be called acting leisurely. Allow me to send a drink to him." The marquis granted the request, and K'ëen then sent a messenger with a vessel of spirits to Tsze-ch'ung, and to say for him self, "My ruler, through want of other officers, has employed me to be in attendance on him with my spear, so that I cannot in person dispense bounty to your followers, and have sent So-and-So with a drink to you in my room." Tsze-ch'ung said, "This must be in consequence of what he said to me in Ts'oo;—do I not remember his words?" He then received the vessel and drank, let the

messenger go, and resumed the beating of his drum.

'It was morning when the fighting began, and when the stars appeared, it was not over. Tsze-fan ordered the officers of the army to examine the wounded, to supply from the reserves the place of those who had fallen, to repair the buff-coats and weapons, to inspect the chariots and horses, and that all should take a meal at cock-crow, so as to be ready for orders. On the side of Tsin they were troubled about these arrangements, and Mëaou Fun-hwang went round the host, saying, "Review the reserves, and supply the place of the fallen; feed your horses and sharpen your weapons; maintain the same array, and strengthen your ranks; take a meal in your tents, and repeat your prayers;—to-morrow we will resume the engagement." At the same time they let go some of their prisoners.

'When the king heard this, he called Tsze-fan to him to consult, but Tsze-fan's servant, Kuh-yang, had supplied him with spirits till he was now drunk, and not able to see. The king said, "Heaven is defeating Ts'oo. We must not remain here." He withdrew accordingly during the night, and Tsin entered the camp of Ts'oo, and found grain in it sufficient for three days. Fan Wăn-tsze stood before the marquis's horses, and said, "With your lordship so young, and your officers so wanting in ability, however did we attain to this? Let your lordship beware [of being lifted up]. It is said in one of the Books of Chow (Shoo, V. ix, 23) that 'the appointments of Heaven are not constant,' indicating that it is virtue [which secures them]."

Par. 7. See on V. xxviii. 6. The remarks made there on Tih-shin's death are applicable here to that of Tsze-fan. He is called the Kung-tsze, being a son of duke Muh. The Chuen says:—'The army of Ts'oo returned, and when it had got as far as Hëa, the king sent a messenger to Tsze-fan saying, "When a former great officer of our State [Tih-shin] caused the overthrow of his army, the ruler was not present. Do not consider [the present disaster] as your fault;—the guilt of it belongs to me." Tsze-fan bowed twice, with his head to the ground, and said, "The king grants me death, and I will die without shrinking from it. My soldiers did really flee, and I feel that the guilt is mine." [At the same time], Tsze-ch'ung sent a message to Tsze-fan, saying, "You have heard the case of him who formerly lost his army; why should you not consider and act accordingly?" He replied, "Though there had not been such a case, dare I do anything but approve of your command [thus conveyed]? Having lost our ruler's army, dare I forget to die?" The king sent to stop him from his purpose, but, before the messenger arrived, he had died [by his own hand].'

Par. 8. Sha-suy was in Sung,—6 *le* to the west of the pres. dis. city of Ning-ling (寧陵), dep. Kwei-tih, Ho-nan. If we translate 會 by 'had a meeting,' as in other cases, then the beginning and ending of the par. would not agree. The duke was disgraced, say the critics, by the marquis of Tsin; and if there had been reason for the disgrace, then Confucius would have concealed it, as his duty to his native State required him to do. But as in this case Loo was in the right and Tsin in the wrong, the text does not shrink from intimating the disgrace! It must be confessed that the disgrace is intimated in a very indefinite manner.

The Chuen says:—'On the day of the battle, Kwoh Tso and Kaou Woo-k'ëw of Ts'e reached the army [of Tsin]; the marquis of Wei commenced his march [to join it] from his capital; and the duke proceeded from Hwae-t'uy. Seuen-pih [Shuh-sun K'ëaou-joo] had an intrigue with Muh Këang [the duke's mother], and wanted to make away with Ke and Măng [Ke-sun Hăng-foo or Ke Wăn-tsze, and Măng Hëen-tsze or Chung-sun Mëeh] and appropriate their property. When the duke was commencing his march, Muh Këang escorted him, and urged him to drive out those two ministers; but he represented to her his difficulties with Tsin, and begged [that the matter might be in abeyance] till his return, when he would hear her commands. She was angry; and the duke's two half brothers Yen and Ts'oo [just then] hurrying past, she pointed to them, and said, "If you refuse, either of these may be our ruler." The duke waited at Hwae-t'uy, renewing his orders for a careful watch to be maintained in the palace, and appointed officers to guard [the city]. After this he marched, but the delay made him too late [for the battle]. He had appointed Măng Hëen-tsze to keep guard in the palace.

'The meeting in autumn at Sha-suy was to take measures for the invasion of Ch'ing. Seuen-pih sent information to Këoh Ch'ow that the duke had waited in Hwae-t'uy, till he should see which side conquered. [Now] Këoh Ch'ow commanded the new army, and was president of [his branch of] the ducal relatives, with the management of the States of the east. He took bribes from Seuen-pih, and accused the duke to the marquis of Tsin, who consequently refused to see him.'

Par. 9. [The Chuen appends here:—'The people of Ts'aou made a petition to Tsin, saying, "Since our last ruler, duke Seuen, left the world, our people have been saying, 'How is it that our sorrows do not ever come to an end?' And now you have further punished our present ruler, so as to send into exile his brother [See on XV. pp. 3, 4], the guardian of the altars of Ts'aou [See on p. of last year]? Thus you are greatly destroying Ts'aou. Is it not because our former ruler was chargeable with offences? If [our present one] be guilty, yet he had taken his place in an assembly [of the States]. Your lordship is chief and leader of the States, because the punishments you have inflicted have not been contrary to virtue;—how is it that your dealings with our poor State should be the single exception to this? We venture thus privately to set forth our case."']

Par. 10. The viscount of Yin was a noble and minister of the royal court, his city of Yin being, probably, in the pres. dis. of E-yang (宜陽), dep. of Ho-nan. That Tsin should call out a minister of Chow to accompany it in the invasion of another State shows how low the royal authority was now reduced.

The Chuen says:—'In the 7th month, the duke joined duke Woo of Yin and the States in an invasion of Ch'ing. When he was about to set out, Muh Këang laid her commands on him in the same way as before, while he also repeat-

ed his arrangements for keeping guard, and went his way. The armies of the other States halted on the west of Ch'ing, and our army halted at Tuh-yang, not daring to pass through that State. Tsze-shuh Shing-pih [The Kung-sun Ying-ts'e] sent Shuh-sun Paou [brother of K'ëaou-joo] to ask a party from the army of Tsin to come and meet us, saying he would remain without eating, in the borders of Ch'ing, till it arrived. When the party did come to meet us, Shing-pih had been waiting for it 4 days without eating anything; and then he gave food to Paou's messenger [also], before he ate himself. The States then removed [with their forces] to Che-t'ëen. Che Woo-tsze (Seun Ying) was acting as the assistant-commander of the 3d army; and with it and some forces of the States, he made an incursion into Ch'in, as far as Ming-luh. Thence he went on into Ts'ae; and before he returned, the States had removed to Ying-shang. There, on Mow-woo, Tsze-han of Ch'ing attacked them in the night, and the leaders of the armies of Sung, Ts'e, and Wei all got separated from them.'

Par. 11. The Chuen says:—"The people of Ts'aou again begged Tsin [to return to them their earl]. The marquis said, "If Tsze-tsang return, I will send back your ruler." Tsze-tsang did return [from Sung] [See on p. 4 of last year], and then the earl returned to Ts'aou. Tsze-tsang surrendered [to his brother] his city and his office of minister, and did not leave [his house to engage in the public service].'

Par. 12. We must understand that Ke-sun Hăng-foo was in attendance on the duke in the invasion of Ch'ing. T'ëaou-k'ëw was a city of Tsin, but its situation is not known. Kung-yang has 招丘.

The Chuen says:—'Seuen-pih [K'ëaou-joo] sent word to Këoh Ch'ow, saying, "Ke and Măng are in Loo what Lwan and Fan are in Tsin;—by them is all the action of the govt. determined. Now they have consulted together, and say, "The govt. of Tsin issues from many gates; Tsin is not to be followed. We had better serve Ts'e or Ts'oo. [In any wise] we can only perish; we will not follow Tsin.' If you wish to get your will in Loo, let me ask you to detain Hăng-foo, and put him to death. I will [here] cut off Mëeh, and serve Tsin with an unwavering fidelity. When Loo does not waver in its adherence to Tsin, the smaller States are sure to agree in their service. If you do not do as I request, when he returns, he is sure to revolt from you." In the 9th month, the people of Tsin seized and held Ke Wăn-tsze in T'ëaou-k'ëw.

'The duke, returning [from the expedition], waited in Yun, while he sent Tsze-shuh Shing-pih to ask Tsin to liberate Ke-sun. Këoh Ch'ow said to him, "If you will take off Chung-sun Mëeh, and we detain [here] Ke-sun Hăng-foo, I will be more friendly with your State than with our own ducal House." Shing-pih replied, "You must have heard all about K'ëaou-joo. If you take away Mëeh and Hăng-foo, it will be a great casting away of Loo, and will involve my ruler in guilt [towards you]. But if you will not cast Loo away, but bestow on it your favour as a blessing of the duke of Chow, so that my ruler can [continue to] serve yours, then these two men are the ministers on whom Loo's altars depend. Destroy them in the morning, and in the evening Loo is lost to you, for it lies near to the States that are hostile to you. If it be once lost to you and become hostile, how can you remedy such an issue?" Këoh Ch'ow urged, "I will ask a city for you." The other replied, "I am but an ordinary underling of Loo; dare I seek to become great through your great State? I have received my ruler's order to present to you this request. If I obtain it, your gift will be great; what more should I seek for?"

'Fan Wăn-tsze said to Lwan Woo-tsze, "Ke-sun has been minister to two marquises of Loo, yet his concubines have never worn silk, and his horses have not fed on grain. If we believe the slanderous and bad, and cast away the loyal and good, how shall we appear to the States? Tsze-shuh Ying-ts'e has discharged his ruler's commission without any selfishness. He consulted for his State, without swerving from his purpose; consideration for himself did not make him forget his ruler. If we deny his request, we shall be abandoning a good man. You ought to take measures accordingly." [On this], they agreed to peace with Loo, and liberated Ke-sun.'

Par. 13. On the liberation of Ke Wăn-tsze, the scale turned against K'ëaou-joo. The Chuen says:—'In winter, in the 10th month, [the people drove] away Shuh-sun K'ëaou-joo, and [the great officers] entered into a covenant regarding him. He fled to Ts'e.'

Par. 14. The Chuen says:—'In the 12th month, Ke-sun and Këoh made a covenant in Hoo. [Ke-sun] then returned to Loo, and put to death the duke's half brother Yen [see on p. 8]. [Loo subsequently] called Shuh-sun Paou from Ts'e, and made him the representative [of the Shuh-sun family];—see in the 2d year of next Book.' Hoo,—see III. xxiii. 10.

Par. 15. [The Chuen gives here two narratives:—1st, 'Shing Măng-tsze [the mother of the marquis of Ts'e, a daughter of the House of Sung; the eldest daughter by a concubine] began an intrigue with K'ëaou-joo, and gave him a position between that of Kaou and Kwoh. He said, however, "I must not be charged with such an offence a second time," and fled to Wei, where also his position was between that of its ministers.' 2d, 'The marquis of Tsin sent Këoh Che to Chow to present the spoils of Ts'oo; and there, in talking with duke Sëang of Shen, he frequently boasted of his services. The viscount of Shen said to the great officers of the court, "Ke of Wăn [Këoh Che; see the Chuen at the end of the 11th year] will come to an evil end! His position is below that of seven others, and he seeks to hide the merit of those above him. When resentments gather round a man, there is the root of all disorder. How can he who excites many resentments and prepares the steps of disorder continue in a high position? One of the Books of Hëa (Shoo, III. iii. 5) says,

> 'Should resentment be waited for till it
> appears?
> It must be cared for before it is seen;'

showing how cautious we should be in small things, but now he publishes what must occasion resentment. Can that end well?"']

Par. 16. The execution of Yen is ascribed in the Chuen on p. 14 to Ke Wăn-tsze, while here it would appear to be the action of the duke. The duke, no doubt, ordered it under the direction of the minister. The critics are puzzled to account for the execution of Yen, while his brother Ts'oo was spared [See on p. 8], and they vex themselves also with the force of the 刺 [See on V. xxviii. 2].

Seventeenth year.

一章 十有七年、春、衞北宮括帥師、侵鄭。

二章 夏、公會尹子、單子、晉侯、齊侯、宋公、衞侯、曹伯、邾人、伐鄭。

三章 六月、乙酉、同盟于柯陵。

四章 秋、公至自會。

五章 齊高無咎出奔莒。

六章 九月、辛丑、用郊。

七章 晉侯使荀罃來乞師。

八章 冬、公會單子晉侯、宋公、衞侯、曹伯、齊人、邾人、伐鄭。

九章 十有一月、公至自伐鄭。

十章 壬申、公孫嬰齊卒于貍脤。

十一章 十有二月、丁巳、朔、日有食之。

十二章 邾子貜且卒。

十三章 晉殺其大夫、郤錡、郤犨、郤至。

十四章 楚人滅舒庸。

左傳曰、十七年、春、王正月、鄭子駟侵晉虛滑。衞北宮括救晉、侵鄭、至於高氏。夏、五月、鄭大子髡頑、侯獳爲質於楚、楚公子成、公子寅、戍鄭。公會尹武公、單襄公、及諸侯伐鄭、自戲童至於曲洧。㊁晉范文子反自鄢陵、使其祝宗祈死、曰、君驕侈而克敵、是天益其疾也、難將

作矣、愛我者唯祝我、使我速死、無及於難、范氏之福也。六月、戊辰、士燮卒。

乙酉、同盟于柯陵、尋戚之盟也。

楚子重救鄭、師于首止。諸侯還。

齊慶克通於聲孟子、與婦人蒙衣乘輦、而入于閎。鮑牽見之、以告國武子、武子召慶克而謂之、慶克久不出、而告夫人曰、國子謫我。夫人怒。國子相靈公以會、高鮑處守、及還、將至、閉門而索客。孟子訴之曰、高鮑將不納君、而立公子角、國子知之。秋、七月、壬寅、刖鮑牽、而逐高無咎。無咎奔莒、高弱以盧叛。齊人來召鮑國而立之。初鮑國去鮑氏而來、爲施孝叔臣、施氏卜宰、匡句須吉。施氏之宰、有百室之邑、與匡句須邑、使爲宰。以讓鮑國、而致邑焉。施孝叔曰、子實吉。對曰、能與忠良、吉孰大焉。鮑國相施氏忠、故齊人取以爲鮑氏後。仲尼曰、鮑莊子之知不如葵、葵猶能衛其足。

冬、諸侯伐鄭。十月、庚午、圍鄭。

楚公子申救鄭、師于汝上。十一月、諸侯還。

初、聲伯夢涉洹、或與己瓊瑰、食之、泣而爲瓊瑰、盈其懷。從而歌之曰、濟洹之水、贈我以瓊瑰、歸乎歸乎、瓊瑰盈吾懷乎、懼不敢占也。還自鄭、壬申、至於貍脤、而占之曰、余恐死、故不敢占也、今衆繁、而從余三年矣、無傷也。言之之莫而卒。

㈩齊侯使崔杼爲大夫、使慶克佐之、帥師圍盧。國佐從諸侯圍鄭、以難請而歸、遂如盧師、殺慶克、以穀叛、齊侯與之盟於徐關而復之。十二月、盧降、使國勝告難於晉、待命於清。

晉厲公侈、多外嬖、反自鄢陵、欲盡去羣大夫、而立其左右。胥童以胥克之廢也、怨郤氏、而嬖於厲公。郤錡奪夷陽五田、五亦嬖於厲公。郤犨與長魚矯爭田、執而梏之、與其父母妻子同一轅。既矯亦嬖於厲公。欒書怨郤至、

以其不從己而敗楚師也、欲廢之、使楚公子茷告公曰、此戰也、郤至實召寡君、以東師之未至也、與軍帥之不具也、曰、此必敗、吾因奉孫周以事君。公告欒書、書曰、其有焉、不然、豈其死之不恤、而受敵使乎、君盍嘗使諸周而察之。郤至聘於周、欒書使孫周見之、公使覘之、信、遂怨郤至。厲公田、與婦人先殺而飲酒、後使大夫殺。郤至奉豕、寺人孟張奪之、郤至射而殺之。公曰、季子欺余。厲公將作難、胥童曰、必先三郤、族大多怨、去大族不偪、敵多怨有庸。公曰、然。郤氏聞之、郤錡欲攻公、曰雖死、君必危。郤至曰、人所以立、信、知、勇也、信不叛君、知不害民、勇不作亂、失茲三者、其誰與我、死而多怨、將安用之、君實有臣而殺之、其謂君何、我之有罪、吾死後矣、若殺不辜、將失其民、欲安、得乎、待命而已、受君之祿、是以聚黨、有黨而爭命、罪孰大焉。壬午、胥童夷羊五、帥甲八百、將攻郤氏、長魚矯請無用衆、公使清沸魋助之、抽戈結衽、而僞訟者、三郤將謀於榭、矯以戈殺駒伯苦成叔、於其位。溫季曰、逃威也。遂趨、矯及諸其車、以戈殺之、皆尸諸朝、胥童以甲劫欒書中行偃於朝、矯曰、不殺二子、憂必及君。公曰、一朝而尸三卿、余不忍益也。對曰、人將忍君、臣聞亂在外爲姦、在內爲軌、御姦以德、御軌以刑、不施而殺、不可謂德、臣偪而不討、不可謂刑、德刑不立、姦軌並至、臣請行、遂出奔狄。公使辭於二子、曰、寡人有討於郤氏、郤氏既伏其辜矣、大夫無辱、其復職位、皆再拜稽首曰、君討有罪、而免臣於死、君之惠也、二臣雖死、敢忘君德。乃皆歸。公使胥童爲卿。公遊於匠麗氏、欒書中行偃遂執公焉。召士匄、士匄辭。召韓厥、韓厥辭曰、昔吾畜於趙氏、孟姬之讒、吾能違兵、古人有言曰、殺老牛莫之敢尸、而況君乎、二三子不能事君、焉用厥也。

舒庸人以楚師之敗也、道吳人圍巢伐駕、圍釐虺、遂恃吳而不設備、楚公子橐師襲舒庸、滅之。

⊕閏月、乙卯晦、欒書中行偃殺胥童、民不與郤氏、胥童道君爲亂、故皆書曰晉殺其大夫。

XVII. 1 In the [duke's] seventeenth year, Pih-kung Kwoh of Wei led a force, and made an incursion into Ch'ing.

2 In summer, the duke joined the viscount of Yin, the viscount of Shen, the marquis of Tsin, the marquis of Ts'e, the duke of Sung, the marquis of Wei, the

earl of Ts'aou, and an officer of Choo, in invading Ch'ing.

3 In the sixth month, on Yih-yëw, they made a covenant together in Ko-ling.

4 In autumn, the duke arrived from his meeting [with the other princes].

5 Kaou Woo-k'ëw of Ts'e fled to Keu.

6 In the ninth month, on Sin-ch'ow, we offered the border sacrifice.

7 The marquis of Tsin sent Seun Ying to Loo to ask the assistance of an army.

8 In winter, the duke joined the viscount of Shen, the marquis of Tsin, the duke of Sung, the marquis of Wei, the earl of Ts'aou, an officer of Ts'e, and an officer of Choo, in invading Ch'ing.

9 In the eleventh month, the duke arrived from the invasion of Ch'ing.

10 On Jin-shin, Kung-sun Ying-ts'e died in Le-shin.

11 In the twelfth month, on Ting-sze, the sun was eclipsed.

12 Keoh-tseu, viscount of Choo, died.

13 Tsin put to death its great officers, Këoh E, Këoh Ch'ow, and Këoh Che.

14 The people of Ts'oo extinguished Shoo-yung.

Par. 1. The Chuen says:—'This year, in spring, in the king's 1st month, Tsze-sze of Ch'ing made an incursion into [the districts of] Heu and Hwah in Tsin, when Pih-kung Kwoh of Wei, to relieve Tsin, made an incursion into Ch'ing, as far as Kaou-she.' For 括 Kung-yang has 結. Pih-kung Kwoh is also known as Pih-kung E-tsze (北宮懿子). Too says he was a great-grandson of duke Ch'ing of Wei. Many of the critics insist upon a canon here regarding the use of 侵, that it is used instead of 伐 when the invasion was made by a State at the command of the larger one whose superiority it acknowledged. The canon is without foundation, and would only mystify the text.

Par. 2. See on par. 10 of last year. In VI. xiv. 11, *et al.*, we have 'the earl of Shen;' here 'the viscount.' The title had been reduced. The Chuen says:—'In summer, in the 5th month, K'wăn Wan, the eldest son of the earl of Ch'ing, and How Now, became hostages in Ts'oo, and the two Kung-tszes of Ts'oo. Ch'ing and Yin, came to guard the territory of Ch'ing. The duke joined duke Woo of Yin, duke Sëang of Shen, and [the forces of] other States, in invading Ch'ing, from He-t'ung to K'euh-wei.'

[The Chuen introduces here:—'When Fan Wăn-tsze returned from Yen-ling, he made the priest of his ancestral temple pray that he might die, saying, "Our ruler is haughty and extravagant, and, by this victory over his enemies, Heaven is increasing his disease. Troubles will soon arise. Let him that loves me curse me, so that I may soon die, and not see those troubles;—that will be my happiness.' In the 6th month, on Mow-shin, Sze Sëeh [Wăn-tsze] died.' Too says that he committed suicide (自裁); but I do not know on what authority.]

Par. 3. Too says that Ko-ling was in the west of Ch'ing Nothing more is known of it. The object of the covenant, acc. to Tso-she, was to renew that of Ts'eih in the past year. The parties to the covenant were of course the princes and ministers mentioned in the former par. The omission of them here is unimportant, though many critics dwell on it, as intended to conceal the part taken in the covenant by the representatives of the king.

Par. 4. The duke returned so soon, the coalition having been foiled. The Chuen says:—'Tsze-ch'ung of Ts'oo relieved Ch'ing, and took post with his army at Show-che, on which [the armies of] the States returned.'

Par. 5. The Chuen says:—'K'ing K'ih of Ts'e had an intrigue with Shing Măng-tsze [See the 1st Chuen after p. 14 of last year], and was carried through a street leading to the palace in a carriage along with a woman, himself disguised as a woman. Paou K'ëen [A great-grand-son of Paou Shuh-ya of duke Hwan's time] saw him, and told Kwoh Woo-tsze [Kwoh Tso], who sent for K'ih, and spoke to him. K'ih [in consequence] for a long time kept in his house, but he informed the duchess that Kwoh-tsze had been reproving him, which enraged her When duke Ling went to join [the other princes], Kwoh-tsze attended him, while Kaou and Paou remained in charge of the capital. Wheu he was returning, before his arrival,

these officers kept the gates of the city shut, and made inquisition for strangers [who might attempt to enter]. On this Măng-tsze accused them, saying that they had meant not to admit the duke, but to appoint duke K'ing's son, Këoh, in his room, and that Kwoh-tsze was privy to their design. In autumn, in the 7th month, on Jin-shin, [duke Ling] caused Paou K'ëen's feet to be cut off, and drove out Kaou Woo-k'ëw, who fled to Keu. [His son], Kaou Joh held [their city of] Loo against the State; and the people of Ts'e called Paou Kwoh [K'ëen's brother] from Loo, and appointed him the Head of his family.

'Before this, Paou Kwoh had left the Paou family in Ts'e, and come to Loo, where he became a servant to She Hëaou-shuh [See the Chuen on XI. 2]. She was consulting the tortoise-shell about a steward, and K'wang K'euseu was indicated for the appointment. Now the steward of the She family had a town of 100 houses, which was assigned to K'wang Keu-seu. He, however, declined the appointment in favour of Paou Kwoh, and gave the town up to him. She Hëaou-shuh said, "The divination gave a favourable response for you." K'wang replied, "And what could be a greater proof of its being favourable than my giving the office to a faithful, good man?" Paou Kwoh served the She family faithfully, and therefore the people of Ts'e now chose him to be the representative of the Paou family. Chung-ne said, "The wisdom of Paou Chwang-tsze (Paou K'ëen) was not equal to that of a sunflower. Though but a flower, it is able to protect its roots!'.— This certainly is not like one of Confucius' remarks; and the critics unanimously agree in protesting against the ascription of it to him.

Par. 6. The 9th month of Chow was the 7th of Hëa, when there ought to have been no border sacrifice. The use of 用 before 郊 is singular, and has given rise to much speculation. Many critics, after Kung-yang, would make a canon, that 用 is always used to indicate disapprobation of that to which it is applied (用者不宜用也). Some, especially Lëw Ch'ang, think that it indicates the use of a human victim at this sacrifice, and the K'ang-he editors have needlessly given an elaborate refutation of that view. Maou thinks the text is defective.

Parr. 7,8,9. Foiled in its previous expedition, Tsin makes another attempt, equally unsuccessful, to regain its authority over Ch'ing. The Chuen says:—'In winter, the States invaded Ch'ing; and in the 10th month, on Kăng-woo, they laid siege to its capital. Kung-tsze Shin of Ts'oo came to its relief, and took post, with his army, on the Joo, on which [the forces of] the States withdrew.

Par. 10. For 脤 Kung-yang has 軫, and Kuh-lëang has 蜃. Where Le-shin was has not been ascertained. There is a difficulty about the day Jin-shin, which cannot have been in the 11th month of this year. Jin-shin is only two days after Kăng-woo, when, according to the last Chuen, the allies laid siege to the capital of Ch'ing;—some time in the 10th month. Calculating back from Ting-tsze, as the 1st day of the 12th month, we must conclude likewise that the 11th month contained no Jin-shin day. The critics, since Kung and Kuh and their earliest editors, make Jin-shin to have been the 15th day of the 10th month; but this is in conflict with the '11th' month of the previous paragraph. Too says that 'the day is wrong (日誤),' meaning that either the 壬 or the 申 is wrong;—in the 11th month of this year there were the days 壬辰, 壬寅, and 壬子, and also 丙申 and 戊申.

The Chuen says:—'Before this, Shing-pih (the Kung-sun Ying-ts'e) dreamt that he was crossing the Hwan, when some one gave him a *k'ëung* gem and a fine pearl, which he ate. He then fell a-crying, and his tears turned to *k'eung* gems and fine pearls, till his breast was filled with them. After this he sang:—

"Crossing the waters of the Hwan,
They gave me a pearl and a gem.
Home let me go! Home let me go!
My breast with pearls and gems is full."

[When he awoke], he was afraid and did not venture to have the dream interpreted. Returning [now] from Ch'ing, on Jin-shin he arrived at Le-shin, and had the dream interpreted, saying, "I was afraid it indicated my death, and did not venture to have it interpreted. Now the multitude with me is great, and the dream has followed me three years. It cannot hurt me to tell it." He did so; and in the evening of that day he died.'

[The Chuen here returns to the affairs of Ts'e in p. 5:—'The marquis of Ts'e sent Ts'uy Ch'oo [See the Chuen on VII. x. 5.] as great officer in command, with K'ing K'ih under him, to lead a force and besiege Loo. Kwoh Tso was then with the States at the siege of the capital of Ch'ing, but leave was asked and obtained for him to return to Ts'e, on account of the difficulties of the State. He then went to the army at Loo, and put K'ing K'ih to death, revolting also from the marquis in [his own city of] Kuh. The marquis made a covenant with him at Seukwan, and restored him. In the 12th month, Loo surrendered, and the marquis sent Kwoh [Tso's son] Shing to inform Tsin of the troubles, having charged him to wait [for his further] orders in Ts'ing.']

Par. 11. This eclipse took place 17th Oct., B. C. 573, and was visible in Loo in the morning.

Par 12. This was duke Ting. He had been viscount of Choo for 40 years. As from the 7th year of Ch'ing we find the troops of Choo, when engaged in expeditions with other States, always led by an officer or minister, we may presume that Këoh-tseu was too old to take the field in person.

Par. 13. The Chuen says:—'Duke Le of Tsin was extravagant, and had many favourites besides the ladies of his harem. When he returned from Yen-ling, he wished to put out of their situations all the great officers, and to appoint in their room the individuals who were always about him. One of his favourites was

Seu T'ung, who cherished resentment against the Këoh family, because of the dismissal from office of [his father] Seu K'ih [See the Chuen after VII. viii. 8]. Another of them was E-yang Woo, from whom Këoh E had taken away some fields. A third was Këaou of Ch'ang-yu, with whom, at a former time, Këoh Ch'ow had had a quarrel about some fields; and Ch'ow had also seized and hand-cuffed him. and bound him with his parents, wife, and children to one of the thills of a carriage.

'[These three were all enemies of the Këohs, and] Lwan Shoo also resented the conduct of Këoh Che, who had opposed him, thereby leading to the defeat of the army of Ts'oo [When Lwan Shoo wished that the army of Tsin should keep within its entrenchments, Che insisted that they should go forth and fight which brought on the battle of Yen-ling.] He wanted to procure Che's dismissal from office, and got Fei, the son of the viscount of Ts'oo [who had been taken prisoner], to inform the duke, saying, "My ruler was really called to that battle [of Yen-ling] by Këoh Che, on the ground that the eastern armies had not arrived, and that the commanders of your own difft. armies were not all there. He said, "We are sure to be defeated, and I will then raise Sun-chow [A great-grandson of duke Sëang of Tsin] to the rule of Tsin, and serve you?" The duke told this to Lwan Shoo, who said, "It is the truth. If it were not so, how should he have been so regardless of death [in the battle], and have received a message from the enemy? Why should not your lordship try the thing by sending him on a mission to Chow, and examining his conduct there?" [Accordingly], Këoh Che went on a friendly mission to Chow, where Lwan Shoo had sent word to Sun-chow to see him. This was spied out by an agent of the duke, who concluded that the whole charge against him was true, and cherished resentment against Këoh Che.

'When the duke was hunting, he would let his women shoot and drink first, and then make the great officers come after them. [Once], Këoh Che was bringing [to the duke] a boar [which he had shot], when Măng-chang, the chief of the eunuchs, snatched it away, and was shot to death by Këoh Che in consequence, [irritating] the duke, [who] said, "Ke-tsze despises me."

'When duke Le wanted to take action against [the great officers], Seu T'ung said to him, "You must begin with the three Këoh. Their clan is large, but they have many enemies. Removing so large a clan will relieve you of pressure, and your action will be easy against those who have so many enemies." The duke approved of this plan. The Këoh heard of it, and E proposed to attack the duke, saying, "Though we may die, he will be put in peril." Këoh Che, however, said, "The things which set a man up are fidelity, wisdom, and valour. A faithful man will not revolt against his ruler; a wise man will not injure the people; a valiant man will not raise disorder. If we lose those three qualities, who will be with us? If by our death we increase the number of our enemies, of what use will it be? When a ruler puts a minister to death, what can the latter say to him? If we are really guilty, our death comes late; if he put us to death, being innocent, he will lose the people, and have no repose afterwards, however much he may wish it. Let us simply wait our fate. We have received emoluments from our ruler, and by means of them have collected a party; but what offence could be greater than if with that party we should strive against his order [for our death]?"

'On Jin-woo, Seu T'ung and E-yang Woo wished to lead eight hundred men-at-arms to attack the Këoh; but Këaou of Ch'ang-yu begged leave [to attempt their death] without using many followers, and the marquis sent Ts'ing Fei-t'uy with him to help him. Taking their spears and tucking up their skirts, they pretended to have some dispute together, [and went on to where the three Këoh were]. These had planned to take counsel together in the archery hall, and there Këaou with his spear killed Keu-pih (Këoh E) and Ch'ing-shuh of K'oo (Këoh Ch'ow), where they were sitting. Ke of Wăn said, "Let me flee from the danger," and ran off. Këaou, however, overtook his carriage, killed him with his spear, took his body and those of the two others, and exposed them in the court. In the meantime Seu T'ung with the men-at-arms seized Lwan Shoo and Chung-hang Yen (Seun Hëen-tsze) in the court, and Këaou asked that they might be put to death, or sorrow would come to the marquis. The marquis, however, said, "I have exposed the corpses of three ministers in one morning, and I cannot bear to add more to them." Këaou replied, "They will bear to deal with you. I have heard that disorder occasioned by another State is hostility, while that which takes its origin within the State is treason. Hostility is to be met with virtue; treason with punishment. When you put [your enemy] to death without showing [any leniency], it cannot be said there is virtue in such a course; when your ministers exercise a pressure on you, and you do not cut them off, it cannot be said that there is punishment. There being neither virtue nor punishment, hostility and treason will come together. I beg to be allowed to leave the State." Accordingly he fled to the Teih.

'The duke then sent to the two officers that they were at liberty to go, saying, "I have punished the Këoh, and they have suffered for their guilt. No disgrace is intended you. Resume your offices and places." The two bowed twice with their heads to the ground, and replied, "Your lordship has punished the guilty; and that you have further granted us an escape from death,—this is your kindness. Till death we shall not forget it." They then went to their homes.

'The duke made Seu T'ung a high minister; and [not long after], he was rambling and enjoying himself in the neighbourhood of the family of Tsëang-le, when Lwan Shoo and Chung-hang Yen seized and kept him prisoner. They called Sze K'ae to join them, but he refused. They called Han Keueh, but he also refused, saying, "Formerly I was brought up in the Chaou family; and during the slanders of Măng Ke [See the Chuen on VIII. 6], I declined to use my sword. There is a saying of the ancients, that "no one likes to preside at the slaying of an old ox;" how much less would one do so at the slaying of a ruler! You, gentlemen, are not able to serve our ruler; what use could you make of me?"'

Par. 14. The State of Shoo-yung was near that of Shoo-lëaou;—see on VII. viii. 7. The

Chuen says:—'The people of Shoo-yung, in consequence of the defeat of the army of Ts'oo [at Yen-ling], led the people of Woo to besiege Ch'aou, to attack Këa, and to besiege Le and Hwuy. Trusting in Woo, they made no preparations against Ts'oo, and the Kung-tsze T'oh-tsze surprised their city, and extinguished their State.'

[The Chuen adds here:—'In the intercalary month, on Yih-maou, the last day of it, Lwan Shoo and Chung-hang Yen put to death Seu T'ung. The people were not for the [three Këoh], and Seu T'ung had led on his ruler to commit disorder; and the text therefore says in both cases that "Tsin put its great officers to death."']

Eighteenth year.

一章 十有八年、春王正月、晉殺其大夫胥童。

二章 庚申、晉弑其君州蒲。

三章 齊殺其大夫國佐。

四章 公如晉。

五章 夏楚子、鄭伯伐宋、宋魚石、復入于彭城。

六章 公至自晉。

七章 晉侯使士匄來聘。

八章 秋、杞伯來朝。

九章 八月、邾子來朝。

十章 築鹿囿。

十一章 己丑、公薨于路寢。

十二章 冬、楚人、鄭人、侵宋。

十三章 晉侯使士魴來乞師。

十四章 十有二月、仲孫蔑會晉侯、宋公、衞侯、邾子、齊崔杼、同盟于虛朾。

十五章 丁未、葬我君成公。

左傳曰、十八年、春、王正月、庚申、晉欒書、中行偃、使程滑弒厲公、葬之於翼東門之外、以車一乘。使荀罃、士魴、逆周子於京師而立之。生十四年矣、大夫逆於清原、周子曰、孤始願不及此、雖及此、豈非天乎、抑人之求君、使出命也、立而不從、將安用君、二三子用我今日、否亦今日、共而從君、神之所福也。對曰、羣臣之願也、敢不唯命是聽、庚午、盟而入、館於伯子同氏。辛巳、朝于武宮、逐不臣者七人。周子有兄而無慧、不能辨菽麥、故不可立。齊為慶氏之難故、甲申、晦、齊侯使士華免以戈殺國佐於內宮之朝、師逃於夫人之宮。書曰齊殺其大夫國佐、棄命專殺、以穀叛故也。使清人殺國勝。國弱來奔、王湫奔萊、慶封為大夫、慶佐為司寇、既、齊侯反國弱、使嗣國氏、禮也。

㊁二月、乙酉、朔、晉悼公卽位於朝、始命百官、施舍、已責、逮鰥寡、振廢滯、匡乏困、救災患、禁淫慝、薄賦斂、宥罪戾、節器用、時用民、欲無犯時。使魏相、士魴、魏頡、趙武為卿。荀家、荀會、欒黶、韓無忌為公族大夫、使訓卿之子弟共儉孝弟。使士渥濁為大傅、使修范武子之法、右行辛為司空、使修士蔿之法。弁糾御戎、校正屬焉、使訓諸御知義。荀賓為右、司士屬焉、使訓勇力之士時使。卿無共御、立軍尉以攝之。祁奚為中軍尉、羊舌職佐之。魏絳為司馬、張老為候奄、鐸遏寇為上軍尉、籍偃為之司馬、使訓卒乘、親以聽命。程鄭為乘馬御、六騶屬焉、使訓羣騶知禮。凡六官之長、皆民譽也、舉不失職、官不易方、爵不踰德、師不陵正、旅不偪師、民無謗言、所以復霸也。

公如晉。朝嗣君也。

夏、六月、鄭伯侵宋、及曹門外、遂會楚子伐宋、取朝郟。楚子辛、鄭皇辰、侵城郜、取幽丘。同伐彭城、納宋魚石、向為人、鱗朱、向帶、魚府焉。以三百乘戍之而還。書曰復入、凡去其國、國逆而立之、曰入、復其位、曰復歸、諸侯納之曰歸、以惡曰復入。宋人患之、西鉏吾曰、何也、若楚人與吾同惡、以德於我、吾固事之也、不敢貳矣、大國無厭、鄙我猶憾、不然、而收吾憎、使贊其政、以閒吾釁、亦吾患也、今將崇諸侯之姦、而披其地、以塞夷庚、逞姦而攜服、毒諸

侯而懼吳、晉、吾庸多矣、非吾憂也、且事晉何爲、晉必恤之。

公至自晉、晉范宣子來聘、且拜朝也。君子謂晉於是乎有禮。

秋、杞桓公來朝、勞公、且問晉故。公以晉君語之、杞伯於是驟朝於晉、而請爲昏。

㊅七月、宋老佐、華喜、圍彭城、老佐卒焉。

八月、邾宣公來朝、卽位而來見也。

築鹿囿、書不時也。

己丑、公薨于路寢、言道也。

冬、十一月、楚子重救彭城、伐宋、宋華元如晉告急、韓獻子爲政、曰、欲求得人、必先勤之、成霸安疆、自宋始矣。晉侯師於台谷、以救宋、遇楚師於靡角之谷、楚師還。

晉士魴來乞師。季文子問師數於臧武仲、對曰、伐鄭之役、知伯實來、下軍之佐也、今彘季亦佐下軍、如伐鄭、可也。事大國、無失班爵、而加敬焉、禮也。從之。

十二月、孟獻子會于虛朾、謀救宋也。宋人辭諸侯、而請師以圍彭城、孟獻子請於諸侯、而先歸會葬。

丁未、葬我君成公、書順也。

XVIII. 1 In the duke's [eighteenth] year, in spring, in the king's first month, Tsin put to death its great officer, Seu T'ung.

2 On Kăng-shin, Tsin murdered its ruler, Chow-p'oo.

3 Ts'e put to death its great officer, Kwoh Tso.

4 The duke went to Tsin.

5 In summer, the viscount of Ts'oo and the earl of Ch'ing invaded Sung; [when] Yu Shih of Sung again entered P'ăng-shing.

6 The duke arrived from Tsin.

7 The marquis of Tsin sent Sze K'ae to Loo on a mission of friendly enquiries.

8 In autumn, the earl of Ke paid a court-visit to Loo.

9 In the eighth month, the viscount of Choo paid a court-visit to Loo.

10 We enclosed the deer park.

11 On Ke-ch'ow, the duke died in the state-chamber.

12 In winter, a body of men from Ts'oo and one from Ch'ing made an incursion into Sung.

13 The marquis of Tsin sent Sze Fang to ask the help of an army.

14 In winter, in the twelfth month, Chung-sun Mëeh had a meeting with the marquis of Tsin, the duke of Sung, the marquis of Wei, the viscount of Choo, and Ts'uy Ch'oo of Ts'e, when they made a covenant together in Heu-ting.

15 On Ting-we, we buried our ruler, duke Ch'ing.

Par. 1. The death of Seu T'ung, as related in the last Chuen, took place in the 12th month, intercalary, of the last year. It appears now, acc. to Too, because it was only now announced to Loo. Tsin followed the calendar of Hëa, instead of that of Chow.

Par. 2. See the Chuen on par. 13 of last year. The Chuen here says:—'This spring, in the 1st month, on Kăng-shin, Lwan Shoo and Chung-hang Yen made Ch'ing Hwah murder duke Le, whom they buried outside the east gate of Yih, with a single carriage in attendance. They then sent Seun Ying and Sze Fang to the capital to meet Chow-tsze, and declared him duke Le's successor. Chow-tsze was [only] 14 years old; but when the great officers met him in Ts'ing-yuen, he said, "At first, I had no wish to arrive at this estate; and [now], though I have arrived at it, is it not to be ascribed to Heaven? When men seek a ruler, it is to have one who shall give out his orders. If, when they have called him to the head of the State, they do not follow his orders, what use have they for him? If you mean to obey me, say so to-day; if not, say so to-day. If you will reverently follow your ruler, then the Spirits will bless us." They replied, "It is your servants' desire. We dare not but hearken to your commands." He then made a covenant with them on Kăng-woo, and entered [the capital], lodging in the house of Pih Tsze-t'ung. On Sin-sze he presented himself in the temple of [duke] Woo, and banished seven men, who were unworthy to be ministers.

Chow-tsze had a brother who was devoid of intelligence, so that he could not distinguish beans from wheat, and consequently could not be made marquis.'

The K'ang-he editors enter here again on the subject which they discussed on VI. xvi. 7. The murder of duke Le is ascribed to Tsin, while it was really the work of two of the great officers of the State. Kuh-lëang thought the style of the record intimated that the ruler had been very bad. The general view of the critics is, that the style of the entry does in a measure distribute the guilt of the murder among the people, to whom Le was an object of abhorrence. The editors denounce this attempt to screen the deed of the two rascal ministers, and share their guilt among the people. The entry is given in consequence of the nature of the announcement from Tsin, where there was now no inflexible historiographer like Tung Hoo, who recorded the guilt of Chaou Tun. The announcement must have concealed the real criminals by attributing the deed to other parties; but the Ch'un Ts'ëw would not so cover the guilt, and therefore attributed the deed to the State itself, that so curiosity might be excited, inquiry made, and the true criminals not escape from the net!' It is impossible to lay down any 'canons,' or offer any satisfactory explanation of the phraseology in cases like the present. We have the 13th par. of last year, and the first three paragraphs of this year, all occupied with executions or murders that cannot be judged of by the same standard, and yet the record of them is identical.

Par. 3. See the Chuen on par. 5 of last year, and that after par. 10. The Chuen says:—'Because of the troubles about K'ing [K'ih] in Ts'e, on Këah-shin, the last day of the moon, the marquis of Ts'e made the judge Hwa Mëen kill Kwoh Tso with a spear, at an audience which he gave him in the inner palace, there being soldiers concealed in the palace of the marchioness. The language of the text, "Ts'e put to death its great officer Kwoh Tso," is because he had paid no respect to his ruler's charge, and had taken it on himself to kill [K'ing K'ih], and had held Kuh in rebellion. [At the same time], the marquis made the people of Ts'ing kill Kwoh Shing. Kwoh Joh [A younger brother of Shing] then fled to Loo, and Wang Tsëaou to Lae. K'ing Fung was made a great officer, and K'ing Tso minister of Crime [Both these were sons of K'ih]. After this the marquis recalled Kwoh Joh, and appointed him heir and representative of the Kwoh family;—which was according to rule.'

[The Chuen continues here the narrative in that on p. 2:—'In the 2d month, on Yih-yëw, on the 1st day of the moon, duke Taou [Sun-chow] of Tsin took the place of Le in the court, and for the first time gave their charges to the various officers. He bestowed [favours], remitted [burdensome requirements], and forgave debts [due to the govt.]; he extended his kindness to the solitary and to widows; he redressed the cause of officers who had been dismissed from employment, and of those who had been kept back; he delivered the needy and distressed; he relieved the sufferers from calamity and misfortune; he laid prohibitions on dissoluteness and wickedness; he lightened taxes; he dealt gently with offenders; he employed the people at the proper times, endeavouring not to interfere with the seasons. He appointed Wei Sëang, Sze Fang, Wei Këeh, and Chaou Woo, to be high ministers; Seun Këa, Seun Hwuy, Lwan Yin, and Han Woo-ke, to be great officers over the different branches of the ducal kindred, requiring them to teach the sons and younger brothers of the ministers the duties of reverence, economy, filial piety, and fraternal submission. He appointed Sze Uh-chuh [Sze Ching-tsze] to be grand-master, requiring him to revise and revive the laws of Fan Woo-tsze; and Yëw-hang Sin to be minister of Works, requiring him to revise and revive the laws of Sze Wei. Këw of Pëen was principal charioteer, with all the head grooms under him, and was required to instruct all the charioteers in the principles of righteousness. Seun Pin was principal spearman on the right, with all the other spearmen under him, and was required to instruct those strong men-at-arms

in the service at any time required of them. Ministers [Being generals] were not allowed a special charioteer, his duty being discharged by one of the ordinary officers. K'e He was tranquillizer of the army of the centre, with Yang-sheh Chih under him; Wei Këang was marshal, and Chang Laou was scout-master. Toh Ngoh-k'ow was tranquillizer of the 1st army, with Tsih Yen as marshal, and was required to teach the soldiers and chariot-men to aid one another in obeying the commands which they received. Ch'ing Ch'ing was chief equerry. with the grooms of the six studs under him, whom he was required to instruct in the rules of propriety. The chiefs of all the six official departments were the objects of the people's praise. Not one was unequal to the office to which he was raised; no one interfered with the duties of another's department. Their dignities did not surpass their virtues. The assistant-commanders did not trench on the authority of the generals, nor did their subordinates press upon them. No word of dissatisfaction or reviling was heard among the people, and thus the place of Tsin as the leader of the other States was restored.']

Parr. 4, 6. 'The duke,' says Tso-she, 'went to Tsin, to appear at the court of the new ruler.'

Par. 5. P'ăng-shing was in the pres. dis. of T'ung-shan (銅山), dep. Seu-chow, Këang-soo. The Chuen says:—'In summer, in the 9th month, the earl of Ch'ing made an incursion into Sung, and proceeded as far as the outside of the Ts'aou gate. He then joined the viscount of Ts'oo who was invading Sung, and they took Chëaou-këah. Tsze-sin of Ts'oo and Hwang Shin of Ch'ing made an incursion to Shing-kaou, and took Yew-k'ëw. They then joined in attacking P'ăng-shing, in which they placed Yu Shih, Hëang Wei-jin, Lin Choo, Hëang Tae, and Yu Foo [See the Chuen on XV., pp. 8.9.], left 300 chariots to guard the country, and returned. The text says that [Yu Shih] "again entered" [P'ăng-shing]. Now, in the case of parties who have left their State, when the State sends and meets them [to bring them back], they are said "to enter it." When they have the places which they formerly held restored to them, they are said "to be restored again." When they are re-instated by the prince of another State, they are said "to be restored." When their restoration is effected by violence, they are said "to enter again."

'The people of Sung were afflicted by these proceedings, but Se Ts'oo-woo said, "Why be afflicted? If the people of Ts'oo had regarded those wicked men as we do, [and dealt with them] so as to do us a favour, then we should have served Ts'oo without daring to waver in our adherence. Then that great State, in its insatiable ambition would have treated us as a border of its own, and still been angry [that our State was not larger]. This would have been a cause [for affliction]. Or if in another way it had received those objects of our detestation, and made them help it in its measures. so as to spy out the opportunities which we might afford it [to attack us], this also would have been an affliction. But now, Ts'oo has exalted these traitors to their prince, and apportioned to them a part of our territory, so as to stop the plain route [of communication between Tsin and Woo];—it has satisfied the traitors' wishes, and will thereby separate from itself its own adherents; it has poisoned the States against itself, and filled with apprehension Woo and Tsin Our course becomes much easier. This should be no sorrow to us. And for what have we served Tsin? It will be sure to pity us."'

Par. 7. The Chuen says:—'When the duke arrived from Tsin. Fan Seuen-tsze (Sze Kae) came to Loo with friendly inquiries, and to acknowledge the duke's visit to the court of Tsin. The superior man will say that in this Tsin behaved with propriety.'

Par. 8. The Chuen says:—'The earl of K'e now came to congratulate the duke on the accomplishment of his journey. and to ask about Tsin. The duke in consequence told him all about the [new] marquis. The earl on this went off quickly on a court-visit to Tsin, and begged an alliance of marriage with it.

[There is a note here about Sung:—'In the 7th month, Laou Tso of Sung and Hwa He laid siege to P'ăng-shing, when the former died.']

Par. 9. Tso-she says this visit was made by duke Seuen of Choo, on occasion of his succeeding to the State, to have an interview with duke Ch'ing.

Par. 10. Tso-she says this entry is made because of the unseasonableness of the proceeding.

Par. 11. See VII. xviii. 7; *et al.* 'The record,' says Tso, 'shows that he died where he should have done.'

Par. 12. The Chuen says:—'In the 11th month, Tsze-chung of Ts'oo came to relieve P'ăng-shing, and invaded Sung. Hwa Yuen of Sung went to Tsin to report the urgency of their distress. Han Hëen-tsze was then Tsin's chief minister, and said, "If we wish to win men, we must first be earnest in their behalf. To establish our leadership, and secure our strength, we must begin with Sung." The marquis of Tsin then took post with an army at T'ae-kuh, to relieve Sung, and [his generals] met with the army of Ts'oo in the valley of Me-koh. It withdrew before them.'

Par. 13. For 鲂 Kung has 彭. The Chuen says:—'When Sze Fang asked for the help of an army, Ke Wăn-tsze asked Tsang Woo-chung what should be its numbers. Tsang relied, "In the expedition against Ch'ing, Che pih [Seun Ying] came to us, the assistant-commander of the 3d army. Now Che Ke [Sze Fang, a son of Sze Hwuy] is in the same position. Send the same number of troops which we did to the invasion of Ch'ing. In serving a great State, we must not fail to observe the rank and titles of its envoys, and to be very respectful." Ke Wăn-tsze followed this counsel.'

Par. 14. Hen-ting was probably in Sung; but its situation is not known. The Chuen says:—'In the 12th month, Măng Hëen-tsze [Mëeh] joined [the other commanders] in Hen-ting, to consult about the relief of Sung. The people of Sung declined the presence of the princes, and begged the service of their armies to besiege P'ăng-shing. Măng Hëen-tsze asked leave of the princes, and returned to Loo, to be present at the duke's burial."

Par. 15. 'This entry,' says Tso-she, 'intimates that everything [about the death, burial, and succession] was natural and proper.'

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